00111581

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 23 March, 2016

ROW'S HISTORY

OF THE

KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

1558—1639.

THE WODROW SOCIETY,

INSTITUTED MAY, 1841,

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS AND EARLY WRITERS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

KIRK OF SCOTLAND,

FROM THE YEAR 1558 TO AUGUST 1637.

BY

JOHN ROW,

MINISTER OF CARNOCK:

111581 ac

WITH

A CONTINUATION TO JULY 1639,

BY HIS SON, JOHN ROW,

PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR THE WODROW SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XLII.

God
941.05
Row/His
111581

EDINBURGH PRINTING COMPANY, SOUTH ST DAVID STREET.

PREFATORY NOTICE.

THE COUNCIL of the WODROW SOCIETY, in considering the works most suitable for commencing the series of their publications, were desirous of furnishing the Members with a volume relating to the History of the Church immediately subsequent to the period of the Reformation. For this purpose, the Manuscripts of JOHN ROW, minister of Carnock, so frequently referred to by subsequent writers, were brought under their notice. It was indeed known that an edition of Row's History was actually in the press for the Maitland Club, Glasgow, while another was announced as contemplated by the Spalding Club, Aberdeen; but it was considered that any such publications, restricted as either of these editions would necessarily be to a very limited number of members, or a local circulation, should present no adequate reason to deter the COUNCIL from authorising the work to be printed in a more accessible form. In coming to such a decision, the COUNCIL were not uninfluenced at the time by the circumstance that they could indulge only a very distant and somewhat uncertain prospect of being able to undertake the publication of the larger and much more important History of the Church, from Calderwood's Manuscripts; a work, which, from the subsequent increase of their

Members, has since been happily commenced, and is already far advanced.

Although I had no personal concern in recommending ROW'S HISTORY to the COUNCIL, and was rather desirous of taking charge of some other work in preference to it, I had the less hesitation in acceding to the request to superintend it through the press, after examining several of the Manuscripts, and ascertaining that the work admitted of being published in such a form as would at least preclude it from being regarded as a mere reprint of any other edition. In this volume, therefore, the History appears for the first time, as revised and amplified by the AUTHOR himself during the latter period of his life. The text is given from a MS., which is wholly in the handwriting of his Son, JOHN ROW, minister of Aberdeen, and which serves, I think, to remove certain difficulties that have hitherto presented themselves in regard to the authorship of the several portions of the work, as will elsewhere be stated. But I was anxious to give this previous explanation lest any misapprehension should exist, as if the COUNCIL had a design to interfere in an unwarrantable manner with the publication of another Society.

DAVID LAING.

SIGNET LIBRARY, EDINBURGH,
November 1842.

ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF MR JOHN ROW, MINISTER OF CARNOCK.

THE name of ROW is peculiarly and honourably distinguished in the ecclesiastical history of this country, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The founder of the family was John Row the Reformer; and five of his sons, with several of their children, continued to emulate his example, in devoted adherence to the cause of Presbytery, and in zeal and fidelity as ministers of the Reformed Church of Scotland. It is not, however, necessary in this place to give any detailed account of the numerous progeny of the Rows,[1] but a very brief sketch of the Reformer's life may serve to introduce the notices respecting his son, the Historian.

Dr JOHN ROW, the Reformer, was born at a place of that name in the neighbourhood of Stirling, about the year 1526.[2] He was educated at the grammar school of Stirling, and afterwards prosecuted his studies at St Andrews. In the Records of the University, we find the name JOHANNES ROVE *Loudon*, as having matriculated in St Leonard's College in 1544. The designation affixed to his name, denoted his being a native of the academical district of Lothian, which embraced nearly the whole southern part of Scotland. Having completed his philosophical course, and taken the degree of A.M., he devoted himself to the study of the Canon

[1] Additions to the Coronis, pages 447 and 456.

[2] See Memorials of the Family of Row, Edinb. 1828, 4to; and Scott's Lives of the Protestant Reformers in Scotland, Edinb. 1810, 8vo.

law, and practised for some time as an advocate in the Consistory Court at St Andrews. In consequence, it is said, of the distinction which he had attained in the knowledge and practice of the Canon law, he was in 1550 nominated agent of the Clergy in Scotland, for negotiating their affairs at the Court of Rome. Row accordingly proceeded to Italy, where he remained for seven or eight years. On the 20th of February 1556, he became Licentiate of Laws, and afterwards took the higher degree of Doctor of Laws in the University of Padua. The favour of the Pope, and of some of the Cardinals, might have led to preferment, had not the state of his health rendered it advisable for him to return to his native country. As the progress already made by the Reformers in Scotland had excited the attention of the Roman Pontiff, advantage was taken of Row's return to invest him with an official character; and he landed at Eyemouth in September 1558, in the character of Pope's Nuncio, to investigate the causes and to devise means for preventing the further progress of such heretical innovations. But, as his son remarks, he proved a "corbie messenger" to his master; for he never returned to Rome,[1] and in reality he found himself unable to fulfil the latter part of his instructions. Having been persuaded by Lord James Stewart, afterwards Earl of Moray, to remain for a time in Scotland, and having soon after obtained a clearer knowledge of divine truth, he embraced the Protestant faith, and became an able and constant supporter of the great principles of the Reformation.

The discovery by Colville of Cleish of the imposture of a pretended miracle at Loretto, was the immediate cause of Row's

[1] There must either be some error in these dates, or Row must have returned for a short period to Rome, as there exists a letter written by him, dated "Romæ, xi. Maij 1559." The correctness of this date appears from the letter itself, addressed to Donald Campbell, Abbot of Coupar, as it relates to Row's endeavours to have Campbell's election to the Bishopric of Brechin confirmed by the Pope. John Hepburn, the previous Bishop of that See, died in August 1558; but Campbell's application not being successful, he never assumed the title of Bishop, but still sat in Parliament, August 1560, among the Spiritual Lords, as Abbot of Coupar. A copy of the letter referred to will be given in the Appendix.

conversion. As the circumstances connected with this detection are sufficiently detailed in the present work, they need not be here repeated. It may only be added, that the chapel of the Virgin of Loretto, named Laureit, or Alareit, near Musselburgh, had risen into great celebrity from its having an image of the Virgin supposed to be possessed of miraculous powers. A chapel had been erected to receive the image, which was brought thither from Loretto by Thomas the hermit, who continued for many years to dispense pardons and indulgences; and further,—

——— that Hermeit of Laureit,
He put the common pepill in beleif,
That blynd gat sicht, and cruikit gat their feit.

But this chapel had become a place of frequent resort for other purposes as well as devotion; as Sir David Lyndsay and other Scotish poets make mention,—

I have sene pass ane marvellous multitude,
Young men and women flingand on thair feit,
Under the forme of feinzeit sanctitude,
For till adore ane image in Laureit;
Mony came with thair marrowis for to meit, &c.[1]

After Knox's arrival in Scotland, in April 1559, Dr Row attended his public ministry, and held frequent conversations with him; and being fully persuaded of the errors of Romanism, he was induced to join himself with the Protestant party, and to become a preacher, when he dropped his academical title of Doctor, and was afterwards designed Mr John Row. Upon the establishment of the Reformation by the Scotish Parliament, he was admitted minister of Kennoway, and soon after married Margaret Bethune, daughter of the Laird of Balfour, in Fife. In April 1560, he was one of the six ministers who, being selected by the Lords of

[1] Lyndsay's Works, by Chalmers, vol. iii. pp. 20, 22, 384. See also Alexander Scott's Poems, p. 29. Edinb. 1821.

the Congregation "to commit to writing, in a book, their judgments touching the Reformation of religion," drew up the Confession of Faith and the First Book of Discipline. In July 1560, he was translated to Perth,[1] and was present at the first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which met at Edinburgh on the 20th December 1560. For a period of twenty years he continued to take a very active share in all ecclesiastical proceedings, as will appear from various passages in the present work; and in the "Lives of the Protestant Reformers in Scotland," by the Rev. James Scott, minister of Perth, there occurs a detailed account of Row's life, together with notices of his family and descendants, gleaned from the parish registers. He died at Perth on the 16th October 1580. The following is the notice by Spottiswood, which is here quoted, on account of the reference made to it at page 474 of the present volume :—

"In October following, [1580,] Mr JOHN ROW, minister of Perth, departed this life, who for his piety and singular moderation deserveth here to be mentioned. In his younger years, having applied his mind to letters, and taking the degree of a Master in Arts, he became a pleader in the Consistory of St Andrewes, (a judicatory then much frequented,) and grew to be so skilled in the Canon law, as he was chosen to negotiate the affairs of the Church in the Court of Rome. Julius the Third did then govern that See, of whom he was well accepted, and in possibility to have attained unto some preferment if he would have stayed there, for he gained the favour of all to whom he was known, and was in special grace with Guido Ascanius Sfortia, Cardinal of Sancta Flora, who made such account of his skill and knowledge in the lawes, that he would have him pass Doctor in the University, whereof he was Chancellor. After some eight or nine years abode in those parts, coming home to visit his countrey, and giving account of the affairs, wherewith he had been trusted, he found the state of the Church quite over-

[1] His stipend as minister of Perth was "200 pounds, with the kirk land, and ane chalder of quhite aittis."—(Register of Ministers, pp. 28, 88, Edinb. 1830, 4to.)

turned, and the countrey all in tumult, by the Reformation which was then in hand. Thereupon doubting what course then to take, and minding to return to Rome, he was disswaded by the Prior of St Andrewes, who held him in good esteem, and afterwards induced by the perswasion of John Knox to betake himself to the ministery, which he then exercised a certain space at [Kennoway] in Fife, till by the Generall Assembly he was translated to the town of Perth; there he continued unto his death, which happened in the year of our Lord 1580, and of his age the 54th; a man whilest he lived well respected, and much lamented at his death by the people whom he served."[1]

The third surviving son of John Row the Reformer was JOHN ROW the Historian, who became minister of Carnock. He was born at Perth, probably towards the end of December 1568; and was baptized on the 6th of January 1568–9. The witnesses or godfathers were John Anderson of Tullilum, and Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, the progenitor of the noble family of Breadalbane. He received his first instructions under his father's roof, and made such proficiency in his studies, that when only seven years of age he had acquired a knowledge of the Hebrew language, and at dinner or supper he usually read a chapter of the Old Testament in the original. Of his own early history and education, he has left an interesting sketch which appears to have been written during the last year of his life.[2] After his father's death, John Row and his brother William enjoyed a friar's pension from the King's Hospital at Perth. He was first employed, he tells us, as tutor to his uncle's children, Bethune of Balfour; and in 1586 he accompanied them to Edinburgh, and enrolled himself as a student in the newly erected College. He relates, that, while at the grammar school of Perth, he had obtained, by way of distinction, the title of *Magister*, and on entering the class at the College one of his former school companions exclaimed, *Tu es Magister hactenus.* The

[1] History of the Church, p. 311, edit. Lond. 1655.

[2] See pages 466–470 of the present volume.

Regent or Professor to whom he refers on this occasion, and under whom he took his Master's degree on the first of August 1590, was Henry Charteris, a man of great learning and modesty, who succeeded Rollock as Principal of the College in 1599. Charteris, after filling this office with great efficiency, for upwards of twenty years, was induced to resign it, and accepted a parochial charge as minister of Leith.

After two years residence in the capacity of schoolmaster at Aberdour, Row obtained an appointment as minister of the parish of Carnock, in the western division of Fife, and was ordained at the end of the year 1592. The church, he tells us, was in a very "evill condition," being thatched or covered with heather; and on one occasion, when he happened to be confined to the house by sickness, and had no person to officiate in his stead, the roof of the church fell in, and would no doubt have proved fatal to some of his hearers had there been service that day. This obliged the minister of Scotlandwell, in the parish of Portmoak, who enjoyed the tithes of Carnock, to put a new roof on the church; but the estates of Carnock passing into the hands of the family of Bruce, the church was again repaired, and the roof covered with slates, by Sir George Bruce in 1602.[1] In the exterior of the walls, there is still preserved a stone having the initials G. B., and the date 1602.

In January 1595 John Row married Grissel, daughter of David Fergusson, minister of Dunfermline. He says, "as shee was a verie comelie and beautifull young woman, so shee proved a verie vertuous and godlie person, fitt to be such a minister's wife." They had a numerous family.

[1] In the old Statistical Account, (vol. xi. p. 487,) it is said, "The Church of Carnock appears, by an inscription still legible upon it, to have been built in 1602, by Sir George Bruce of Carnock, who was one of the Lords of Session, and ancestor of the present Earl of Elgin. It was last repaired about the year 1772. The church bell bears date 1638, and the pulpit 1674, with this motto, *Sermonem vitæ præbentes*, Philipp. ii. 16." It is clear, however, from Row's account, (p. 471,) that the church was only repaired in 1602. and the position of the stone referred to seems to confirm this. The present church is removed to some distance from the old structure, which is beautifully situated in the midst of this secluded district.

In this secluded and small parish of Carnock, Row continued to labour with great zeal and success. The stipend was so very inconsiderable, that he was under the necessity of trusting to the kindness of some of his friends and relations for occasional assistance; yet he opposed various overtures that were made for his being translated to some other living of greater extent and emolument. Had the earliest volume of the Kirk-Session books of Carnock been preserved, it doubtless would have furnished a number of minute and personal details that would have been interesting. As it is, the only notices that have been handed down to us, in regard to his history during the long period of forty years of his ministrations, have reference chiefly to his refusal to be translated from Carnock, to his usefulness as a parish minister, and to his unceasing opposition to the Perth Articles, and the introduction of Episcopal church government.

In the winter of 1619 he was summoned before the Court of High Commission, at St Andrews, for non-conformity and opposition to Prelacy; but being prevented by indisposition, from travelling at that season of the year, and being nevertheless resolved at all hazards to admit the charges brought against him, he sent his son, John Row, then schoolmaster at Kirkaldy, and his nephew, William Rig of Athernie, "to speak to the Bishop." He escaped with the censure of being confined to his own parish. He elsewhere mentions this incident more particularly, and says that his patron, Sir George Bruce, had written in his favour to Archbishop Spottiswood, and to another friend, and sent his letters with one of his servants, Richard Christie, who accompanied Row's son and nephew to St Andrews; but it appears that a hint thrown out by Christie prevailed more with the worldly-minded prelate than all the solicitations used in his behalf by his patron and other friends. For Richard Christie, we are told, "after sundry arguments, came on with one weightie argument," saying, "thir coals in your muirs are very evil, and my master (Sir George Bruce) hath very many good coals; send up a vessel every year to Culross, and I shall see her laden with good coals." This offer, it

seems, was not disregarded, "yet for the fashion Row was, by the High Commission, confyned to his own congregation," while two worthy ministers, at the same time, and for the same cause, were formally deposed. Calderwood notices, that, on the 6th of February 1622, Mr John Row was charged by the Council to keep within the bounds of his parish.[1] He thus was fortunate in escaping the hardships to which many of his brethren were subjected; and he still continued to exercise his ministerial duties. On successive occasions when dispensing the Sacrament, he usually obtained the assistance of some of the more eminent ministers who had been silenced or deprived of their livings, and his church was much resorted to by the higher class of non-conformists among the laity, who eagerly availed themselves of such seasons of communion.

When he was far advanced in life, and while the affairs of the Church seemed still in a very hopeless condition, Row, at the urgent request of his friends, was prevailed upon to compile a memorial of "some things concerning the Government of this Kirk since the Reformation," and to record what "changes he himself had seen and observed in the same." In performing this task he availed himself of the papers written by his father-in-law, David Fergusson, minister of Dunfermline, who had taken an active share in all ecclesiastical proceedings from the time of the Reformation till his death in 1598. From an examination of the various manuscript copies of Row's History, it is evident that the work, when first completed, probably about the year 1634, had found its way into circulation, and many copies of it were transcribed, and are still preserved. During the latter period of his life, however, he continued to revise and enlarge his work, more especially by introducing a summary of proceedings of the General Assemblies held between 1560 and 1618. In so doing, he rendered a much more important service than it would now be deemed. The Acts or Proceedings of these Assemblies had not been printed, the Registers were in

[1] History of the Church, p. 795.

private hands, and not easily accessible, and neither Calderwood nor Petrie had yet undertaken a similar task of writing a History of the Church. There still exists a MS. in Row's hand,[1] bearing the date 1616, which contains a series of extracts from the Assembly's Registers, corresponding in many points with those incorporated in his History.

Four years after Row's death, a fair transcript of the revised and enlarged History was made by his second son, John Row, minister of Aberdeen. This MS. written in 1650, is by far the most accurate copy of the work that is known; and it has been adopted as the basis of the present edition. A copy of it appears to have been made by his brother, William Row, minister of Ceres, as a still later transcript seems to indicate, from its containing a few additional passages chiefly in the Coronis, which may be attributed to him. In the Maitland Club edition of this work, however, the whole of the Coronis, and all the various passages incorporated into the History itself, are ascribed to William Row, but evidently upon no sufficient authority. The Editor was not aware of the existence of John Row's MS. of 1650, in which the entire work is distinctly given in his Father's name, (the few casual interpolations by the younger John Row, while transcribing the MS., not being of such importance as to require special distinction;) while the Coronis itself bears internal evidence of being an integral part of the original work, and written by the author of the History.

As might have been expected, Row hailed with great satisfaction the changes that took place in 1637 and 1638, in consequence of the unsuccessful attempts to force the English Service Book upon the people of Scotland. As one of the survivors of the good old times of Presbyterian supremacy, he was occasionally called upon for advice and information. Of the General Assembly, which met at Glasgow in November 1638, he was returned a member, and was one of the four oldest of the ministers put in nomination with Alexander Henderson as Moderator, partly as a mark of respect, and partly, as their age and infirmities rendered them in-

[1] Wodrow MSS. vol. xx. 4to, no. 17.

eligible, that the choice might devolve upon Henderson, who was pre-eminently qualified to preside on such a memorable occasion. At one of the first meetings, Row urged, after the election of Johnstone of Warriston, as Clerk of Assembly, "that he should preserve, and bring forth the Church Registers to the Assemblie, at least so manie as should come into his hands; seeing pitifull experience had shewed, how manie of the Registers, not being faithfully preserved, were lost through the iniquitie of the tymes." [1] Row was appointed one of a committee to report on the several Registers that were exhibited; and upon their report, which is contained in the printed Acts of Assembly, these volumes were received as authentic Registers. In other matters, both at this and subsequent Assemblies, Row continued to take a deep interest. At the Assembly at Edinburgh, on the 17th of August 1639, the King's Commissioner having given warrant that his Majesty would ratify their proceedings in the approaching Parliament, the utmost satisfaction was expressed on hearing this declaration; and it is recorded that "Old John Row, being called upon, with teares, said, —I blesse, I glorifie, I magnifie, the God of heaven and earth that has pittied this poore Church, and given us such matter of joy and consolation; and the Lord make us thankfull first to our gracious and loving God, and next obedient subjects to his Majestie's Commissioner for his owne part."[2]

Through the kindness of the Reverend WILLIAM GILSTON, minister of Carnock, I have obtained the use of the oldest volume preserved of the Kirk-Session books of that parish, and it furnishes a variety of incidental notices of John Row during the last five years of his life. It commences 27th of February 1642, and till within eight days of his death the minutes are written in his own hand, of which a page of fac-simile is here given. Had the previous volume been preserved, it would no doubt have furnished many interesting notices of this excellent old man; but it seems to have been lost so early as 1647.

[1] MS. Proceedings of the Assembly, in the Editor's possession.

[2] Peterkin's Records of the Kirk of Scotland, p. 251.

The 8 of Junij 1642.

This day the kirk of Carnock was visited and blissed be gad
thaw wee not many things to be reproved among us.

15 October 1643.

The qlk day the fast was celebrat & Mr Wm Oliphant helpit
me for my sone Mr Wm Rolls was withe or laird in kirktaldy

The 9 of Junij 1644.

I advysed wt the session to begine our examinationes on sondaz aster-
noon as the use was Bot I behoved to change the houre betause when my
sonne Mr William Rolls taught asternoon I instantlie aster sermon examin-
ed the people Bot nulls when I taught & preached befor noon my self
& for fault of helpe behoved to Not upon a chapter asternoon I tuld not go
immediatlie to the examination bot behoved to rest me ane houre or two
& then see whatstrenthe the lord wald furnise me to examin the people

The 21 of Junij 1646.

Betause or examinationes began not the week preceding at I looked
I intimat them to begine this intiding week on tysdaz & feydaz & the
elders of every qr to bring in so many withe them as was appoin-
ted every day.
This day also it was reported wt William Rose was glad out of the
parichon qlk I desyrd the elder of ye qr to loye & reppel again.

Junie 28

My fayer Mr Thone Rolls of worthie memoire being departed
this lyft I sd yongest sonne Mr Wm Rolls minist at Sorns die
preache & after sermons did hold sessione.
Andrew Anderson and Oliphant Rolls [illegible] to Thone Rolls [illegible]
[illegible] before ye sessione & declared ye purpose of marriage, & [illegible]
[illegible] for proclamation.

March 21 1647

The qlk day Mr Johne Rolls minister of [illegible]
[illegible] preached before & after noone, after
both keeped a session, & after incalling on
the lords name called for their reserves

EXTRACTS FROM THE KIRK SESSION BOOK OF CARNOCK.

EXTRACTS OF THE KIRK-SESSION BOOK OF CARNOCK.

"The 6 of Marche 1642.—This day, according to the act of the Kingis Counsall, the contribution was gathered after the sermon at afternoon, and, blissit be God, we gat mor then 40 libs.

"The 10 of Apryll 1642.—I had bein in Edinburgh three weikes attending his Majestie's Counsell and the meiting of the presbitrye of Edinburgh, wha gat direction from the Counsell to trye suche personis as had cum from Irland, and had gottin great skaithe thair, throche the persecution and oppression of the Ireshes, and Papistes burning, slaying, and do all the ill thay culd to thoise that fled not from thair crueltie. And I haifing my eldest sone, Mr David Row, quha had bein a minister in Irland fifteen yeiris, and had remanit thair twenty-five yeiris, cuming over to me, bringing withe him to the West cuntrye his wyf and five children, and had nothing to live upon; culd do no lese then see quhat helpe I culd get to them, bothe of the contribution gathered to that effect, and from freindes, quha for my cause wald pitie him, and supplie thair great necessitie. And now, cuming home to my charge and calling, I fand a pitifull discord and variance betuix some of our elderis; and, thairfoir, haifing intimated the communion to be gifine with Godis grace the nixt Lordis day, and finding that my sone, Mr William Row, quha supplied my place in my absence, culd get no reconciliation made amang them, I complained to the Laird; quha appointed them to cum down to him, that he might trye materis, that reconciliation might be the better maid.

"1 May 1642.—Thair wes a soleme Fast ordenit to be keipit throchout this haill Kingdom, quhilk being intimat the Sabbathe preceiding, wes keipt this day. Lord [grant] that it may produce happie and gud effectes.

"This day, I told our Session that for nothing that I culd do I culd get no money out of the conze-house for the four pund weght

of turnoris quhilk I gef them in: thay had put me af till Witsonday; and thairfor I gef in the tikat quhairwith I suld haif resaved it, and itt wes put in the box.

"Compt of the contribution gathered for Irland:—

"The 8 of May 1642.—This day also my sone, Mr William, gef in the compt of the contribution wes gatherit, and seing the Presbitrye ordanit a hundreth markis to be takin af the one half of the contributiones of our presbitrye, and our part cam to four markis, the Session wes content that it suld be fourteen markis to Mr David; and then I gat twelve shillings, quhilk I gef out to some persons that cam fra thre West cuntrye to helpe thair present necessitie, seing every minister of the presbitrye gef als mikill.

"15 of May 1642.—The quhilk day I shew the Session that my sone, Mr David Row, had gottin the fourteen markis wes appointit for him, so thair yit restes fiftie markis in Mr Williames hand.

"The 29 of May 1642.—The quhilk day I intimated publiklie after sermon that the Visitation of this Kirk be the Presbytrye wald be this nixt Wedinsday, the first day of this nixt monethe Junij; and thairfor desyrit all the congregation, men and women, to convein solemlie to the preaching that wes to be made the said day, about ten houris befor noon, and then after the sermon I desyrit our elderis to stey still, and any other of the parichoneris that had any thing to propon in the said visitation for the weill of the said congregation.

"The 5 of Junij 1642.—The quhilk day I intimat again the Visitatioun of our Kirk to be the nixt ensewing Wedinsday, and desyrit the elderis and haill parichoneris to be present, seing the last intimation held not, be reason that many of the brethren of the presbitrye went to Edinburgh the day befor the visitation suld have bein, to attend quhat suld haif bein don at that great Counsell, that then wes holdin concerning the affaires of the Kirk, many enemies of

the Kirk being then convenit in Edinburgh to see quhat ill thay culd get done.

"The 8 of Junij 1642.—This day the Kirk of Carnok wes visited, and, blissit be God, thair wer not many thinges to be reprovit amang us.

"And becaus thair wes ane ordinance that the clerk of our presbitrye suld get twenty shillings at every visitation of ilk kirk, we gef our twenty shillings to him as the first kirk that wes visited after he wes admittit to be clerk of our presbitrye.

"The 3 of Julij 1642.—The quhilk day I delyverit the four markis of turnouris quhilk was gottin out of the coinze-house, and thay wer put into the box.

"28 of Agust 1642.—The quhilk day, (after I had bein absent in St Andrews at the Generall Assemblie, and attending the committey appoint to be thair for planting a minister in the said town, and finding a speciall freind diseasit and viseiting him, absent, I say, five weikes,) when I cam home causit the act concludit in the presbitrye of Santandrous to be read opinlie, and the elderis wer desyrit to see how the pointes of the said act myght be put in execution.

"This day also I gat four markis to buy a Psalme book to our kirk, according to the ordour in other congregations, and I delyverit to the Session the Psalme book appertening to my daughter M. Row.

"The 11 of September 1642.—The Fast was keipt withe us as I best myght, teaching befor noon, and causing reid afternoon some chapteris of Ester, and gifing some observationes thairon; for I had non to helpe me.

"The penult day of October 1642.—The quhilk day the holie communion was celebrat, and thair wes gatherit to the poor and

godlie uses eleven libs. six shillings, quhairof gifine to Jhone Row, for careying the wyne and furnising rusches to the kirk, ten shillings. *Item*, To James Dennestoun, reader and taker up of the psalme, three shillings. To Elspet Stewart, quha broght the communion bread, two shillings. To Jhone Wyld, for attending the door, six shillings and eightpence. To Thomas Dine, the cripill diseasit man, four shillings. *Item*, For the printed Actes of the Generall Assemblies in the yeiris [16]39, 1640, 41, and 42, and for the printed returne from England to our Assemblie, eighteen shillings. Also, Jhone Wyld, our beddell, gat his yeiris fie, five markis, because he gat no payment fra Mertimes wes a yeir.

"13 of Nov. 1642.—I reportit to our Session this day that the presbitrye had sett down a stent on every kirk, quhairby a burser might be intertened at the New Colledge of Santandrous be our presbitrye, namlie, ane Mr Jhone Livinstoun, sone to Robert Livingstoun, sumtyme Laird of Baldoik, seing thair wes no ministeris sone within the presbitrye meitt for that place, and by this stent Carnok wes appointit to pay four libis., against the quhilk I objectit that thair wes no gud proportion keipit in that stent roll; yit because I wes desyred to gif it for this yeir onlie till a better proportion might be sett down, I gef it instantlie.

"At this tyme also we gef ten shillings for a quarter of lead to be a wodderweght to our bell to mak it ring the better, quhilk James Wilsone put upon the bell.

"The 11 of December 1642.—The quhilk day I informit the Session that the Presbitrye had appointit me to go over to Edinburgh, that I myght see how this parichon of Carnok myght be made competent, and how it myght be better provydit in a stipend.

"The 29 of Januarie 1643.—The quhilk day the Session being convenit, I declared to them how that I had beine so lang absent, becaus the Presbitrye had ordenit me, seing I was to go to Edinburgh to attend the committey of the Parliament appointit to dis-

joine kirkis quhilk suld be disjoined, to see that the kirkis of Aberdour, Dalgaty, and Baithe, myght be disjoined, that every kirk myght get a minister of their awin. Quhairupon I attendit many dayes and dyetts, and in end, the Lordis of the comittey disjoined them, and a decreit wes gifine thereupon; quhilk decreit wes extractit be Mr Alexander Colvill for the kirk of Baithe, quhilk he had laitlie biggit frá the cold ground, and the Laird of Fordell and Luchat, quha were bissey to get this turne done, extractit the decreit also for thair interest, quhilk they broght in to the Presbitrye the 1st day of February, that it myght be insert in the Presbitrye book *ad futuram rei memoriam.*

"Also in this tyme that I wes attending this committey of the Parliament, convenit the Commissionaris of the Generall Assemblie, of quhilk number I was ane, and so I steyit with them while thay dissolved about the space of forty-three dayis: In the quhilk committey of the Generall Assemblie thair wer many gud thingis done.

"The 19 of February 1643.—The quhilk day the offering that wes gathered be Richard Tempill[man,] quhen Helen Scotland wes maried with Jhone Brown in our kirk of Carnok, viz. 22s. 8d. wes put in the box. Also I tauld the elderis the cause of my absence on Sonday wes eight dayis, wes because the Presbitrye appointit me to preache in Dalgatie kirk, quhair thair had bein no preaching many yeiris befor. I also taught on Wedinsday thairefter at the visitation of that kirk of Dalgatie, quhen, withe my Lord of Murrayes consent, thair wer six persones leitit to be sent to the King that he myght chuse ane of them for that kirk.

"The quhilk day also I intimat this day eight dayis, the 26th of February, to be a soleme fast throche out all Scotland.

"9 July 1643.—My absence at the committey of the Commissionaries of the Generall Assemblie, quhilk mett in Edinburgh in the preceiding monethe, mad that no Session held till this day, quhen I proponit to our elderis quhat they wald do in helping my sone,

Mr William Row, for his attendance upon them in preaching the Gospell unto them thir two yeiris bygon, and in hairting (incouraging) of him to byd still langer with them now quhen he is nominat to be placed in other partes, and yit he himself is desirous to byd still if he may haif any mentenance amang them. To the quhilk non wald gif any answer; thairfor, I desyred them to advyse and conferre amang themselfes, and to give me ane answer the nixt Lordis day.

"July 16, 1643.—The quhilk day, the proposition quhilk I proponit concerning my sone, Mr William Row, quhat liberalitie the elderis wold bestow upon him for preaching the Gospell thir two yeiris bygon, considdering so desyrous as he was yit to continew in preaching the Gospell amang them. Every ane of the elderis particularlie told quhat they wald gif: viz. Richard Templeman said he wald give [payit to Mr William] twenty markis, and that presentlie; bot the rest thocht it best, till they myght also provyd, that it myght cum in together. Robert Creiche suld give twenty markis; Adame Bryce, [payit to Mr William,] twenty markis; William Lyndsay, [payit to me,] ten markis; Patrick Lyndsay, ten markis, [payit]; James Wilsone, ten markis.

"The 23 of July 1643.—This day I resolvit to see what the rest of the parichoneris wald bestow upon my sone, Mr William Row, because he had preached the Gospell to them thir two yeiris bypast, and wes myndit to continew yit withe them till God suld provyd him otherwayes. And being callit upon particularlie after the sermon befor noon, thay grantit to gif as followes, after that Androw Creiche had askit, If I wes myndit yeirlie to seik quhat thay wald gif? To the quhilk I answerit, that I wes to seik no yeirlie thing, bot quhat thay wald gif to him for tyme past. Androw Creiche said he wald gif ten markis befor Mertimes next, [payit]; Isbell Cunninghame, in the Blair, said shee wald gif twenty markis, [payit]; Elisabethe Row, my daughter, granted to gif forty markis, &c. [payit.]

"The names of thoise that were cryed upon quha compeirit, bot granted not to gif any thing till they resolvit better; and thoise that cam not, [&c.]

"The 27 of Agust 1643.—All this monethe I keipt the Generall Assemblie in Edinburgh, and was to get three libs. for my expenses in that tyme; quhilk I gat out of the box.

"The 24 of September 1643.—I advertised our people that every minister in Scotland wes desyrit to send out a fencible man to go in to England to withstand the violence of the Papistes armeis that wer myndit to invad us, and tak away the libertie of the gospell from us; and that this armie that the ministers suld send out suld be as it wer a guard to the Generall himself, quha resolvit to go withe them; and, thairfor, it wes expedient to get the best experimentit men for that gud erand that culd be gottin; quhairupon I resolvit to desyre James Dennestoun, our reider, quha had bein in England the yeiris befor, to be the man that I wald send out, and thairfor desyrit the Sessiones lieve to that effect, promising that I suld get him als gud a place as my moying myght reache to; and that his place to be reider and schoolmaster heir suld be keipit to him, if it suld please God that he suld returne to us, and embrace the sam. To the quhilk the Session consentit.

"The 1 of October 1643.—I intimat the communion to be gifine, God willing, the nixt Sabbathe day, the 8 of this instant. I warnit all quha suld resave toakines to cum in afternoon that thay myght get them.

"I appointit the nixt Fryday to our elderis to convein, that we might see if any of our people were at variance, that they myght be reconceiled. I warnit all to convein on Setterday nixt to the sermon of preparation at the ordinar tyme.

"I dischargit wemen to cover thair headis withe thair plaidis in tyme cuming in the kirk, telling them, that I suld reprove them opinlie, and a great penaltie suld be inflicted upon the disobeyaris;

quhilk I wald not expresse till I saw if this warning wald mak them obey, seing this evill favored forme wes dischargit in other congregations.

"15 October 1643.—The quhilk day the fast wes celebrat, and Mr William Oliphant helpit me, for my sone, Mr William Row, wes withe our Laird in Kirkcaldy.

"29 of October 1643.—The quhilk day, the Covenant agreit upon by the Generall Assemblie of Scotland that cam from England, sworne to and subscrived be the Parliament of England and town of London; and be all trew professors of the Protestant religion, wes opinlie redd and maid plain to our people; and thay war exhorted to prepare thameselfis to swear and subscryve the said Covenant the nixt Lordis day, withe great humilitie, and all godlie solemnities thairto requiseit.

"The 3 of November 1643.—We ministeris of the Presbitrye of Dunfermlyn haifing resolvit to interteny a burser at the New Colledge of St Androus, we stented what every kirk within the said Presbitrye suld pay, that he mycht be intertened. And Carnok was stentit to pay 3 libs., and thairfor Mr Jhone Livingstoun, present burser, cam to my house the day foirsaid, and receavit the said 3 libs.

"The 5 of November 1643.—The Covenant of thir three kingdoms, Scotland, England, and Irland, wes solemlie sworne to and subscryvit be the parichoneris of Carnok; and all that culd wreat subscryvit thair names in the book quhairin the printed Covenant was, and the rest of the parichoneris, that culd not subscryve themselfes, subscryvit be Jhone Anderson, notar-publik in Dunfermlyne, tuiching his pen with thair handis, as the use is, at the communion-table in the kirk of Carnok, as the book, quhilk is in my possession, will testifie. Quhilk action wes don verie solemlie, after I had taught the historie of Josuae's Covenant; Josua, 24 cap. fra the 14 verse to the 29; and then afternoon, my sone, Mr William, taught

vpon the 50 cap. of Jer., 4 and 5 verses. This day, also, Jhone Andersone, notar, gat 24s. for his pains.

"The 28 of February 1644.—We celebratit the fast, and because I culd get no helpe, my sone, Mr William, being long absent from me upon his tryell in the Presbitrye of Couper, I taught myselff bothe befor and afternoon, upon the 2d Psalme, and, blissit be God, our people convenit weill.

"The 24 of Merche 1644.—I told the elderis that the Provinciall Assemblie was drawing on, and thairfor desyrit to know if any elder wald keepe the said Assemblie, quhilk was to be holdin in St Andrews the 2 day of Apryll; but non wald consent to go, bothe because the journay was farr, and it wes the haitt of thair eat-seid, and I myself myght not travell so farr off.

"The 14 of Apryle 1644.—Because our Laird wes to remaine in Kirkaldy, and keipe house thair some weikes, so that we culd not stay the communion upon his dyett, I intimat the communion to be gifine the nixt Lordis day, the 21 of Apryle; and thairfoir after I had gifine our people thair toakines, and it was told me that thair wes great appeirance of variance betwix the elderis themselfes, I causit them all to swear that non of them had any invye or malice against otheris.

"May 1644.—I was absent two Sabbathes when I was sent for to viseit the old Laird of Balfor, quhen it wes reported that he wes not liklie to live, bot, blissit be God, I left him appirandlie in a better case then I fand him.

"The 9 of Junij 1644.—I advysit withe the session to begine our examinationes on Sonday afternoon, as the use was, bot I behoved to change the houre, because, when my sonne, Mr William Row, taught afternoon, I instantlie, after sermon, examined the people, bot now when I taught and preached befor noon my self, and for

fault of helpe behoved to not [note] upon a chapter afternoon, I culd not go immediatlie to the examination, bot behoved to rest me ane houre or two, and then see what strenthe the Lord wald furnise me to examin the people.

"The 1 day of July 1644.—Elizabeth Row, my daughter, told me that hir mother-in-law ordenit hir, after hir departure, to gif three doloris to sik godlie uses as I suld think meitt; and because our box could not affurd payment for Jhone Read, our reider and schoolmaisteris burd, quha gat his meat in my house, I reserved the sam till I suld see how his burd suld be payit at Lambes nixt, quhen his quarter ran out: [quhilk I allowit to the session after Lambes. *Vide* fol. 41.]

"The 28 of July 1644.—The quhilk day solemne thanksgiving wes gifine to God for this glorious victory obtened against the enemies of the gospell of Chryst, and for many other his benefittes bestowit upon ws, and I haifing no help, taught bothe befor and afternoon the 124th psalme; and then immediatlie after the first sermon, we gathered the people's contribution, publiklie to be gifine to the persones that wer desyrit to be helpit be the Provinciall Assemblie of Fyfe, extending to the sowm of 27 markes; quhereof Adame Bryce, our ruling elder, tuik in 5 lib. 10s., and delyverit the same to the Presbitrye. Bot because all the brethren had not thair contribution present, and because two of them that suld haif bein helpit misbehavit themselfes in the town of Cuper, in drinking wine, sek, and succour, till all wes spent quhilk thay gat, and misbehavit themselfes in Dunfermlyn the weik preceiding, the brethren wold gif them nothing till thay suld bring a testimoniall fra the Session of Couper that thay had not behaved them selfes thair as wes reported. See thir men's names, fol. 39, yit thay gat of our contribution without a testimoniall.

"The 4 of Agust 1644.—The quhilk day, after I had presentit the book of our Covenant to our Session, bund be Johne Andersone's

sone, I told them that I had boght ribbans to it, as the Covenant bookes of other congregations had, and that [I] also had causit bund in our old Covenant, that is, the Confession of Fayth, withe it. I causit Adame Bryce tak in 20s., that the nixt Presbitrye day Johne Anderson's sone myght be payit for his paines.

"The 11 of Agust 1644.—The quhilk day James Wilsone gat 13s. 4d. for a band to our Southe Kirk door, and a cleik to hold it up, that it reschut not to withe the wind.

"This day, also, I gat payment for Johne Readis burd, 16 markis, quhairof three doloris quhilk my daughter Elisabethe gef me, that hir mother-in-law left to the Session after hir death for godlie uses, and I gat a dolor out of the box; so I am payit for this quarter's burd, quhilk ran out at Lambes, or thairabout.

"*Item*, My wife gat sum peniworthes fra Nans Girson, quhilk shoe was aughten to the box, and after I had mad all my compt, I was auchtand 2s. to the box. [Payit.]

"The 25 of Agust 1644.—The quhilk day word wes amang the elderis quhen our communion myght be gifine, and I said that I wes looking for my sone, Mr Johne Row, minister at Aberdein, to cum southe over, and then I suld tell them quhen it myght be gifine.

"This day, also, Alexander Drommond and his wyf, being spoiled in Irland of all that they had, haifing their testimoniall fra Muthill, wes helpit according to our power. His wyf gat 10s.

"September 1644.—We keipt no session this day, because David Colvill, brother to the Laird of Cleische, cam befor noon, when we wes going to sermon, and after the psalme wes sung, told that the laird, his brother, had gottin advertisment from Sterling that the Lord Montrose, withe all the rebellis that wald cum to him, wes to cum presentlie to Stirling; and, thairfore, that all men betwix sixty and sixteen suld presentlie go withe the armes and furniture that they had towardis Stirling, under the paine of hanging. Quhairupon the people wer so moôved that we had no sermon. The

Setterday befor, at afternoon, Balbowgie, quha had the great charge of our laird, Edward Bruice, his affaires, now in his absence wreat a letter to me, to see if I culd name five men in Carnok quha myght be best spared to go out on Mononday nixt at 10 houris to merche towardis St Johnstoun, withe the nichtbouris that wold go withe them, to meitt the Malignantes that wer cuming against us. Bot quhen we sent to see how our people suld be armit, and quhair thay suld go, in end about five houris at nycht, after some swordis wer gottin out of Dunfermling, they all merchit towardis Kinrose that nyght. Lord be withe them all.

"The 8 of September 1644.—The 3 day of this monethe, Geils Donaldsone, spous to wmquhill Mr James Hammiltoun, a minister in Irland, who wes pitifullie murderit and cuttit in peices be the Erische rebellis, and had two bairnes brunt quick, and Geils hirself, at the sam tyme, was traveling, and borne out of the house quhen it wes burning, and baire hir bairne in the feildis, being naked, and had no clothes to cover hir withe, and knowing of the deathe of hir husband and children, becam distracted in hir wittes; and cuming to me with letteris fra my sone, Mr Jhone Row, minister at Aberdein, and Mr Robert Blair, minister at St Androwis, quha also intertened ane of hir living bairnes, because he wes acquentit with the bairnes father and mother; I gef hir 30s., quhilk I receavit this day out of the box agane.

"This day, also, many of our people that went to Couper, because of the strait warning that thay gat, cam bak agan, except six personis that wer taken over to Dundee to guard the town from Montrose his cuming in upon them.

"The 3 of November 1644.—The quhilk day the holie communion was celebrated, and thair was gathered to the poore and godlie uses, L.25, 12s. Quhereof gifine to Jhone Row for careying the wyne, 12s. *Item*, To our reider and schoolmaister to help him, 24s. *Item*, To Elspett Stewart for careying the communion bread, 4s. at this tyme. *Item*, To Jhone Wyld for dressing the kirk, and keeping the northe door, 6s. 8d. *Item*, To him also his

Mertimes vages, being bellman and beddell, 2 markis and a half; becaus he gat 2 markis and a half at Witsonday last, so nothing is auchten. *Item*, To Thom Dine, the criple man, 4s. *Item*, I gat two doloris, ane to be gifine to Jhone Auchinwalles, our clerk, another to be gifine to James Murray, clerk to the Generall Assemblie, for his bygon pains; quhilk two doloris and 10s. for the Actes of the Generall Assemblie, *anno* 1644, James Wilsone gat to be delyverit in our Presbitrye this nixt Wedensday, the 13th of November.

"The 10 of November 1644.—The quhilk day I intimat the nixt Sabbathe to be, God willing, a day of solemne thanksgiving throche all this kingdom for the victory obtened at the taking in of Newcastell, and other causes to be specified.

"On Wedinsday, the 13 of November, James Wilsone producit in the Presbytrye the tua doloris, quhairof ane was gifine to Jhone Auchinwallis. The ten s. [shillings] wes gifine for the Aetes of the Generall Assemblie, and the other dolor was thairof gifin onlie 20s. to James Murray, and I gat 40d. to pay for a pund and some unces of lead, quhairwithe I cust toakines to our people, and broght bak a 30s. peice to be put in the box again; quhilk was don.

"The 1 and 8 dayes of December 1644.—The day it wes so short, and I so diseasit, and verie litell to do in the ordinary session, that we mett not in the kirk, bot did any thing we had ado in my house; especiallie some persons we helpit with the ordinar collection.

"The 15 of December 1644.—We mett not in our Session, for on the Setterday preceiding thair wes suche fear of Montrose in Dunfermlyn that all nighbouris wer disturbit.

"The 22 of December 1644.—Knowing that the superstitious dayis of Yool was approching, and hearing that thair wes great preparation made for the keeping of it, in our nighbour parichon of Dunfermlyne, I warnit our people of the danger, and commendit them

that in yearis bypast they had keipt the act made be our Presbytrye *anno* 1640, beseiking them to fear God, and seing we haif made so many gud Covenantis withe our God, that we suld foirsaik our old erroris, and mend our lyfes, we myght keipe God his Sabbathe weill, and forsaik superstitious dayis invented be men.

"The 29 of December 1644.—This day also James Wilsone gat 4 lbs. to be gifine as he salbe directit the nixt Presbitrye day, quhilk was wont to be gifine for intertenement of the burser in the New Colledge of St Andrewes, and that for two yeiris bypast, because I complaned that we war put to ouer great a taxt befor. Thus Mr H[enrie] S[mith] was helpit at this tyme, because he had not yit a stipend provydit for him at the kirk of Baithe.

"The 9 of Merche 1645.—Because I wes not able to teache tuyes every Sabbathe day, and examin the people after the afternoon sermon, as I was wont to do befor, I advysit with the elderis quhat way the people suld be examined; and it was thocht best that I suld examin some upon the Sonday, especiallie suche servandis as wer maist employit in labour on the wark dayes, and otheris on Mononday and Thursday weiklie, about the noon-tyd of the day, and the persons to be examined to be warnit the Sabbathe preceiding.

"The 13 of July 1645.—The quhilk day I advertised the Session that I had gottin a letter fra thair Captane Prymrose, desyring me out of the pulpitt to warne all my parichoneris, betuix sixty and sixteen, to be in readines, and meitt him the morne be nine houris, to go out withe him withe six dayis provision to a randevouse to be at Kinrose; quhilk I refused to do, seing it wes no part of my calling, and I had bein innocentlie railit upoun and blasphemed; allead[g]ing that I had the wyt that otheris had gon out befor, quhom we thocht now to be slain and dead, in this last feght, the 2 day of July instant.

"The 21 of Sept. 1645.—Also because the plague of the pesti-

lence was spreading bothe in Dunfermlyne, and Culrose, and in Torriburne, and other partes neir ws, we causit keipe our kirk door with tuo or 3 elderis, that no stranger mycht cum to ws, except thay wer the better knowen; and opinlie dischargit strangeris to cum to ws till we suld see quhat helpe the Lord wald send.

"The 2 of November 1645.—The quhilk day I read in effect the Directory of publik Worshiping of God to our people, and that with great truble, being to teache agan at afternoon.

"The 14 of December 1645.—I being verie infirme, God sent my sone, Mr Robert Row, to teache for me, quha taught bothe befor and afternoon.

"The 5 of Februar 1646.—We ce[le]brated the fast, and I, haifing no helpe, taught our ordinar place of scripture, Revel. 14, fra the 9 verse to the 14 of the sam cap., mynding afterward to insist farther with Godis grace, being so meitt a place of scripture to expon to Godis people at suche a tyme. And then at afternoon, speaking to our elderis of many thingis, I told them of my great waiknes, and thay asking concerning the maner how the manse was biggit, I shew them, that thay mycht be witnesses thairto after my departing this lyff, if so it pleasit God to lett them outlive me, that I had warit mor then a thousand markis in bigging thir houses quhairin I remain, seing I got nothing quhen I cam heir bot peices of old wallis, and had biggit all that thay see upon my awin expenses, and yit my exequutouris are to get onlie 500 markis after my departure.

"The 22 of Februar 1646.—Seeing the presbitry was to meitt heir on Wedinsday nixt, and the brethrein wald mak the exercise, I desyrit our people to convein quhen the bellis suld be rung, to the hearing of Godis word.

"The 29 of Merche 1646.—I began this day to practise the or-

dour sett down in the Directorye for publict Worshipe; for my sone, Mr Robert Row, had practised it in this kirk the Sabbath befor, and besoght me to assey it, because many thocht that I had bein against that gud ordour. So I began and opined up the 1 cap. of Genesis, and mynd to hold on as God sall give me strenthe.

"The 3 of May 1646.—The quhilk day I intimat, as I myght, that Declaration against a laitt dangerous and seditious band, under a name of ane humble Remonstrance, &c., quhairin the plottes and projectes of the contryveris, leading to the violating and subversions of our Covenantes and other fearfull inconveniences, are discovered. And after that, I causit the schoolmaister read the Kingis proclamation, tending to the sam effect. Bot immediatlie after we cam out of the Kirk, because of my pitifull disease and waiknes, I behoved to tak me to my bedd, so that we neither had a sermon afternoon, neither did our elderis convein to tak ordour withe a great enormitie, quhairof I was informed, that some parichoneris of Torrie cam up on the Thursday preceiding, quhilk wes a day of humiliation, and did herit craw nestes within this congregation; quhilk I desyrit some of our elderis to try out that such a feirfull sine mycht be punished.

"The 17 of May 1646.—I began, in Godis gudnes, and preached again afternoon, being steyit to do so some Sondayis befor withe great paine; and intimat to our people that I was myndit to teache as I wes wont to doe before we gat the Directorie, to see if that wald doe me any gud.

"The 14 day of Junij 1646.—This day also I intimat that I wald, withe Godis grace, begin our examinations of our people, and that in the weik dayis I thought meitest that Tysday and Fryday suld be the particulare dayis, at ten hours befor noon, every day quhen the bell suld warne them: And becaus in former times thay convenit verie unorderlie, some dayis thay wold be ouer many, and some dayis ouer few, Thairfoir I think meitt now that every elder

sall haif a cair of his awin quarter, and cause sixteen or eighteen, or at the most twenty, persones to convein in one day; and that the elder of that quarter cum in himself, with thoise persons, to informe of thingis that I sall speir at him. We ordinarlie begin at Drumbethe, and at the under tennents in the southe syd of the burne.

" The 21 of Junij 1646.—Because our examinationes began not the weik preceiding as I looked, I intimat them to begine the incuming weik on Tysday and Fryday, and the elderis of every quarter to bring in so many withe them as was appointed every day.

" This day, also, it was reported that William Rose was fled out of the parichon, quhilk I desyrit the elder of that quarter to trye and report again."

The preceding extracts exhibit many characteristic traits of this worthy old minister in his declining years. It was the labours and influence of such men, not seeking after worldly preferments or distinctions, but affectionately watching over the flocks committed to their care, that rendered the Church of Scotland, notwithstanding the intolerant spirit of the age, so eminently useful; and it was the example and fidelity of men like-minded that served in after times to keep alive a spirit of religion in this country, not only amidst " the fiery trials" of persecution under prelatic tyranny, but in spite of the more fatal and deadening effects of Presbyterian " moderation," during the course of the century that followed.

Row's account of his own life must have been written, or at least revised, the same year in which he died, as he speaks of his " old dayes, being now 78 yeares old." He adds, " I teach twyse everie Sabbath day almost, when I think I have any strength;" and this mention of his public duties is confirmed by these extracts. On the 21st of June 1646, an entry, in his own hand, records his having intimated from the pulpit his purpose of re-

suming his catechetical examinations: but on the 28th of that month, his youngest son was called upon to officiate, and the same page contains this intimation, that his father, "MR JOHN ROW, *of worthy memorie, had departed this lyff.*" Thus was the prayer of the good old man fulfilled, being "faithful to the death." He died on the 26th of June 1646, and was interred in a burial-place appropriated to his family near the east end of his "little kirk of Carnock," where, for more than half a century, he had exercised his sacred functions as a minister; and a monumental stone, with a suitable inscription, was erected to his memory.

This church is now in ruins,[1] but the monument still exists, and some care, it is to be hoped, will be bestowed on its preservation. Having, in the course of last autumn, made a kind of pilgrimage thither, to compare the inscription as given at page 480, with the monument itself, I found that Mr Rowand, of the Theological Library, Edinburgh, in his great zeal to be serviceable in the present work, had a few days before taken an opportunity of visiting Carnock, in order to furnish an accurate copy of the epitaph;[2] and it is from his minute and careful sketches that the accompanying representation of the monument has been delineated. Some of the words are now scarcely legible, and the stone-cutter has, in one or two instances, committed a slight mistake in the orthography; but the inscription may be read as follows:—

[1] The walls of the church, in their present deserted and unroofed state, are still entire, and were probably built about the year 1500. According to Mr Rowand's measurements, the church in the inside is 40 feet 10 inches, by 17½ feet; and outside, 48 feet 2 inches, by 22½ feet. The Rev. Mr Gilston says that the old pulpit, mentioned in the foot-note to page xii., has been converted into an ecclesiastical chair and table for the communion elements, in the new church, preserving the pannels and carving, and that the bell also has been recast. Mr Gilston adds, that above the arch of the bridge of Carnock there are two stones containing inscriptions, one has MR · I · ROW : PASTOR · ANNO · D · 1638; and the other GEORGE · BRVCE · OF · CARNOK, all in raised letters. In the same foot-note, Sir George Bruce of Carnock is erroneously said to have been a Lord of Session.

[2] I was not aware at the time that the inscription had been accurately printed by Dr M'Crie, Life of Knox, vol. ii. p. 299.

בית
עולם
M
I
R
G
F
HERE · LYES · ADAM · STOB · E · OF · WEISTER · LUSCAR
BORN · 1620 · DIED · 1711 & MARGRAT · GIBBON · HIS · SPOUSE
GRAND · CHILD · TO · MR · IOHN · ROW · BORN · 1630 · DIED · 1670
HIC · IACET · M · IO · ROW · PASTOR · HVIVS · ECCL
ESIÆ · FIDELISS · VIXIT · ACERIMVS · VERITA
TIS · ET · FOEDERIS · SCOTICAN · ASSERTOR · HI
ERARCHIAS · PSEVDO · EPISCOPALIS · ET · ROM
ANORVM · RITVVM · CORDICITVS · OSOR · IN · FR
EQVENTI · SYMMYSTARVM · APOSTASIA · CV
BI · INSTAR · CONSTANTISS · DVXIT · CRISEL
IDEM · FERGVSSONAM · CVM · QVA · ANNIS · SI
CONIVNCTISSIME · VIXIT · HVIC · ECCLESIÆ ·
ANNIS · 34 · PRÆFVIT · OBIIT · IVNII 26 · ANNO
DOM · 1646 · ÆTATIS · 78 · OBIIT · ET
ILLA · IANVARII · 30 · 1659 ·

MONUMENT OF Mr JOHN ROW, MINISTER OF CARNOCK.

HIC JACET M. JO. ROW,

PASTOR HUJUS ECCLESIÆ FIDELISSIMUS : VIXIT ACERRIMUS VERITATIS ET FŒDERIS SCOTICANI ASSERTOR; HIERARCHIAS PSEUDO-EPISCOPALIS ET ROMANORUM RITUUM CORDICITUS OSOR; IN FREQUENTI SYMMISTARUM APOSTASIA CUBI INSTAR CONSTANTISSIMUS. DUXIT GRISELIDEM FERGUSSONAM, CUM QUA ANNIS 51 CONJUNCTISSIME VIXIT. HUIC ECCLESIÆ ANNIS 54 PRÆFUIT. OBIIT JUNII 26, ANNO DOM. 1646, ÆTATIS 78.

OBIIT ET ILLA JANUARII 30, 1659.

An epitaph on Row occurs in the " Memorials of the Family of Row," said to be taken from a genealogical MS. of James Greenshields. The lines possess no literary merit, but they may be quoted as a curiosity.

Though bald with age, and prest with weight,
In crooked times, this man went straight;
His pen kept hidd things in record,
For which the Prelats him abhorr'd:
And here Carnock, his little quarter,
For Canterbury he would not barter.

Grissel, wife of John Row, Minister of Carnock, with whom he lived so happily for the space of 51 years, survived till the 30th of January 1659, as appears from the date on her husband's monument. It has already been stated, that she was the daughter of David Fergusson, first Protestant minister of Dunfermline, who died 23d of August 1598. He was the author of a small tract, in Answer to Benedictus Renatus, printed at Edinburgh in the year 1563; and of " Ane Sermon preichit befoir the Regent and Nobilitie, in the Kirk of Leith, at the time of the General Assemblie, on Sonday the 13 of Januarie, anno Do. 1571," printed at St Andrews, 1572, small 8vo. This sermon, on the appropriation of tithes for the suitable maintenance of the ministers of the gospel, bears the following expressive testimony :—" John Knox, with my dead hand, but glad heart, praising God, that of his mercy he beirs

suche light to his Kirk in this desolation." Fergusson, says Spottiswood, was "a wise man, and a good preacher," and of "a jocund and pleasant disposition." He continued, however, to the last to be strongly opposed to episcopal rites and ceremonies, and to all innovations in church government. Among his papers were some collections for a History of the Church of Scotland, to which his son-in-law refers, as having been useful in the present work. He had also formed a collection of Scottish Proverbs, which was first printed in the year 1641, and has passed through many editions. That this collection was published by the minister of Carnock, has been conjectured, from similar terms being employed in speaking of the author, as occur in his History.[1]

[1] The following is the title and address prefixed to the original edition, which is of great rarity:—

"SCOTTISH PROVERBS Gathered together by DAVID FERGUSSON; sometime Minister at Dunfermline; And put *ordine Alphabetico* when he departed this life, Anno 1598. Edinburgh, printed by Robert Bryson, and are to be sold at his shop, at the signe of Jonah, 1641." 4to. 22 leaves.

"*The Printer to the merrie, judicious, and discreet Reader.*

"It is well known, that everie Nation hath the own Proverbs, and proverbiall speeches, yea, everie Shire, or part of a Nation, hath some proverbiall speeches, which others hath not: so that a man can hardlie gather together all such speeches, yet some are more inclined to such kinde of speeches than others. Therefore manie in this Realme, that hath heard of DAVID FERGUSSON, sometime Minister at Dunfermline, and of his quick answers and speeches, both to great persons, and others inferiours, and hath heard of his Proverbs, which hee gathered together in his time, and now are put downe according to the order of the Alphabet: and manie of all ranks of persons being verie desirous to have the saids Proverbs, I have thought good to put them to the presse, for thy better satisfaction. And because manie will say, that there are manie Proverbs which I have not set down, I have left a blanke at the end of every letter, that thou may supplie that want, as everie man thinks good: So shall I be blamelesse that could print no more then I received the copie of, and thou contented that may set down what Proverbs are inlacking in thy conceit. I know there may be some that will say and marvell that a Minister should have taken pains to gather such Proverbs together: but they that knew his forme of powerfull preaching the Word, and his ordinar talking, ever almost using proverbiall speeches, will not finde fault with this that hee hath done. And whereas there are some old Scottish words, not in use now, bear with that, because if ye alter those words, the Proverb will have no grace; And so recommending these Proverbs to thy good use, I bid thee farewell."

A few extracts from the Session-Book of Carnock, subsequent to the death of John Row, may be here introduced, as having some relation either to himself or his family. His successor as minister of Carnock was George Belfrage, who was admitted on the 2d of June 1647; and he continued in this charge till after the Restoration, but in July 1664 was deposed for non-conformity to Episcopacy.[1]

"June 28, [1646.]—My father, Mr JOHNE ROW, of worthie memory, being departed this lyf, I, his yongest sonne, Mr WILLIAM ROW, minister at Seres, did preache, and after sermonis did hold sessione.

"Androw Andersone and Elisabethe Row, daughter to Jhon Row,[2] compeired before the Sessione, and declared their purpose of mariage, and gave up their names for proclamatione, &c.

"I desired the elder that attended the Presbytrie to goe to the Presbytrie and desire ane Mr. [minister] to preache upon the Sabbathe day.

"16 August 1646.—The quholl Sessione being destitut of ane minister by the deathe of Mr JHONE ROWE, of worthie memorie, hes resolved to drawe up ane supplicatione for Mr James Hakstone to the Presbetrie aganes the nixt day of the Presbetyrie at Orrowell, and appointis Adame Bryce to present the same to the Presbetrie, and to bring back ther answer; and let the supplicatione be subscribed ather by ther awne handes, or then by ane clark.

"March 21, 1647.—The quhilk day Mr JHONE ROW, minister of Aberdene, haveing preached before and afternoone, after both keeped a session, and after incalling on the Lord's name, called for their referres, &c.

"The quhilk day Adam Stobie, younger, gave in his pledge

[1] Records of the Synod of Fife, p. 181. Edinb. 1837. 4to.

[2] This was evidently the John Row who received a gratuity for assistance in furnishing the communion elements, and not as one of the minister's family.

twa dolers at 5 lib. 10s., being contracted in mariage with Margarit Gibbone, daughter to umquhill William Gibbone, indweller in Banhaird, and Elizabeth Row.[1] Adam Bryce became caution for the man, Richard Templeman for the woman, that they suld performe the band of mariage within the ordinarie tyme, and, in mean tyme, abstaine and not live scandalouslie.

"Junij 20, 1647.—The Kirk Registers wer produced, viz., the Covenant, a Declaration, the Acts of the Generall Assemblie, [&c. 1638 to 1645.] The old Sessione-Booke was a-misseing.

"Dec. 10, 1648.—*Eodem die*, as was ordainit, Mr George Baverage, minister, read the Covenant, ane Act of the Generall Assemblie, ane Act of the Estates, and the publict confession of sinnes.

"Dec. 14, 1648.—The fast was solemnlie kept this day.

"Dec. 17, 1648.—The quhilk day the Solemne League and Covenant was renewit and suorne, and the publict confession of sin was read over againe. The fast was lykwise solemnlie kept this day.

"Dec. 5, 1650.—Mr Robert Row, minister at Abercorne, had a sone baptized, called Robert. Witnesses—Sir Robert Drummond, Sir James Lumsdaill younger, and Alexander Bruce.

"At Dunfermline, 9th July 1651. Seen and examined,
"W. DALGLEISCHE, *Clerk to the Presbitrie.*"

[1] According to a monumental stone in the churchyard of Carnock, Andrew Gibbon, burgess and gild brother of Dunfermline, was born in Carnock, and died there 9th December 1624: his age 52. Another inscription states, that William Gibbon, sometime husband to Elizabeth Row, departed this life the 21st day of May, anno 1639: his age 38. Their daughter, Margaret Gibbon, as mentioned above, was married to Adam Stobie of Wester Luscar, (a property in the neighbourhood of Carnock,) and he was interred in the burial-place of the Rows, in 1670, as the two lines upon the monument of John Row, minister of Carnock, somewhat obtrusively record.

NOTICES RESPECTING THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF JOHN ROW, PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN.

JOHN ROW was the second son of the minister of Carnock, and was born in that parish about the year 1598. He completed his studies at the University of St Andrews, and took his degree of Master of Arts in St Leonard's College in July 1617. Soon after this he was chosen master of the Grammar School of Kirkaldy. Whether he continued in that situation till his similar appointment at Perth, is somewhat doubtful; as he appears to have been for some time preceptor to George, son of the first Earl of Kinnoul, Lord Chancellor of Scotland. The following lines prefixed, in 1626, to a Latin poem by Robert Fairley, entitled, "Horologium Automatum," may, without much hesitation, be ascribed to the younger Row:—

AD ROBERTUM FAIRLÆUM AUTHOREM.

Viribus Vranies cœlum deducis et astra
In terras, vasti das simulacra poli;
Ambitu et horologi concludis mœnia mundi,
Quisque manu totum nunc teneatque polum.
Præmia larga; solum linquendo scandis Olympum,
Famæ quam par est arctior orbis erit.

IOHANNES ROW.

Upon the recommendation of the first Lord Kinnoul, Row was, in June 1632, appointed master of the Grammar School of

Perth, at that time considered to be "the most flourishing school in this nation." His appointment was at first strongly objected to, as we learn from the following notice in a contemporary Chronicle:—"In June 1632, Mr John Row wes admitted master of the Grammer Scole be the Provest, Baillies, and Counsale, without consent or woatt (vote) of ony utheris; quha affixit ane edict and declaratioun in Latine, ane oration, *De Lingua, de Sermone.* The Ministeris and Presbyterie prest to have tryed him, but we would not admit it; for the quhilk there wes much outcrying in the pulpitt."[1] In the Rev. James Scott's Extracts from the Council and Session Registers of Perth,[2] we find the following minutes in reference to this appointment.

Presbytery Register, May 23, 1632.—"Whilk day the ministers of Perth expone and shew to the brethren that the town of Perth had made nomination and agreement with a schoolmaster, not acknowledging them, nor seeking their consent, contrary to the custom of this Burgh, the Acts of General Assembly and Parliament committing the tryal of such men their religion and qualification to the Church. The brethren think that they (the town) have done what in them lay to prejudge the Kirk of her liberty, and to bring in all kind of confusion and misorder. Therefore, this is to be advised on as occasion shall serve."

Presbytery Register, August 15, 1632.—"Whilk day the ministers of Perth report, that, on Monday last, Mr John Row, master of the Grammar School of Perth, acknowleged his oversight in entering to the said school without being tried by them, conform to the Acts of General Assembly and Parliament; and in presence of the Bishop of Dunkeld, and divers others of the Council of the said Burgh, offered himself to tryall if it were their pleasure, of which offer they (the ministers of Perth) rested contented, and therefore overpassed all tryalls because of the divers testimonies they had received of his qualification and sufficiency; whereupon

[1] Chronicle of Perth, edited by James Maidment, Esq., p. 33. Edinb. 1831, 4to.

[2] Scott's MSS. in the Advocates Library.

they went immediately to the Grammar School of the said Burgh, being accompanied with the Bishop of Dunkeld as Moderator of the Presbytery, and certain others of the Council of the Burgh foresaid; and there, having publickly admonished the said Mr John of his duty in all respects, and diligent awaiting and instructing of the bairns in literature and manners according to his calling, and mutually the bairns duty towards him as their master, did accept him by the hand and authorised him, which the brethren hearing were well contented of.

"The said Mr John also compearing this day personally by himself, the whole brethren, in token of their approbation, take him by the hand likewise *Valete et Plaudite, Valete et Plaudite.*"

Session Register, August 17, 1632.—"Mr John Row was duly admitted by the Ministers, Provost, and Baillies, to be master of the Grammar School, with all their favours and good wills, as the ministers this day reported."

Session Register, September 10, 1632.—"Compeared Mr John Row, master of the Grammar School at Perth, declaring that before now he was present at the Council desiring the contract betwixt their wisdoms and him with advice of the Session to be perfected. Whereunto the Session answered, that they would say nothing to that matter untill they got inspection of the contract past betwixt the Council and umquhil Mr John Dorward, schoolmaster. If the last be conformed to it, they will consent thereto. The Session desired the same contract to be produced before them the morrow, and ordain the haill elders then to be present."

Row's success, however, as a teacher, would have speedily removed any such opposition; but we find that in the following year his refusal to communicate in the parish church, and having left the church, followed by all his scholars, when the communion was about to be dispensed, occasioned him more trouble.

May 6, 1633.—"Conform to citation, compeared Mr John Row, master of the Grammar School of Perth, who being demanded, what was the cause why he did not communicate with the rest of

the parish the time of the celebration of the Communion last, answered, That this twenty year he had been communicating, and did not communicate where the institution by Christ was altered in any jote; and the cause why he did not communicate with us was, because the institution was altered by us."

His brother, Robert Row, who seems to have been one of his assistants in the school, was also summoned before the Kirk-Session and Presbytery for non-communicating. The proceedings that took place are too long to be here detailed; but after many meetings, John Row, on the 11th of September 1633, referred himself to the will of the Presbytery, and promised, that in future he should communicate with the congregation of Perth.

While at Perth, Row continued to instruct his scholars in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and having a kind of hereditary partiality for the Hebrew, he compiled a Grammar of that language, which received the approbation of the faculty of St Leonard's College, St Andrews, and of Alexander Henderson; along with commendatory verses from Samuel Rutherford, Principal Adamson, and James Guthrie. He inscribed the work, in July 1637, to his former pupil, who had succeeded to the title of Earl of Kinnoul.

The changes in the Church, upon the extirpation of prelatic government, induced Row to qualify himself for the ministry; and, in 1641, through the influence of Andrew Cant, he was elected Minister of St Nicholas Church, Aberdeen. The following extracts from the Council Records of that city, in reference to Row's appointment, have been kindly furnished (with other information respecting him) by Joseph Robertson, Esq., an intelligent antiquary, and author of a curious and interesting work, entitled, "The Book of Bon-Acord; or, a Guide to the City of Aberdeen."

Decimo die mensis Novembris 1641.—"The said day the Provest, bailyeis, and counsell, being convenit in the Toune's counsell-hous, and haveand consideratioun that, wpoun the report maid to thame of the worth and habiliteis of Mr JOHNE ROW, scollmaster in Perthe,

to be ane pastor in the Kirk of God, they had writin for him to repair to this brughe, that he might be hard preacheing in our pulpitis; and he accordinglie repairing hether, and have preachit thrie severall tymes, and givin content to the auditouris, Thairfoir, &c. &c. they maid nomination of the said Mr Johne Row to be ane of the Ministers of the said brughe, actuallie to supplie and fill ane of the wacand roumes of the ministerie thairof: the Toune alwayes giving thair consent and allowance thairunto; for whilk effect they ar ordainit to be warnit be the drume to convein the morne in the tolbuith, immediatlie efter the reiding of the sermone, and lykwayis to be desyrit out of pulpeit to conveine tyme and place forsaid," &c.

Vndecimo Novembris 1641.—"The Toun being convenit,—the Provest, &c. &c. (repeit the foregoing minute;)—and thairfoir requyrit of the Toun, convenit as said is, iff they have any just exceptioun aganeis the said Mr Johne, aither in his lyf or doctrin, why he ocht not to be thair minister. Quha, for the most pairt, consentit and agreit that he be put to his tryellis and presentit to the presbitrie of Aberdein, for that effect, and being found qualifeit be thame, that he be admittit ane of the ministers of this brughe, actuallie to supplie ane of the wacand roumes in thair ministrie."—(*Aberdeen Council Register*, vol. iii. part i. pp. 683, 684, 685.)

10*th December* 1641.—The Presbytery having found Row qualified, the town consents that he be admitted to the ministry of the burgh, and a note of his admission follows:—

"The fourtent day of December 1641, the said Mr Johne Rowe was admittit ane of the ministerie of this brught, and got impositioun of handis be the moderatour and brethrene of the Presbitrie of Aberdeene, in presence of the haill congregatioun, immediatlie after sermone maid in the Old Kirk be Mr David Lindsay, moderatour."—(*Ib.* p. 691.)

Vigesimo tertio Novembris 1642.—"The same day the Provest, baillies, and counsell, thinks it meit and expedient that ane Ebro

lesson be teachit weiklie in the Colledge of this burgh, till Lambmis nixt, and ordanes Patrik Leslie, Provest, and Doctor Patrik Dune, Principall of the said Colledge, to deall with Mr Johne Row, ane of the toune's ministers, for that effect."—(*Ib.* p. 771.)

15 *Martij* 1643.—"The quhilk day the Provest, baillies, and counsell, considering the great paneis and travells that the toune's ministers, Mr Andro Cant, Mr John Oswald, and Mr John Row, does daylie vndergo in the dischairge of their ministeriall functioun, by teaching ilk ane of them twise everie weik in the pulpits of this burghe, catechiseing of the people, administration of the sacraments, conform to their contracts, as also their extraordinarie paines in their weiklie catechiseing and visitation of the several families of this burgh, and dischairge of all other pastorall deuties: and, besyds these, that the saids ministers doe voluntarly expon everie ane of them ane portion of Scriptur, for the space of half ane hour ilk other night, in place of reiding of the Commoun Prayers, quhilk wes never in vse within this burghe of befoir, to the great contentment and joy of all the people: and yit, nevertheles, their ordinar stipend allottit to them is no moir bot ane thousand merks monie, with ane hundreth merkis of housmaill, and ane chelder of coallis to everie ane of them, as their predicessors hade befoir, who hade not the lyk paines. Quhairthrow, &c. &c. Thairfoir they heirby declair that the saidis Mr Andro Cant, Mr John Oswald, and Mr John Row, sall have, ilk ane of them, yeirlie, in tyme comeing, dureing their continuance in the ministerie at the said burghe, the soume of nyne hundreth punds Scotis money of stipend, and ane hundreth pundis to ilk ane of them for their housmaill, with ane chalder of coallis, as they ar in vse, making in all the soume of ane thousand pundis to be payit," &c.—(*Ib.* pp. 783, 784.)

20 *September* 1643.—"The said day the Counsell considering the panes taken be Mr John Row, in teeching the Hebrew tongue, and for setting furth ane Hebrew Dictionar, and dedicating the same to the Counsell, ordanes Thomas Burnet, thesaurar, to deliuer to

the said Mr John Row, for his panes, four hundreth merks Scots money, quhilk sall be alowit to him in his comptis."—(*Ib.* p. 801.)

The Hebrew Dictionary (or more correctly Vocabulary) mentioned in the last minute, for which Row received this gratuity of 400 marks, is dedicated to Patrick Leslie, Provost, and the Bailies and Council of Aberdeen, on the 4th of January 1643, and he mentions his Hebrew Grammar as being in the press, and calculated greatly to facilitate the study of the language.[1] The two works appeared together in one little volume in 1644, being the first work of the kind ever printed in Scotland. Row's Grammar is entitled, "HEBRÆÆ LINGUÆ INSTITUTIONES compendiosissimæ et facillimæ, in Discipulorum gratiam primum concinnatæ, nunc vero in Juventutis ubique studiosæ, et eorum præcipue gratiam, qui Theologiæ sacrosanctæ navant operam, in lucem editæ, a M. IOA. ROW, tunc Moderatore Scholæ Perthanæ, nunc vero Ecclesiæ Aberdonensis Pastore. Glasguæ; excudebat Georgius Andersonus, anno partus Salutiferi 1644." 12mo. The title of the Vocabulary is as follows:—"ΧΙΛΙΑΣ HEBRAICA : seu Vocabularium, continens præcipuas radices Linguæ Hebrææ, numero 1000. Cui accessit Index alphabeticus Propriorum, &c. supra 1200. Item, Rudimenta Pietatis Hebraice descripta cum interpretatione. A M. IOA. ROW, Pastore Ecclesiæ ABDNS. Glasguæ, excudebat Georgius Andersonus, anno Christogonias 1644." 12mo.[2]

In 1646 the General Assembly had passed an act recommending the work to general use; and at the Synod of Fife, 8th October 1646,—"There was a letter given in by Mr John Row, minister at Aberdeen, declaring that the Generall Assemblie did recommend

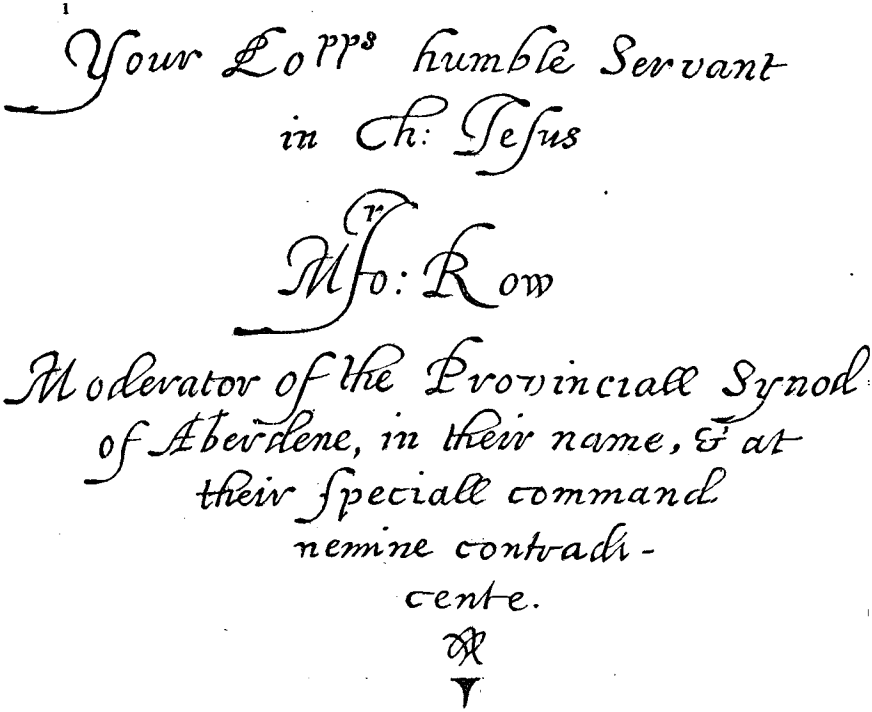
[1] "Quod si Grammaticam nostram viro nobilissimo D. Georgio Hayo, Comiti à Kinnoul, &c., ante sex annos dicatam (cujus jam nunc editionem adornamus) typis excusam haberemus, quando dictare et exarare præsertim characteras exoticos, multum terat temporis, celeriorem progressum et uberiorem proventum (ex ungue leonem) in proclivi erit, non sine causa, sperare, expectare."

[2] It has been repeatedly stated that Row's Grammar was first printed in 1634; but no such edition exists. An edition of this Grammar was printed at Amsterdam, "apud Jannsonium, 1649," 12mo.

that his Hebrew Grammar should be received and perused for the increase of the first language. The Assemblie thairfoir appoints Mr Patrick Gillespie, minister at Kirkaldie, to signifie unto the said Mr John quhat number of these books he shall send, that everie minister within the province may have one of them for his use."

Row continued to take an active share in all the transactions of that stirring period; and, being "a prime Covenanter," he consequently rendered himself obnoxious to the Royalist or Malignant party in Aberdeen; and on one occasion he had to seek shelter in Dunnotar Castle. He was Moderator of the Provincial Synod in 1644, and again in 1648, when, in the name of the Synod, he wrote the Supplication to Parliament, which is printed in the Appendix to this volume. The original is in his own peculiarly neat and distinct hand, of which a fac-simile is here subjoined.[1]

[1]



In the year 1650, Row transcribed the revised copy of his Father's History of the Kirk; and added from his own notes a short Supplement, bringing the work down to July 1639. This he quaintly styles, "A Handful of Goat's Hair, for furthering of the Building of the Tabernacle." A passage in the Presbytery Records of Aberdeen, 1652, seems to indicate his intention of composing the History of the Times.

When Cromwell's forces had obtained the entire supremacy in this country, English Judges and Sequestrators were, by a commission from the Parliament of England, appointed for visiting the several Universities, as well as for ejecting ministers and supplying vacant benefices. In 1652, five of the commissioners came to Aberdeen, Colonels Fenwick, Desborough, Judges Moseley, Owen, and Smith, and having dispossessed Dr Guild from the principality of King's College, they bestowed the office on John Row. At this time Row was inclined to Independency; and it was reported that he had turned an Anabaptist.[1] This report he contradicts in a letter written to his brother, 27th May 1652, which is inserted in the Appendix. Another letter, dated 24th May, he signs jointly with Alexander Jaffray, provost of Aberdeen, (who afterwards turned Quaker,) John Menzies, William Moore, and Andrew Birnie. It is addressed to Warriston and several ministers, and is referred to in Wood's Examination of Lockyer's little treatise on Independency.[2] In connection with these letters, the following notices of Principal Row[3] may be given from the first volume of the Synod Registers of Aberdeen, found in the repositories of King's College, and restored to the Synod on the 10th April 1839. It

[1] See Lamont's Chronicle of Fife, p. 58. In September 1652, he says the English Commissioners proceeded from St Andrews to Aberdeen, and established Row in his office as Principal. "The said Mr Jhone, (he adds,) with Mr Menzies, not long before, had turned Anabaptists, and did refuse to baptize infants at all." This report may possibly have originated in the incident recorded by Spalding in November 1643, (vol. ii. p. 172.)

[2] This Letter is inserted in the Diary of Alexander Jaffray, published by John Barclay, p. 193. Lond. 1833, 8vo.

[3] Communicated by the Rev. Alexander Taylor, minister of Leochel and Cushnie, through Joseph Robertson, Esq

extends from the 21st October 1651 to 19th April 1660, and contains the proceedings of fifteen meetings. In the first page the name of John Row occurs in the roll of ministers, as the colleague of Andrew Cant, and one of the ministers of Aberdeen.

"October 21, 1651.—The Moderator inquired whether any instructions had been brought in to Mr John Row for furthering the History of the Times, but it was found there could be no report anent the History of the Times, in respect of John Row's absence, to whom the instructions should have been given.

"April 23, 1652.—Overtures were presented by Mr John Row, that each Presbytery and each minister be careful to revise the Acts of General Assemblies, and other things ordered by our Reformers, in relation to—1*st*, Ministers of the Gospel, what qualifications and carriage are required in them; 2*d*, Elders and Deacons; 3*d*, Public penitents, admitting to repentance public and their absolution; 4*th*, The Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; 5*th*, What qualifications are required in a constituent member of a visible kirk of Jesus Christ.

"June 30, 1652.—Mr John Row, John Menzies, Professor of Divinity in the New College of Aberdeen, and John Seaton, minister at Old Aberdeen, gave in a paper regarding the constitution and government of the church, (which was condemned by the Assembly Provincial,) as contrary to the Word of God, the Covenants, and the judgment of the General Assemblies of the Kirk.

"Oct. 21, 1652.—Anent the processing of Mr John Row, John Menzies, and John Seaton, ministers in Old Aberdeen, who have separated themselves from the discipline and government of this Kirk to Independency, the Assembly find it convenient, before entering into any strict course against them, that some brethren be appointed to confer with them, and see what hope there is of their returning to the bosom of the church; and accordingly appoint Mr David Lyndesay, (Belhelvie,) William Douglas, (Professor of

Divinity, King's College,) William Strachan, (St Machar, or Old Aberdeen,) and Robert Keith, (Deer,) to confer and report.

"Oct. 22, 1652.—Anent Mr John Row, John Menzies, and John Seaton, the brethren report, that John Row is out of town, and that they had conferred with John Menzies, and found him in the same mind as at last Assembly; and therefore the Assembly refers the said three brethren to the Presbytery of Aberdeen, to be dealt with and proceeded against according to the Acts of the General Assembly, from which dissented Mr James Chalmers, (Cullen.)"

It is generally admitted that Row filled the chair as Principal with much credit. He maintained strict discipline, and added to the buildings of the College, while his learning increased the reputation of the University. "In his time, *anno* 1657, was laid the foundation of the new work in the north-east corner of the Colledge, of six stories high, consisting of twenty-four chambers, with chimneys and conveniences, a school, and a billiard-house. The money that built it was given by the masters, and other well-disposed persons, whose names are written in a Register called *Album Amicorum Collegii Regii Aberdoniensis.*"[1]

"December 1, 1658.—The said day the Counsell tacking to consideratioun the long vacancie of the ministrie within this burgh, efter ane competent list of certane able preachers, they did mack nominatioun and electioun of Master John Patersoun, minister at Ellone, and Master Georg Meldrum, one of the Regents of the New Colledge in this burghe, to be tuo of the ministers of the samen for supplieing the tuo places therein of the ministrie vacand be the transplantatione of Mr John Row to the Principalitie of the Colledge of Old Aberdein, and of Master John Meynges to the professioun of Theologie within this burgh, and appointit the toune

[1] Middleton's Appendix to the History of the Church of Scotland, p. 40. Lond. 1677, 4to. The same words are repeated in "*Scotiæ Indiculum*, or the Present State of Scotland," p. 228. Lond. 1682, 12mo, and likewise in Orem's Description of Aberdeen.

to be conveenit the nynt of this instant, being Thursday, in the efternoone, and thir presentis to be intimat to them that they may consent therto, and therefter all other things necessar to be gone about in due and competent maner."—(Aberdeen Council Register, vol. liv. p. 3.)

In the year 1651 Row compiled a short treatise, entitled "Praxis Præceptorum Hebrææ Grammaticæ," which he inscribed to David Dickson and Robert Baillie, respectively Professors of Divinity in the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow.[1] It includes the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Decalogue, and the first two Psalms, and was probably only circulated in MS. A copy, in the author's own hand, bears on the title, "Abredææ, exarabat J. R. [Johannes Row], in usum M. G. M., anno Christogonias 1668." Had this treatise been printed, it is not to be supposed that Row would have spent any time in transcribing it.

According to the notice of Principal Row, contained in Chambers's Biographical Dictionary, and in the Maitland Club edition of Row's History, he must have been in London, and preached a thanksgiving sermon before the Parliament, in St Peter's church, Westminster, in October 1656; but John Rowe who preached the sermon in question was a different individual.[2] Three years later,

[1] See a copy of this dedication in Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. i. p. lxvi.

[2] John Rowe, an eminent Independent minister in London, and author of various works, was the son of John Rowe of Crediton, in Devonshire, and was born there in 1625. He first entered as a student in New Inn, Oxford, then spent some time at Cambridge, but, returning to Oxford, he was incorporated as Master of Arts in December 1648. He was appointed to a lecturership at Witney, in Oxfordshire; and, upon the occasion of the floor of a room falling in, during some theatrical exhibition, he preached a discourse, which was printed under the title of "Tragi-Comedia; a Relation of the strange and wonderful Hand of God discovered at Witney, in the Comedy acted there on the 3d of February 1652." Oxford, 1653, 4to. He removed to London, and part of the Abbey church of St Peter, Westminster, was allotted as a meeting-house to his congregation; and on the 8th of October 1656, a day appointed for a public thanksgiving, he preached before Parliament the sermon which has been incorrectly attributed to Principal Row of Aberdeen. The title is, "Man's Duty in Magnifying God's Work, discovered in a Sermon preached before the Parliament, October 8, 1656. Being appointed as a day of publick thanksgiving, for a great Victory obtained by a part of the Navy belonging unto this Commonwealth, against the Spanish Fleet, in its return from the West Indies. By JOHN

William Douglas, Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen, published a tract, of which Robert Baillie, writing to the author, May 23, 1660, says, "As for your sermon, (before the Provincial Synod of Aberdeen,) I send you no censure upon it, for I was so offended with your former book, before which the glorious name of your Principall, Mr Row, did so magnificently stand, and your very idle and false gloriation of whole two hundreth year, and above, antiquitie before St Andrews and us, (Glasgow,) that I have not read any of your writs in patience since," &c.[1] The tract in question is an academical Oration, entitled "Academiarum Vindiciæ, in quibus Novantium præjudicia contra Academias etiam Reformatas averruncantur, earundemque Institutio recta proponitur."[2] In the dedication, "D. Johanni Row, Gymnasiarchæ fidelissimo," and the several professors, "fratribus et Collegis mihi perpetim colendis," in King's College, he asserts the antiquity of the University of Aberdeen as having been founded by Alexander the Second and his sister Isabella, in the year 1240.

The only known work which the Principal subsequently published is one that certainly exposed him to the charge of being a time-serving politician. It is a panegyrical poem addressed to Charles the Second on his Restoration. The title is, "ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. (*Te pia dum placido vultu*, &c. 10 lines.) Aberdoniis, excudebat Jacobus Brunus, Urbis et Universitatis Typotheta, 1660." A second title bears, "Junij 14 die Jovis 1660. ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. Ad Illustrissimum Monarcham CAROLUM II. Dei gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ

ROWE, Preacher of the Word, at the Abbey Church in Westminster." Lond. 1656, 4to. After the Restoration Rowe opened a meeting-house in the city. His chief works, besides an account of the Life and Death of his Father, John Rowe of Crediton, are two volumes, entitled "The Saints' Temptations, &c. in several Sermons." Lond. 1675, 8vo; and "Emanuel, or the Love of Christ." Lond. 1680, 8vo. This last was posthumous, as he died in London the 12th of October 1677, in his 52d year. See Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, by Dr Bliss, vol. iii. pp. 1128–1130, and Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. pp. 108, 109.

[1] Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii. p. 403.

[2] The imprint is, "Aberdoniæ, excudebat Iacobus Brunus, Urbis et Acad. Typographus, anno Dom. 1659." 4to.

Regem, Fidei catholicæ, Apostolicæ et orthodoxæ Defensorem; post duodecenale exilium triste nimis, in patriam, et ad Paternum et Avitum redeuntem thronum, &c. CARMEN: quod Mag. JOANNES ROW, Principalis Collegii Regii Aberdonensis, in Universitate Carolina Theologiæ et Hebrææ Linguæ ibidem Professor, lætus, laudans, gratulans, solans, hortans, suadens, supplicans, et precans cecinit." 4to, 6 leaves.

Row might have consistently expressed his abhorrence of the murder of Charles the First, and his exultation at his son's return after twelve years of a most inglorious exile; but his reproach of Cromwell came at least with a bad grace from one who, if not actually advanced by the Protector, had heartily joined the English faction at that time. The following lines occur in this panegryric of Charles.

> Atrox[1] occidit REGEM, Rex occidit almus:
> Inde thronum et cunctos reditus possedit avarus,
> *Trux vilis vermis*, CROMWELLIUS,[2] alter Ahabus:
> Non Baasha aut Zimri dominos Regesque necare
> Audentes solidam pacem tenuere maligni.

But Row's expressions of loyalty availed him little, as, finding himself liable to be dispossessed of his principality, he resigned the office, and having recourse to his original occupation, he opened a private school in New Aberdeen, living for some time on the scanty emoluments derived from this source. The information we possess respecting him in his latter days is not very satisfactory. It chiefly rests on the authority of William Orem, town-clerk of Old Aberdeen, who compiled, in the years 1724 and 1725, "A Description of the Chanonry, Cathedral, and King's College, Aberdeen." His account is to the following purport:— "Principal Row was a man who was well seen in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and had great authority in the College;

[1] I Reg. 21, 10.

[2] *Oliver Cromwell*, Anag. *O vile cruel worm.*

but, *anno* 1661, he dimitted his charge after King Charles II.'s restoration. For he was a Covenanter, and had written some things in his books against the Royal Family; which books were taken out of the College, and tied to the Cross of Aberdeen, and burnt by the hand of the hangman. Thereafter he went to New Aberdeen, and took up a private school; for he had laid nothing up to maintain himself when he was out of place, and therefore lived by keeping the said school, and for the most part by charity. At last he went to Kineller, and staid with Mr John Mercer, his son-in-law, and daughter; where at last he died, and was interred at the west-end of the church of Kinellar, in the church-yard."[1]

It is not unworthy of notice, that Row, out of regard to his native parish, appropriated the sum of 100 merks, the interest of which was to serve as an addition to the schoolmaster's salary. This sum was very inconsiderable, but, if Orem's account be correct, it is evident that Row could not have had much at his disposal. The following is a copy of the paper, indorsed "Mr Johne Row his mortification of Ic. merks, 10 December 1663," from the original, communicated by the Rev. William Gilston:—

"Be it known to all whom these presents doeth or may concern, me, Mr John Row, late Principall of the King's Colledge of Aberdene, calling to mynd the place of my birth, and first initiating in letters, to have mortified, like as by thir presents I do mortifie (*donando ad manum mortuam*) the sowm of an hundreth merks Scottish money, for the use of the Schoolmaster of Carnok, in Fyffe, within the presbyterie of Dunfermline, that the yearly and tearmly annuel rent of the said hundreth merks money foresaid may be duely paid to the schoolmaster there: And in consideration of the present incumbent, Mr James Hutton, and his wife, Grisell Tullideff, my neece, I ordaine the yearly and termly annuel rent of the foresaid hundreth merks to be paid duely to the said Mr James Hutton and his said wife, and to the longest liver of them two

[1] Page 164, edit. 1782, 4to, (in Nichols's Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, No. III.); page 178, edit. 1791, 12mo.

whill he is there schoolmaster at Carnok, or where ever else he shall happen to be, and after the death of them two, that the annuel rent of the foresaid hundreth merks return to the use of the Schoolmaster of Carnok incumbent at that tyme, and to his successores schoolmasteris in Carnok above said, for all time coming: And ordains this present Mortification to be registrat duely in the Session book of Carnok, or any other register of this kingdome; that Mr James Hutton may have a just extract thereof for his own and his wyfe's use dureing their lifetymes. In witness quhairof, I have both written and subscrivit thir presents with my own hand, at Aberdene, the tenth day of December, in the yeare I^{m}.VI^{c}. three score and three.

"M. Jo. Row."

The year of Principal Row's death has not been ascertained; but this event probably took place about the year 1672. He was alive in 1668, as appears from the MS. copy of his Praxis previously mentioned. His son-in-law, John Mercer, was minister of Kinellar, about eight miles from Aberdeen; and from inquiries obligingly instituted by Mr Robertson, it appears that the parochial registers from 1661 to 1675, (being the latter period of Mercer's incumbency,) which might have thrown some light on this point, are not preserved. Neither has any monument to Principal Row been discovered in that place.

It may be proper to add a few words respecting WILLIAM ROW, youngest son of the minister of Carnock, inasmuch as his name is connected with his Father's work. He was probably born about the year 1612. Having finished his studies at one of the Universities, his name first occurs in 1634 as employed by his brother John as an assistant master in the Grammar School of Perth.

August 4, 1634.—"Mr John Row, master of the grammar school, declaring that his brother (William) had passed his course in the College, and is come now to this town; and that he would

not suffer him to enter to the School untill he were licentiate thereto by the Session, and provided to the duty of an second Doctor for help to his entertainment; the Session continues their answer thereanent till they be better resolved."

Same date.—"The Session provides Mr William Row, second Doctor of the grammar school, to be answered yearly in time coming, during his remaining Doctor at the said school, of fifty merks money, to be paid forth of the Hospital's rent for the Session's part only, to be paid either quarterly or termely, as he beis needful and requires."[1]

Like his brother, William Row resolved on devoting himself to the ministry; and the preceding extracts from the Kirk-Session book of Carnock shew that he had been employed as his father's assistant during the years 1642 and 1643. In the following year he was admitted minister of Ceres, in Fife, where he continued for twenty years in the faithful and assiduous discharge of his parochial duties.

Row adhered to the party known as Public Resolutioners, but he does not appear to have taken any active share in the religious discussions which at that period unfortunately rent the Church asunder. Having been ordained previous to 1649, it was not until the year 1665 that he was ejected for non-conformity. An anonymous paper which occurs at the end of the later MS. of the History, containing scruples against conforming with Episcopal church government, I have attributed to him rather than to his brother, on this ground, that the MS. which contains it belonged to William Row, while the paper itself was written about 1663 or 1664 by a person who then held a parochial charge, which of course could not be said of Principal Row, even if he had not been previously constrained to relinquish his academical office. After the defeat at Bothwell, a third Indulgence was granted to some of the Presbyterian ministers, at the instigation chiefly of the Duke of Monmouth; and the parish of Ceres, on the 20th of September

[1] Scott's Extracts from the Session-Books of Perth, vol. ii.

1679, granted a bond in favour of their former minister, by which William Row was allowed to hold private meetings, and to preach, but not within two miles of the parish church. But a change of measures having speedily taken place, this indulgence was recalled; and Row was summoned before the Privy Council in June 1680, when he was again silenced.

William Row married Jean, daughter of Mr Robert Blair, minister of St Andrews. This eminent divine died in August 1668, leaving an autobiography, of which his son-in-law (according to a MS. copy of a portion of the work which I have seen in private hands) wrote a continuation in the year 1676. Row's original MS., which has no date, is continued till about 1680. It is preserved (but in a very frail state) in the Signet Library, and its publication is worthy of the consideration of the Wodrow Society.

Row survived till a good old age; and after the Revolution, when the incumbent of Ceres was deprived for refusing to take the oaths to government, he was restored to his former charge on the 19th May 1689. Being superannuated and unfit for its duties, Mr Andrew Bowie, in 1692, was appointed assistant and successor. According to information obligingly communicated by the Rev. John Duncan, minister of Ceres, it appears from the Session records that Bowie was translated to North Leith in 1697; and the presbytery of Cupar, on the 23d March, appointed "their brother, Mr James Haddow, to preach at Ceres on Sabbath next, and there to intimate that Mr Andrew Bowie their minister, *and colleague to Mr William Row*, is now loosed from any relation to the parish of Ceres." There is no intermediate entry between this, and the settlement of Thomas Halyburton as minister in 1700. During this interval, Row's death may be supposed to have taken place.

APPENDIX.

ORIGINAL LETTER—DR JOHN ROW TO THE ABBOT OF COUPAR, 11th May 1559.[1]

[This is the letter referred to in the foot-note to page viii. It is copied from the second volume of the "Analecta Scotica," Edinb. 1837, 8vo,—a curious and valuable miscellany of original papers and letters relating to Scotland, edited by James Maidment, Esq. Advocate.]

MY LORD,—Efter humble commendatioun off seruice, 17 Apryl ressauit your Lordship's wrytting be Flanderis, off Edinburgh, vj Februarij, and therefter ane wder zour Lordship's writting be France to the samyn effect, togidder wyth ane Memoriall towart the prouisioun off the Bisschopric off Brechene, desyrand me to concurr heirin wyth Mr James Thorntoun: conforme als to the quhilk I ressauit ane wrytting fra my lord prouest of Sanctandrois, my maister, to employ my wter diligence and labors heyranent. Towart the quhilk besines, zour Lordship pleis vnderstand, Mr James Thorntoun and I presentit our Quenis grace supplicators to our Promoteure, quha thocht the mater wynderous difficille to be obtenit be ressoun off thir impediments: the fyrst, becaus the Pape[2] will gewe nay retentione *in commendam* off monasteres that ar brukit *in*

[1] "Communicated by James Lucas, Esq. Stirling.—Donald Campbell, (of the Argyle Family,) Abbot of Coupar, was elected Bishop of Brechin, and this curious letter relates to his negotiation with the Court of Rome, to obtain a confirmation of his appointment, in which he was unsuccessful. He died in the year 1562."—(Note by Mr Maidment.)

[2] "Paul IV. who died 18th of August 1559."

titulum; the secund wes towart the changeing off zour Lordship's habitt; towart the quhilkis pwints, we haue informit syndry Cardinallis, off quhilks we find sum condescendent to our intent, quarthrow we ar not alleterly owt off asperans, and sall not faill to caus the Promoteure speyk the Pape heyranent, be the fyrst commodite; for trewly the Cardinalis ar in gret difficulte to get audience off the Pape, and als he makis warray few consistors. Elwais extreme diligence salbe done, to the effect zour Lordship may obteine zour intent heyrin, or thane the Papis absolutt will sall impesshe the samyn; for I belewe thair sall not be maid gret difficulte towart zour habitt, sua the remanent could be obtenit. Attour the banchors commissioun send heir towart the moving for thes expeditioun, commands to deliuer the mwing quharone the bulls ar sped, the quhilk commissioun wald be reformitt, causand the banchors heir oblis thame in euerting expences, and to deburce the remanent for the speding off the bullis; for it is our gret ane sowme to tak heir on creditt, and therefter to seyk the samyn agane at the banchors, quhane the expeditioun is endit. Towart this and all wder thingis, becaus Mr James Thorntoun wryttis to zour Lordship at lenthe, I will not fasche zow wyth langar wrytting, assurand zour Lordship may command me wyth all thing that lyis in my power. As to the expensis off the expedition, in case the samyn be grantit, Mr James and I hes causit mak the cowmpt thairoff, quhilk he sends instantly to zour Lordship, quhome eternall God preserue eternally. Romæ, xi Maij 1559.

Zour Lordship's seruiteure,

JOANNES ROW.

Addressed

To my Lord of Cowper,
my speciall Lord and Maister,
Scone.

MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF ROW'S HISTORY.

I.

In the Theological Library of the University of Edinburgh. In 4to, pp. 372, written by John Row, minister of Aberdeen, in the year 1650, between the 30th April and the 2d of October. His Supplement commences at p. 337. This manuscript was presented to the Library by Charles Gordon, minister of Ashkirk, in the year 1698.

Some few passages are interpolated by the writer; the most observable are, the altered period of his Father's service in the ministry, page 3; the references to the admission of Malignants to power, page 330; to the age of Charles II. page 350; and to the new metrical version of the Psalms, page 354.

This MS. was long missing, but having been fortunately recovered, it was obligingly pointed out by Mr William Rowand, keeper of the Library, through whom the free use of it was obtained for the present edition of the work.

That the other transcripts of the revised text of the History were taken from this MS. is very evident. There are on the margin one or two notes in the handwriting of William Row, being references to additional passages contained "in the other book," which seem to indicate that he had made a copy for his own use; but the references do not correspond with the pages of any of the known MSS.

II.

In the Advocates Library, marked W. 3, ult. (or 16, 1, 6.) In folio, written in a neat hand about 1680, and no doubt a transcript of the preceding MS., although the Coronis follows the Supplement by John Row of Aberdeen. The History extends to page

282, the Supplement from page 283 to 324. The Coronis is separately numbered pp. 29; but without the additional passages which occur in the following MS.

III.

In the Advocates Library, marked W. 6, 30, (or 34, 5, 14.) In 4to, written, in a very minute hand, apparently between the years 1670 and 1680. It however bears the same date, 1650, as the MS. No. I., of which it appears to be a copy through the medium of William Row's transcript, now lost; but this copy also might have been transcribed for his use, as the Coronis has a few marginal corrections in his hand. The same volume contains a collection of papers, but unconnected with the work itself; and also a portion of the Life of Robert Blair, the continuation of which was written by his son-in-law, William Row.

This MS. belonged to George Earl of Melville, by whom it was presented to Andrew Melville, minister of Scoonie, in 1707, and by him "gifted" to James Duncan in 1740. This copy was chiefly used by the editors of the Maitland Club edition; and proceeding on the circumstance that the latter portion of the sketch of John Row's Life, (see pages 466 and 477,) is avowedly written by William Row, and that the volume contains a portion of his life of Robert Blair, the whole of the Coronis and the additions to the History have been ascribed to him in that sumptuous edition. The discovery of the original MS., written in 1650 by John Row of Aberdeen, completely disproves any such ascription, by the distinct manner in which the minister of Carnock is described, both in the title and colophon, as the author; and the valedictory paragraphs (pages 4, 446, and 477) are unquestionably written by the author, and by one who was far advanced in life.

IV.

In the Advocates Library, marked Rob. III. 2, 10, (or Wodr. MSS. 4to, vol. x.) In 4to, pp. 350, and nearly a literal transcript of the 1650 MS. (No. I.) made for Wodrow's use in 1726. He

himself has collated it, and marked a number of corrections. The several titles, colophon, and dates, are minutely copied.

V.

In the Advocates Library, marked A. 6, 7, (or 34, 5, 13.) In 4to, pp. 318, neatly written, apparently in the hand of David Anderson, who was clerk to Mr Archibald Johnstone of Warriston. This MS. presents the History in its original and somewhat meagre and condensed form.

VI.

In the Signet Library, marked 53, q. 13. In 4to, pp. 309, written about the year 1700. This copy corresponds with the preceding MS. It has forty-one pages of additions to the Coronis, transcribed at a subsequent date by George Paton, at the sale of whose collection in 1809 it was purchased for the Library.

VII.

In the Advocates Library, marked Rob. III. 6, 7, (or Wodr. MSS. 8vo, vol. iv.) In 8vo, pp. 313, in a neat distinct hand, of the beginning of the last century. This also is a copy of Row's original History; and Wodrow in the following note, written on the fly-leaf, has taken notice of the peculiarities and variations in some of the MSS.

"Decr. 31, 1725.

"This History appears to me to [be] the first draught of Mr John Rou, minister of Carnock, his History, which was after his death written out, (by his son, I suppose,) Mr John Rou, minister at Aberdeen, Oct. 2, 1650; which see, 4to MS. vol. 10, wt a continuation. The son has added some things in the preface; and there are great additions throw the History, which I take to be the father's doing, because signed by him, as appears by the other copy. But then some things are here and there added by the son, as p. 91 and 141, 272. In the 4to copy there are also references to another copy, as for Lowson, p. 309 to page 130 of the other

book, 130; at p. 310, for Mr Craige, 153; Mr J. Murray, p. 321, other book, p. 166, 167; which I do not find in this book.

"R. WODROW.

"I did not transcribe some papers which are in the copy whence I took this, but referred for them to Calderwood's History. "R. W."

Such are the manuscripts which have been more or less consulted for the present edition. The edition previously mentioned as in the course of publication for the Maitland Club at Glasgow, has recently been completed; and being adopted for that purpose, has been circulated among the members as a contribution to the Club from BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq. M.P., a gentleman who has shewn, in similar instances, a commendable love of literature. It bears the following title:—"THE HISTORIE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, M.D.LVIII.—M.DC.XXXVII. By JOHN ROW, Minister at Carnock. With Additions and Illustrations, by his Sons. Printed for the Maitland Club, M.DCCC.XLII." 2 vols. 4to.

The form of this edition might suggest the notion that it contains much more than the present one. It is however not so. The plan which the Maitland Club seems originally to have contemplated was merely to print Row's History as first written; and when it was resolved to add the Coronis, and the short Supplement by John Row of Aberdeen, selections were likewise made of the more important alterations or additions from the Author's revised text; which, as already remarked, are conspicuously attributed, but upon insufficient grounds, to William Row, minister of Ceres.

The plan of publication adopted in the present edition has the advantage of exhibiting the History, not merely in its full and perfect form, but in its natural order, as the succession of events is not disturbed. Many of the author's alterations consist of minute verbal changes, unnecessary amplifications, and sometimes parenthetical allusions to recent occurrences, which do not always improve the work as to mere style, but it was desirable that the History should be given to the public in its most complete and authentic state.

Page 74.—It was omitted to be stated, that the MS. 1650 of Row's History contains a Latin version of the Confession of Faith, 28th of January 1580–1; the subscription to which was renewed in the years 1595 and 1638. The translator is supposed to have been JOHN CRAIG, minister of the King's Household, and it is said to have been published at the time, (Collection of Confessions, vol. ii. p. 811.) It was reprinted, along with the additional clauses specifying Acts of Parliament, &c., under this title, "CONFESSIO FIDEI ECCLESIÆ SCOTICANÆ. Anno Domini nostri 1638," 4to, 8 leaves.

Page 125.—In the List of Witnesses to Adamson's Recantation, instead of the second name, 'Maister Nicol Dalgleische,' the MSS. of Row's History give that of 'Sir John Melville of Grantoune;' and the sixth is styled 'David Moray, portioner of Ardeit.'

Page 137, line 11, insert a semicolon after 'persons;' another after 'Spaniards,' l. 23; and after 'Angus,' line 29, page 140.

Page 233, line 18, *subi.*, in the MS., read *subaudi.*

Page 243, line 26, for רבר read רבר.

Page 259, at the end of foot-note 2, add, The inscription on Bishop Cowper's monument, (as given by Monteith,) is still legible.

Page 304, line 5, for ['cause'] read ['causes.']

Page 326, line 11, &c. "but he litill regarded neighbour ministers," &c. this part of the sentence is added on the margin of the MS. 1650, in William Row's hand, and should have been printed within brackets.

Page 330, line 29.—This sentence should have been printed within brackets as an addition by John Row of Aberdeen when transcribing the MS. A few other passages should have been similarly distinguished; such as lines 28–30, at page 350; and lines 5–10, at page 353.

Page 401, lines 3 and 34; and page 413, line 3, for 'Bishop's,' read 'Bishops.'

Page 417, line 16, 'Mr Andro Mill,' so in the MS., but an evident blunder for 'Mr Andro Melvill.'

Page 463, foot-note, John Ker was admitted minister of Salt-Preston, on the 15th of April 1605, and died in May 1642.

Page 496, line 5, read 'William Robertson, minister at Futtie.'

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PREFATORY NOTICE, - - vii

ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF JOHN ROW, MINISTER OF CARNOCK, - - - - - xxxix

NOTICES OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF JOHN ROW, PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN, - lvii

APPENDIX TO THE PREFACE, - - - lix

ORIGINAL LETTER OF DR JOHN ROW, 1559.

MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF ROW'S HISTORY, - - 1

THE HISTORIE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, FROM THE YEARE 1558 TO AUGUST IN ANNO 1637, WRITTEN BY MR JOHNE ROW, MINISTER OF CARNOK, - - 3

THE OCCASION OF THE WRITING OF THIS HISTORIE, - 5

THE HISTORIE ITSELFE, - - - -

[MARGINAL NOTES IN THE MANUSCRIPT OF 1650:—]

1558.

Reformation. Luther. Sir Da. Lindesay. Wedderburn. Complaint of the halt, blinde, and poore. Sir Da. Lindesay's Satyre. St Johnston. Hugonot, *unde*. Children hisse a friar out of the pulpit. A Frier, his testimonie to the trueth. Simile. Reformation begun, 1558. Knox, a prophet, witnes Gerardus, &c. George Wisheart, a Prophet, martyred, 1546. A prophesie. Knox. The Congregation. Knox came to Scotland. Why Reformation more pure in Scotland nor England. Marie Regent dead. 5

1560.

Parliament. Masse abolished. 1st Generall Assemblie, December 20. Twelve Ministers. Thirty Elders. Forty-three Readers and Pastors. Popish discharging of mariages. Purging Judicatories. Masse. 13

1561.

2d Generall Assemblie, Maie 27. Masse. 14

1562.

3d Generall Assemblie, Junij 29. Doctrine. Discipline. Tryell of ministers, elders, books. 14

The First Book of Policie, 1560, nine heads. 17

The Second Book of Policie, thirteen chapters. Bishops perjured. Books of Policie opposed. Conclusion at Stirlin, 1578. 1590. 18 19

Act for subscription. Superintendents. Their office. The name Bishop, mislyked: Reverend Father in God, discharged. Act aganis Bishops, 1573. Another extended further. Superintendents were but in the interim.

Henrie Stuart, King, murdered. James VI. born. Queen Marie beheaded. Civill warres. 23

1562.

4th Generall Assemblie, December 25. Censure. Suspension, elections, transportation. Provinciall Assemblies. Communion. Uniformitie. 24

1563.

5th Generall Assemblie, June 25. Censure. P. Methven. Da. Fergusson his report. Fornication. Appellation. Instructors. Poore scholers. 25

1563.

6th Generall Assemblie, December 25. Book of Discipline. Residentiars. Elders visit sick. 25

1564.

7th Generall Assemblie, June 25. Supplication. Aberdeen. Jurisdiction. Transportation. 25

1564.

8th Generall Assemblie, December 25. Articles to the Councill. Aberdeen. Methven. 26

1565.

9th Generall Assemblie, June 25. Supplication. Consent of parents. Pluralitie. Deserters. Knox. 26

1565.

10th Generall Assemblie, December 25. Articles answered. Reply. Supplication. Incestuous Mariage. Revolters. Mariage. Clame. Non-resident. Leave the vocation. Summar excommunication. Popish baptisme. Oppresses children. Fornication. 27

1566.

11th Generall Assemblie, June 25. Supplication. Transportation. Mariage. Methven. 29

1566.

12th Generall Assemblie, December 25. Ministers sustentation. Teinds. Five pious uses. Knox. Surplice, cornered cap, tippet. Bishop of St Androes. Supplication. Mariage. Adulterie. Incest. Summonds. 29

1567.

13th Generall Assemblie, June 25. Julie 20, Assemblie. Commission of the Kirk. Fornication, mariage. Excommunicat. A fast. 32

1567.

14th Generall Assemblie, July 20. Thirds. Articles agreed upon. Masse, &c. The Band. Thirds, &c. Kirk's patrimonie. Labourers. Instructers. Crymes. The King's murther. Defend the King. Coronation oath. The Prince's education. Reformation by sword and airmes. Convention, December 18. Adulterers incestuous. 33

1567.

15th Generall Assemblie, December 25. Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie. Bishop of Orknay deposed for marieing the Queen with Bothwell. Craig. 35

1568.

16th Generall Assemblie, July 1. Voters in Generall Assemblie, &c. Sudden murther. Repentance for crymes. Murder. Papists. Articles to the Regent. Aberdeen. Answered. Question of Simonie. Bishop of Orknay restored. 36

1568.

17th Generall Assemblie, December 25. Glencairn. Thirds. 38

1568–9.
18th Generall Assemblie, February 25. Supplication. Duke of Chattelherault. Ansuere. A fast eight dayes. Fasts. Articles. Huntlie. 38

1569.
19th Generall Assemblie, July 1. Craig. Crymes. Articles. Poore. Pluralitie. Thirds. Regent's letter. Incest. Chaplanries. 40

1569–70.
20th Generall Assemblie, March 1. Ordour in Assemblie and moderator. Adulterer, incestuous. Excommunicat. Diminution. Excommunicat. Baptisme. Adulterie. Repudium, &c. Civill office. Admission. 41

1570.
21st Generall Assemblie, July 5. Ministers admission. Children of nine years. Defection fra the King. Cloakers. *De incerto patre.* Stipends. Commission. 42

1570–1.
22d Generall Assemblie, March 5. Registers brought. Jurisdiction of the Kirk. Articles 6. Homicides, adulterers. Questions. Mariage. Courts. Mitigation. Proclamation stayed. Simonie. Mariage. 43

1571.
23d Generall Assemblie, August 6. Knox his letter. 44

1571–2.
24th Generall Assemblie, January 12. 45

1571–2.
25th Generall Assemblie, March 6. Communion elements. 45

1572.
26th Generall Assemblie, August 6. Decorum. Offensive names. Interim. 45

1572–3.
27th Generall Assemblie, March 6. Row. Collection. Non-residents. Knox's death. The Anne. His stipend. Papists excommunicat summarlie. No minister a senator. Overtures. Adulterers. Civil and ecclesiastick. 46

1573.
28th Generall Assemblie, August 6. Books tryed. Excommunicats. Kirks ill situated. Gleeb, manse. Consulters. Uniformitie in excommunication. No partialitie. Dimission. 48

1573–4.
29th Generall Assemblie, March 6. Hospitalls. A letter to the Regent and Councill. Bishops. Admission of ministers. Pluralitie. 48

1574.
30th Generall Assemblie, August 7. No minister a collector, &c. Articles. Adulterers separated. Lord's supper. Simonie. A meeting equivalent to an Assemblie. Absents. 49

1574–5.
31st Generall Assemblie, March 7. Latin requyred. Clark-playes. Mariage. Graham, Bishop of Dumblane. Papists relapsers. Beza [to] Knox. Epist. 79. 50
The Governament of the Kirk of Scotland by Sessions. Presbyteries. Exercise. Provinciall Assemblies. Generall or Nationall Assemblies. No constant moderators. 1575, The office of Bishops called in question. Acts riven out of the Registers. 53

1575.
32d Generall Assemblie, August 5. John Durie first opposes the name and office of a Bishop. Advocat. Apparell. Commissioners. Articles. Holie days. Prelacie to be reasoned. Three for the affirmative. Three for the negative. Bishops unqualified. Points agreed upon concerning Bishops. Kirk's power. A virgin defloured. Not bastards. 55

1576.
33d Generall Assemblie, Aprile 24. 57
Bishops must be pastors. St Androes Universitie. Patrimonie of the Kirk. Policie and jurisdiction.

1576.
34th Generall Assemblie, October 24. 57
Regent. Policie. Exercise weeklie. Adamson. Buried a register. Habron's errour. Adamson's pride. Sabbath-breakers. Adulterie and incest. Tapster. Buriall in kirks. Bishop of Glasgow.

1577.
35th Generall Assemblie, October 1. 59
Assessors. Policie. Adamson. David Fergusson mirrie and wise. Regent. Heads doubted of. A fast.

1577.
36th Generall Assemblie, October 25. Privie Conference. An Assemblie at Magdeburgh. Kinnear deposed. Policie. 60

1578.
37th Generall Assemblie, Aprile 24. 61
Bishops not lords. King James 6 *ætatis* 12. Taks the governament. Commissioners fra the Councill. A fast. Maie-playes. Papists. Conference. Policie. Bishops. Collation. The Kirk's act about the King's letters. Book of Policie perfited. Ceremonies. Civill affairs. Causes of a Fast, 6.

1578.
38th Generall Assemblie, June 11. 63
Act aganis Bishops. Collation. Tacks and fewes. The King's answere. Conference with the councill. Non-resident. Excommunicats. (Blank, four leaves.)

1578.
39th Generall Assemblie, October 24. A speech to the Nobilitie. Their answere. Boyd, Bishop of Glasgow. (Blank, two leawes.) Persons depryved. Bishops charged. Articles, to Bishops. Poperie. 64

1579.
40th Generall Assemblie, Julie 7. 66
Dayell. (Blank, one leaf.) Jesuits, priests. St Andrews Universitie. Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie. Articles to the King. Readers. Benefice. Presbytrie. Readers. Envie. Communion. May-plays. Mariage by a priest.

1580.
41st Generall Assemblie, Julie 12. 68
Assessores. Mr John Craig. King's Commissioners. Dilapidation. Readers. Lennox's letter. Readers. Papists. Thirds. One flock, one pastor. Apostats. Captaine Anstruther. *Laniena Parisiensis.* Collation. Preaching twise on the Sabbath. Assessors in provinces. Articles. Bishops fullie discharged. Cited before provincialls. Bishop of Dunblane submitts. Observe a speciall providence. The King consents. Bishops, the Third estate.
The King's Confession of Faith. 73
January 28, 1580, Confession of the true Faith. The negative Confession. Nota. The Oath. Protestation of sinceritie. The King. Covenant. Renewed 1595, and 1638. Good order, 1580. Tryell and admission of pastors. Act. XIV. 23, χειροτονησαντες. *Reus ambitus.*

1580.
42d Generall Assemblie, October 20. Blank. Row. Transportation. Doctor. Apostats. Mr of Gray. David Fergusson. Visitors. Presbyteries. Commissioners. Melvill transported. St Androes visited. Smetoun. *Desertor gregis.* 80

1581.
43d Generall Assemblie, Aprile 24. 81
Blank. Ministers scandalous. Caprington, William Cunninghame. Presbyteries. Bishops. Aberdeen, Arbuthnot. The King's zeall. Three articles. Caprintoun his instructions. Presbyteries. 924 Kirks reduced to 600, in four degrees. 50 Presby-

teries. About 16 Provincialls. The Generall Assembly. Ranks of benefices. Prebendaries. Moderator. Book of Policie. Confession of Faith. Method of preaching. Bishops, &c., cited. Readers. Presentation. Prelacies. 84

1581.

44th Generall Assemblie, October 17. Presbyterie-seat. Sacrament or mariage privat. How to supplie the estate of Bishops. Negligence in exacting subscriptions. The committee's opinion. Balcanquall. Doctrine to be judged by the Generall Assemblie. Presbyteries erection. Montgomrie. Overtures. Gleebs, &c. The Platt. Schoolmasters. Dispute. Mariages null. Superstition. Adulterie. Mercats on the Sabbath. Abbay kirks. Provestries. Prebendaries. Deadlie feads. Borthwick. Balcanquall, Session 17. Assoyled. Commissars power. Montgomrie. King's profession. Commission. Bishops. Montgomrie. The Anne. 87

1582.

45th Generall Assemblie, Aprile 24. Falkland Presbyterie. Tuo in all Fyffe. Papists passengers. Campheir Papists. Deprivation. Causses of deprivation. Process of deprivation. The kirk is still minor. Montgomrie. Burn, messenger, charges the Assemblie with the King's letters. A minister twenty-five years of age. Montgomrie. Appellation. Causses of his sentence. A letter to the King. His sentence. Confession. Protestation. Unlawfull entrie, &c. Censure declyned. To be loosed. Letters. Appellation. Excommunication, summar. Laick patrons. Montgomrie. Sabbath mercats. Articles. Presbyteries. A fast eight dayes. 90

1582.

46th Generall Assemblie, Junij 27. Durie. King, a troubler of ministers. Montgomrie. The Duke. King's letter. Glasgow. Duke's answere. Reply. Greevances. Erastianisme. 95

1582.

47th Generall Assemblie, October 9. Greevances not fully answered. Synods. Bishops. Montgomrie. Bishops. Glasgow. Howison. Articles to King and Councill. Articles and Greevances. Vote in Parliament. 99

1583.

48th Generall Assemblie, Aprile 24. King's Commissioners. Baptisme. 102

1583.

49th Generall Assemblie, October 10. Act of Generall Assemblie. Articles and Greevances. Chalmer. Fintray. Arbroth. Halirudehouse. Presbyterie seat. Deposition. Health. Tacks. Patrick Adamson and his witch. Aristotle, twenty opinions condemned. Acts of Presbyterie. King's answere. Chalmer. Malignancie. Jud. xvii. 6. (Blank, three years.) 103

1586.

50th Generall Assemblie, Maie 10. The King present. Privie Conference. Kirk register in the King's custodie. Presbyteries, 50. Provinciall Synods. Generall Assemblie. Burghs. Who may voyce in Assemblies. Four office-bearers. No Bishop. Every pastor a Bishop. Caveats for Bishops. Protestation, King's Commissioners. King's Ministers. Mr Patrick Adamson processed. Mitigation upon four conditions. Articles. Protestation aganis the Assemblie in relation to Mr Patrick Adamson. Mr Patrick Adamson absolved. Articles. One Generall Assemblie. Provincialls. Presbyteries. Congregationall Sessions. Bishops tryell. Bishops moderators. Two dayes in Session. Mowat. Kirks, 954. Mr Patrick Adamson troubled the kirk. Sent for by the King to 108

preach in Edinburgh. Mr John Cowper commanded to come out of pulpit—up goes the Bishop—begins with an English form of saluting the King. The people gave a cry and ran out of the kirk. The King curses. Adamson preaches. Processed by the Provinciall of Fyffe. Excommunicat. Put oft to the horn. Fell in *Bulimiam.* Furnished by Mr Melvill. Anno 1591. Aprile. Sent to the Provinciall four Articles of Recantation in Latin, desyred more full, and in English. Pseudo-Episcopo-Mastix. 1591, Recantation. 112

The King's Declaration. Arran a burner of Kirk registers. Leaves riven out. Psillus. Psilli in Lybia populi. Sutclivius. Subscription. Witnesses, ten. The King's Declaration refuted by Mr Patrick Adamson. Written by him. Refutation. Mr Andrew Melvill vindicat. The King's power. Presbyterie. A bishop, 1591, [Adamson] begs absolution with tears, is absolved. Confesseth three things. 122

1587.

51st Generall Assemblie, June 20. Register. Parliament attended. Adamson suspended, at the horn. Schollers to subscryve. Expectants. Weak ministers. Sessions. Registers. Bishop of Catnes. Suspension. Pastors subject. Commission, quorum 13. Danskine. 131

1587–8.

52d Generall Assemblie, February 6. Three committies. Papists. Montgomrie. James Gibson. Adamson deprived. A fast. 135

1588.

53d Generall Assemblie, August 6. Spaniards arrivall. A fast. Beggars. Adamson. Buriall in kirks. New patronages. Gibsone. Commission to the King. Visitation. Adamson. Commission. Presbyterie of Edinburgh. Fast at Assemblies. Adulterie. 137

1589.

King in Denmark. 139

1590.

54th Generall Assemblie, August 4. Sabbath. Simson. King present. Three Articles. Bridge of Dee. Book of Policie. Superintendents. Angus. Presbyteries. Correspondence. Benefices dilapidat. Summar excommunication. Sabbath in Edinburgh. Monday mercat. Discipline. Bridge of Dee. 139

1591.

55th Generall Assemblie, Julie 2. King's desire. Egyptians. Committie of bills. Bishops. Slander is an ecclesiastick cause. Kirk's revocation. Craig's Catechisme. Commission. 141

1592.

56th Generall Assemblie, Maie 22. Vote in Parliament. The King charged. Craig's Catechisme. Moray. Huntley. Murder. Tacks. King maried. Papists insolent. Ministers murdered. Earl of Moray murdered. The King challenged. Letters intercepted to Spaine. Three Popish Earles. Printed 1592. The discoverie of the treason. Three Popish Earles excommunicat. Relaxed. 143

1593.

57th Generall Assemblie, Aprile 24. Presbyteries, 48. Visitation of Presbyteries. Places to be supplied. The King's prerogative. Declamation aganis the King. King's ministers. Daugers from Papists. Passengers by sea. Gleebs. Colledge rents. Manse. 400 merks. Provinciall books. Controversie among brethren. Colledge in New Aberdeen. Black. Travelling to Spain. 150

1594.

58th Generall Assemblie, Maie 7. Deserters of the Assemblie. Perth. 154

Excommunicat Lords. Papists and Apostats. The King's part. A band. The Kirk's part. The band at Aberdeen. Proclamation aganis Papists. Dangers of the Kirk, 11. Remedies. The King's answere. Commissioners appointed. The Goodman's Croft. Bruntiland new kirk. John Rosse. A fast. Parliament. A fast. Lord Hoome relaxed. Hunter. Time and place. Hoome. John Rosse. Unitie broken. Vote in Parliament. Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, 9 a quorum. 155

Convention at Perth, 1596. Apostasie. Covenant renewed. 163

1595.

On a communion day. Commended by the King. Confessing his sins. Ingageing for tyme to come. Commissioners miscariages. Gladstanes. The Octavians. Commissions, old and new, compared. 164

1595.

59th Generall Assemblie, June 24. Mariages. Papists. Resetters. Recusants for fead. King's ministers. Dilapidation. A constant platt. Cromlieks. Excommunication. The Anne. Mariages unlawfull. A null mariage. Schools visited. Colledges. 166

1595–6.

60th Generall Assemblie, March 24. March 25. *Annunciatio Mariæ.* King present. How to resist the enemies. The Kirk of Edinburgh to be divided. Tacks null. Corruptions in ministers with remedies. Renew a Covenant. Covenant renewed. Presentations. Interdictions. Bursars. Commissioners. Articles. King's houss. Queen's. Rebells. Remedies. Corruptions, to 9. Famine. Court and judgment seat. Greevances. Remedies. 168

1596–7.

61st Generall Assemblie, March 1. Convocat by the King's letters. A lawfull Assemblie. The King's Articles. The Kirk's Answere. Huntlie, Angus, Arroll. Petitions to the King. The King's Answere. 175

1597.

62d Generall Assemblie, Maie 10. Nicolson. Clerk. Campbell. Three Earls, Huntley, Arroll, Angus. 179

The King's Articles. The King's questions. Imposition of hands. Sessions. Processes. Application. Two or three votes different. Presbyteries. Summar excommunication. Readers. Commissioners 7 a quorum. December 16, 1596. 181

December 17. Religious men charged to remove off Edinburgh. The cry and tumult. 183

1596, December 18, proclamation. December 19, Sabbath. December 20, proclamation. Ministers blamed. Removed. 1597 recalled. Assoilled. Professors fyned. Ministers the third estate. Vote in Parliament. False pretexts. 186

1597–8.

63d Generall Assemblie, March 7. Three Earls. Provinciall. Commissioners and charges. Greevances aganis commissioners. Greevances. Witches set free. Mariage without proclamation. Images at burialls. Tacks. Gleeb and manse. Tacksmen. Tithes. Greevances buried. Vote in Parliament to be suited. Vote in Parliament lawfull and expedient. 51 in number. Election. Sex particulars to be discussed. Presbyteries. Text. A common heid. Weeklie catechize. Mr John Davidson's protest. Commissioners to Generall Assemblie. Spaine. Countesses to subscrive, &c. 188

1598.

Vote in Parliament opposed. Greevances buried. The King's promise. 192

1599.

He is angrie. Vote in Parliament opposed. Conference at Halirood-house, 1599. Proven unlawfull. 192

2 Tim. ii. 4; Acts vi. 3, 4; Luke ix. 59, &c.; Romans i. 2; 2 Timothy iv. 12, &c.; 2 Chron. xix. 11. Christ's practise. Exhortation to the King. Propheticall. A secund meeting. Act of Parliament reasoned against. Proverbs. Fathers, Tertullianus, Damasus, Primasius, Bernardus. Neotericks. Peter Martyr. Councills. Canon Apostolicall, 80. 4th Synod Carthage. 6th Constantinople. Reasons for Vote in Parliament. None from Scripture.

1600.

King's Declaration. Prerogative royall, not subject to laws. 198

1600.

64th Generall Assemblie, March 18. Presbyteries weeklie. Stranrawer kirk. New kirks. Noncommunicants. Ministers troubled. Papists, &c. Age of persons to be maried. Mr Johne Boyll blind. Adulterers not to marie. Vote in Parliament, election, admission, nomination, style, continuance. Caveats, ten. A Colledge in Fraserburgh. Mr Charles Ferme, minister and master. Commissioners annuatim. How to Vote in Assemblies. *Ambitus.* No contradiction. Commission. Rollock dead. Hope. Mowat. Visitation of Presbyteries. The King his purpose. Commissioners. Three Bishops, Lindsay, Gladstans, Blackburn. Blackburn discovers. Simson's answer. Act of Stirling Presbyterie. Subscrivit by Bishop Blackburn. 198

1601.

65th Generall Assemblie, Maie 12. Defection entered. Its causes, 18. Remedies. Sons of nobles abroad. Mr Craig dead. Ministers to the King, Queen, and Prince. Bible, Psalmes, Prayers. Ministers of Edinburgh. Commissioners of Edinburgh. Commissioners first tryed. Commission. Visitation of Presbyteries. Prerogative royall. 205

1602.

66th Generall Assemblie, November 10. Gladstans. Huntley, Erroll, Angus, Hoome, Hereis. Visitors of Presbyteries. Plant kirks. The noblemen's cautioners. Visitors of Presbyteries. Platt. Articles of the Synod of Fyffe, 14 given in to the Assemblie. Noncommunicants Youths goin abroad, Tryell of Presbyteries, and visitation of kirks. An edict. Try three things. Tryell of Pastors, in his calling, preaching, questions, books, conference, reading, writing, provision, session-book, presbyterie. [Tryell of the] congregation, presbyterie. Ratification. Commission of the Kirk. Sabbath. Thirds. Voters in Parliament. Bruce. Gowrie's conspiracie. 209

August 5. North Kirk of Leith. Scottiscraig Ferrie. Earle of Linlithgow. Tacks. Dangers, remedies. The nixt at Aberdeen, 1604. The King's declaration. 218

Queen Elizabeth dieth. James VI. and 1st succeedeth. Might easily have Reformed Ingland. Bancroft, his treason. Prelacie opposed. Whitinhall imprisoned, inlarged, died. 220

1604.

An Union. The King, going to Ingland, declares. Come to Ingland. Aprile 1604, Parliament. A Generall Assemblie sought. Refuised by the King. Protestation omitted. Articles delivered. Commission charged with certification. Parliament 1604. Two ministers rode. Adjurneyed. Sat in Perth. Liberties of the Kirk. 222

1604.

67th Generall Assemblie, Julie 31, Aberdeen. Articles fra court directs all things. Assemblie discharged. Presbyterie of St Androes sendeth commissioners to Aberdeen. Took Instruments to preserve the Kirk's liberties; are approven. The care of ministers in the North. Occa- 224

sioned a meeting in St Androes. Lowrestoun, King's Commissioner. His overture.

1605.

A meeting at Perth. Greevances aganis commission. Inraged. Prelacie begun. Four Articles to the King with Lowrestoun. 1605, Mr John Forbes sent to the King. The King's declaration. 226

1605.

67th Generall Assemblie, Julie 5. Aberdeen. Double dated. Dissolved. Discharged. Overture to prorogat. Mr John Forbes moderator. Prorogat to August. Charged with horning. Obeyed and dissolved. Forbes and Welsh warded in Blacknes. The rest also warded. Some excuse themselves. One troubled in mynd returned, and avowed they had done no wrong. Warded in Stirlin Castle. Earle of Dumbar; inexorable for ministers. 227

1606.

Proclamations aganis the ministers and their favourers. Interrogat by the Councill. The six warded in Blackness. Apologized for libertie of Assemblies laboured to be taken away. Salved with a proclamation. Eight ministers sent for. Came to London. Stood to the liberties of the Kirk of God. Disputing. Sermons. Bancroft his conference. The warm winde, ministers answere. A sworne and subscrived Covenant, Mat. iv. 3. 230

Earle of Salisburrie sends for Mr Andrew Melvill. Challenged for verses. Owns the lynes. Is accussed of treason by the Councill. Barlow, his preaching. An epigramme judged *Scandalum Magnatum*. A Scotsman ought not to be judged in Ingland. Mr Andrew Melvill put in the Toure. Mr James Melvill confyned in Northumberland. The rest in Scotland. A contribution. Refuised. 234

1606.

68th Generall Assemblie, December 10, 1606. Bruce in Inverness. Six warded put to an assise Convicted. Speaketh boldlie. Gibeonites, Josh. ix. 15; 2 Sam. xxi. 1, 6, 9. Applyed to the King. Josh. ix. 14. The courage of their wives. Banished in November 1606 Imbarked. Landed in France. Prelimitation at Linlithgow. 238

68th Generall Assemblie proven null. Overture for constant moderators inacted. Bannatyn apostat. Protestation. Nicolson, Bishop of Dunkeld, dies in despare. Lindesay, Bishop of Brechin. Constant moderators. Hall in Edinburgh. Prov. xxix. 30. Inforced by letters of horning. 241

1607.

Commissioners to Synods. Perth refuises a constant moderator. Row and Livingston. Bishops why acknowledged. Bishop Law threatens the Presbyterie, persecuteth them. Bishops hated. A dispute. Falkand meeting, 1608. Simson moderator. The ministers' four Articles. Caveats. Discipline and government. Assemblies. Ministers persecuted. Bishops' dissimulation. The Bishops' four Articles. Silence of the trueth. Generall Assemblie. A restraint. Persecuted ministers. Ministers consent. Sinfullie. Earle of Dumbar, Lieutenant. Prerogative royall. Indifferencie is made a cloak. Howie, teaching for bishops, infamous. 244

1608.

69th Generall Assemblie, last Tuesday (Julie 26.) Members without commission excepted aganis, excepted by Patrick Galloway, moderator [of the last Assembly.] Law, Bishop of Orknay, moderator, Luke xvi. 8. Huntley excommunicat. Angus, Erroll, Maxwell. Visitors of Presbyteries. Commissioners of Generall Assembly approven. Argues a decay of zeall. Makes them worse, 249

1622.

Forbes at Edinburgh Pash, communion. Galloway, (Mr Patrick.) Pareus in Romanos, refuted, burnt. 331

1623.

Prince went to Spaine in March. His letter to the Pope. A fast, delayed. A terrible face of heavens, &c. Canterburrie's speech to the King aganis toleration, and the Prince his going to Spain. Prerogative royall well described. Toleration. Bishop of Lincoln, an antichrist. King, his speech aganis Poperie. Prince returns from Spaine. Papists insolent. A Jesuit preaches, is smothered. Foot out of Snair. Guthrie, Bishop of Moray. 332

1624.

Edinburgh ministers, Forbes, Struthers. Rig, Hamiltoun, Meen, Dickson, warded, releeved. Bruce, p. 236. Acts. Communion on Yoole day prevented by pest. 337

1625.

Hamiltoun dead. The King dead. (A rare storme. Charles I., King.) James VI. buried. Marie, Queen. Masse and pest. A fast. 4000 a week. Proclamation. Declaration. Convention of Estates. Taxation, 400,000 merks annuitie. Councill and Session. The King's revocation. Edinburgh in four parioshes. 338

1626.

Charles I. crouned. Session, Skene President. Councill 47, quorum 17. Greevances, 17 commissioners. Exchequer 15. Julie convention. Teinds. Commission 16. Erections. Convention of bishops. Revocation. 341

1627.

Pash Communion kneeling. Proclamation. Teinds. Six sent to the King. Meeting of Bishops, &c. A General Assemblie sought. Commissioners charges. Heritable offices, regalities, &c. Teinds. 343

1628.

Teinds. Pash, no communion. A meeting. Some aganis kneeling. The King's letter to the Bishop. Buckinghame, a prophesie, 1628, August, stobbed. Paris Massacre, 1572. 345

1629.

Bruce confyned. Edinburgh ministers. King of Bohemia's son drouned. Confused communion. Papists. A meeting in Edinburgh. Bishop Bannatyne. Mr Robert Melvill at Culros. Speaks to the Bishop from pulpit. Maxwell, Yoole, Foster. 347

1630.

Charles II. borne. Convention Taxation. Greevances. Oathes. Ministers. Five Articles. Sion's Plea. Lightoun. In Edinburgh, four Kirks, eight Ministers. 349

1631.

The King's Psalmes. (Psalter, 1650.) Swaden. A contribution for Bohemians. Maxwell proveing bishops to be *juris divini*. Marie, the King's daughter. Yoole communion opposed. 352

1632.

Blair. Livingstoun. Dumbar. Welsh. Parliament House. A bairn killed by a fall. Yoole. Sydserf modest. Gustavus death. 355

1633.

Charles I. Crouned. Parliament. Hog. Greevances. Voting in Parliament. Act 1610, wrong ratified, 1612. Generall Assemblies. Five Articles at Perth. Bishops' oaths discharged. A coppie of the Oath. Notanda (6.) High Commission. Greevances given to Sir Johne Hay; to the King at Dalkeith. 356

(King) receaved at Edinburgh, Crouned, June 18. Bishop of Brechin preached. Parliament, June 20. June 23, Sabbath. Surplice. Service- 363

Booke. Guthrie in surplice. The banquet. No sermon at afternoone. Inhibition. Supplication. Novations in the church. Annual rents. Taxations. Proxies. Men incapable. Parliament ended. The King acteth the clerk's part. Lord Melvill. Articles concluded. Parliament rydes. Ministers of three sorts. Edinburgh ministers.

The King's progresse. A boat 367
is drouned. Fire and water. The King returns to Ingland. George Abbots. Canterburrie. William Laud, Bishop of Canterburrie, Apo. xiii. 17, 18, 666. Geill's partition-wall. Bishop of Edinburgh Communion, first Sabbath of the moneth.

1634.

Duke of York born. Partition-wall. 371
Mr William Forbes, Bishop of Edinburgh, urgeth conformitie, (Pash,) sick, dieth, buried. His religion. Bishop Forbes's letter. Notanda. Who to be clamed for the schisme. Presbyterie forgotten. Edinburgh Presbyterie consents. Hoome threatens the Bishop. Admonition, prophesie fulfilled. Forbes his successor. Lindesay, Bishop of Edinburgh. Sydserf, Bishop of Brechin.

Balmerino his processe. Haig, 376
Supplication. Prerogative. Byends. Votes are free. Prerogative. Kirkmen's apparell. Five Articles of Perth. Innovation. Bishops' zeall for God. Coppied by John Dunmure, by Naughton, given to the Bishop, sent to the King.

A commission conveened, June 7, 382
(Balmerino) put in the Castle of Edinburgh. Haig fled. Rothesse. Balmerino his dittay. His judges. Advocats. Justice court, December 3. Chancellor Hay dead.

1635.

Bishop Spotiswood Chancellar. Bi- 385
shops and Apostles compared, Act. vi. 2, 4.

Elizabeth born. Balmerino, his as- 386
size. Earls 5, Lords 3, Barons 7. Mar dieth. Balmerino his speech to the judges. Convicted, to abide King's will. Ministers, justices of peace. Two Bishops dead, transported, consecrated. Balmerino releeved by Canterburrie his means. Abbacies. Earlstoun. Livingstoun, Meen. Anniversarie fasts. Balmerino inlarged. Ministers of Edinburgh. Greig.

1636.

Book of Ordination, Book of Can- 391
ons. *Absurda*, 35. Anna born. Traquair, treasurer. Hated of bishops. Rutherford confyned in Aberdeen, for what cause? Rutherford's letters, prophesies. A singular providence. A Re-examination. Sabbath. Blair, Livingstone, M'Lellan. Service-Booke to be rejected;—1. It is worse nor the Englishe Booke;—2. Breeds a great change;—3. The masse;—4. Popish ceremonies, holie dayes;—5. Errours, Rev. xxii. 19;—Rev. xxii. 18. Apocrypha not Holie Scripture, Rom. iii. 2; Act. vii. 42;—6. A reading ministrie and stinted liturgy;—7. Imposed upon all. Rutherford. Yoole communion.

1637.

Dickson. Ireland Persecution. 407
Abridgment. Two Articles. The Service-Booke opposed. Bishop of Edinburgh's edict, Julie 16. Mr Patrick Henderson.

Julie 23, Sabbath. The uproar in 408
St Geills Kirk. Service-Booke read.

Julie 24, a letter to the King. Proclamation.

Julie 25, Councill in the Abbay.

Julie 30. Fairlie, Bishop of Ar- 410
gyle. The feast, the house takes fire.

THE CORONIS OF THE HISTORY.

1. THE CAUSE OF SCOTLAND'S APOSTASIE, - 411

2. WITNESSES TO THE TRUTH, - - - 414

Knox. Row. Durie. Lawson. Craig. Arbuthnot. Dune. Pont. Hay. Hay. Milne. (Melville) Smetone. Spotiswoode. Fergusson. Rollock. Davidson. Johnstoun. Black. M'Birnie. Ferholme. Bruce. Simson.
A Protestation to the Parliament at Perth, July 1, 1606. 424
Home. Boyd. Carmichael. Moray. Calderwood. Row. Author.

3. BOOKS AGANIS BISHOPS, PRELACIE, CONFORMITIE, AND CEREMONIES, 441

ADDITIONS TO THE CORONIS, PROBABLY BY WILLIAM ROW, MINISTER OF CERES, - - - - - 447

[JOHN ROW. JOHN CRAIG. JOHN DAVIDSON. JOHN ROW.]

A SUPPLEMENT OF THE HISTORIE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, FROM AUGUST 1637, BY MR JOHN ROW, MINISTER OF ABERDEEN, - - - 481

1637.

Letters of horning, Henderson, &c. 483

1638.

Marquis of Hamiltoun, King's Commissioner. (Strange hand.) 491

74th Generall Assemblie, November 21. 502

1639.

Aberdeen trenches. A ship with airms. Covenant subscrivit. Huntley's band. Covenanters disband. 511

The Trott of Turreff. Geight. A great meeting at Edinburgh. King's ships, 29. Anticovenanters return from Ingland. King's proclamation, April 25. Aberdeen renunces the Covenant. Aberdeen, 200 men. Cowie flight. The Bridge of Dee. William Erskin killed. Peace concluded. Dunce law. Articles of agreement, June 18, with the King's declaration. Some conditions, &c. An Information aganis mistakings, &c. Assemblie. Session. Protestation. 516

APPENDIX.

No. 1.—The Humble Supplication of the Provinciall Synod of Aberdeen, holden at Bamff, in April 1648, to the Right Hon. the Estates of Parliament, now sitting at Edinburgh, 519

No. 2.—Instructions agreit upon by Mr Andrew Cant, Mr Johne Row, Mr John Menzies, to the Commission of the Generall Assemblie, which is to sitt doun at Perth, March 12, 1651, 531

No. 3.—Letter from Mr John Row, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, to his Brother, May 27, 1652, 533

No. 4.—Scruples against Conformity to Episcopacy, written probably by William Row, Minister of Ceres, about the year 1663, 539

Glossary of Obsolete Words, 547

Index of Names, 551

THE HISTORIE

OF

THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND,

FROM THE YEARE 1558 TO AUGUST IN ANNO 1637,

WRITTEN BY MR JOHNE ROW,

LATE MINISTER AT CARNOK, IN THE PROVINCE OF FYFE,
AND PRESBYTERIE OF DUNFERMLINE.

ABERDENE,
APRILIS 30, ANNO DOMINI 1650.

THE HISTORIE OF THE ESTATE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, FROM 1558 TO 1637 IN AUGUST.

THE OCCASION OF THE WRITTING OF THIS HISTORIE.

SEVERALL young men, Ministers latelie entered after a new form to that holie calling, conferring with an aged Minister[1] who had been in the ministrie fourtie yeares and above,[2] who, in discourse, did shew to them some things concerning the governement of this Kirk since the Reformation, and what changes he himself had seen and observed in the same; whereof they hearing, confessed themselves to be ignorant: And understanding by their aged Brother, that he had bene instructed well and brought up in the exact knowledge of the Estate of this Kirk of Scotland; (his father, MR JOHN ROW,[3] Minister at Perth, who deceassed 1580, and his father-in-law, DAVID FERGUSSON, Minister at Dunfermline, who deceassed 1598, haveing bŏth bene Ministers at and about the tyme of the said

[1] "Mr Jo. Row."—Marg. note, MS.

[2] This is the reading of the older copies, written during the lifetime of the Author. In the revised MS. of 1650, the following words, by way of parenthesis, are added by his Son, "But in all 53 years, being an intrant 1593, and deceassing 1646;" and, in the later copy of the same MS., the date is thus changed, "But in all 54 years, being an intrant 1592, and deceasing 1646."

[3] The Author obviously could not have derived much information from his father, John Row the Reformer, as, at the time of his death, 16th October 1580, he was only in the 11th year of his age.

Reformation; one of them haveing observed, and putt in writ, such things as fell out in this Kirk, fra that tyme to the day of his death, in the foresaid yeare 1598,[1] who was an hearing and seeing witnes of most of things which were done in these tymes;) they thought it wes a mater of conscience to their aged Brother, who also had observed sundrie things whilk fell out in his awin time, to keep closse and conceall the knowledge whilk he had, and not to impart the same to others, his Brethren, who were very desyrous to know the Estate of this their Mother Kirk better than they did; and therefore besought him very earnestlie to sett doune that his knowledge in writ: Whilk he hes done, as the Lord is his witnes, in als great sinceritie, trueth, and simplicitie, as he could, from the tyme of our Reformation to the tyme of King Charles his comeing to this countrey to be crouned *in anno* 1633, and going back againe to England; with some few things that fell out thereafter, till August *in anno* 1637: Whilk doing of his, albeit in great weaknes, and with many wants, (for who can observe punctuallie and preciselie all circumstances and other small things in so large an Historie!) he earnestlie beseeches the Lord it may tend to his glorie and the well of his Kirk, through Jesus Christ our Saviour.—AMEN.

[1] Mr David Fergusson was appointed to the ministry of Dunfermline, by the Committee of Parliament, in July 1560, and continued to take an active share in ecclesiastical affairs till the time of his decease; but his MS. Diary or Observations on the Affairs of the Kirk, here referred to, are not known to be preserved.

THE HISTORIE IT SELF.

THE Lord God, who works his works mervelouslie, wrought this work of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland above men's expectation, considering the work and few instruments whom God used in the same, and the power, authoritie, and multitude of these that were against them; even as it was now of late *in anno* 1637, 1638, &c., the King, Prelats, Malignants, and all their followers and adherents, opposeing this blessed work. Yet to speak something of the outward means, whereby the trueth of God and true Religion came into this Kingdome, omitting the doctrine taught by Luther in Germanie,[1] whom God raised out of a cloister, *in anno* 1517, first to inveigh aganis the Pope's indulgences, selling to all men pardons of their sin for money; and becaus the Kirk of Rome would not be admonished by such a poore man, but persecuted him for his good counsell, the Lord, by his Word and Spirit, taught him more and more grounds of true religion, whilk he sett out to the view of the world; and the more that the Pope and his Clergie persecuted God's servant, the more bold was he: God also stirred up some of the Princes of Germanie, illightened by that same Holy Spirit and Word of God, to know that same trueth, to take his part, and to maintaine him aganis the Pope's crueltie.[2] As also, the Lord stirred up, in Luther's awin tyme, notable theologues who sett out excellent books clearing God's trueth from all Papisticall errours, as Calvin, Melancton, Œcolampadius, etc., whereby the Pope's Kirk gott a great wound, and this part of Europe wes greatlie inlightened.

[1] "Martin Luther, Sleidan. Comm. lib. i. p. 1."—Marg. note, MS.

[2] "Sleid. Comm. Mellif. Hist."—Marg. note, MS.

But as for the more particulare means whereby many in Scotland got some knowledge of God's trueth, in the time of great darkness, there were some books sett out, such as Sir David Lindesay his poesie upon the Foure Monarchies,[1] wherein many other treatises are conteined, opening up the abuses among the Clergie at that tyme; Wedderburn's Psalmes, and Godlie Ballads, changeing many of the old Popish Songs unto godlie purposes;[2] a Complaint given in by the halt, blinde, and poore of England, aganis the prelats, priests, friers, and others such kirkmen, who prodigallie wasted all the tithes and kirk liveings upon their whoores and other unlawfull pleasures, so that they could get no sustentation nor releef as God had ordained. This was printed, and came into Scotland.[3] There were also some theatricall playes, comedies, and other notable histories

[1] Sir David Lyndesay of the Mount, Lyon King at Arms in the reign of James the Fifth, was one of the most popular of the old Scotish poets. He died about the year 1556. His poem, in four books, Of the Monarchies, was completed in 1552, or 1553, and was printed during the Author's life, under this title, "Ane Dialog betuixt Experience and ane Courteour off the miserabyll Estait of the World." The first edition, although professing to be "Imprentit at the command and expensis off Doctor Machabeus in Copmanhoun," or Copenhagen, was in fact printed at St Andrews, probably in 1554. The subsequent editions are very numerous.

[2] James Melville, in giving an account of his education at the school of Montrose, about the year 1570, mentions a travelling chapman, or carrier, whom he styles "a post," who was accustomed to bring from Edinburgh, copies of Psalm Books, Ballads, and other printed novelties, among which he says, "He shewed me first Wedderburne's Songs, wherof I learned diverse *parcueir*, (*i. e.* accurately, by heart,) with great diversitie of tunes." This undoubtedly alludes to the collection that passes under the name of "The Gude and Godly Ballates," although no edition of so early a date is known to exist. The earliest bears this title, "Ane Compendious Buik of Godly and Spiritual Sanges, collectit out of sundrye partes of the Scripture, with sundrye other Ballates changeit out of prophaine languis in godly Sangis for avoyding of Sin and Harlotry, with augmentation of syndrye gude and godly Ballates, not contenit in the first edition. Exactlie correctit and newlie printed in Edinburgh, be Robert Smith, dwelling at the Nether Bow, 1600," 8vo. This volume was reprinted in Dalyell's Scotish Poems of the 16th century, Edin. 1801, from Andro Hart's edition, 1621.

[3] "Complaint of the halt, blinde, and poore. Chaucer's Poems, Fox's Mart. vol. ii."—Marg. note, MS. Knox, in his History of the Reformation, (edit. 1732, p. 109,) has preserved a paper of a similar nature, as an address from "The Blind, Crooked, Bedralis, Widowis, Orphelingis, and all uther Pure, &c., to the Flockis of all Freiris within this Realme:" dated, "Fra the haill Cities, Tounis, and Villages of Scotland, the first day of Januare 1558."

acted in publict; for Sir David Lindesay his Satyre[1] was acted in the Amphitheatre of St Johnestoun,[2] before King James the V., and a great part of the nobilitie and gentrie, fra morn to even, whilk made the people sensible of the darknes wherein they lay, of the wickednes of their kirkmen, and did let them see how God's Kirk should have bene otherwayes guyded nor it was; all whilk did much good for that tyme. As for a particular example, that book of Sir David Lyndesay's being printed,[3] came privatlie to sundrie men's handis, whilk when they had read and considdered, made them know the ignorance, wickednes, and profanenes that was among the clergie; for a craftsman in St Johnestoun reading it diligentlie, taught his bairnes to know the mater therein contained, and they taught their condisciples in the schoole, whereby it came to passe, that a Frier teaching in that Kirk on a Sabbath day in the tyme of Lentron,[4] (as the use was then,) he in the end of his sermon began to relate some miracles, and to inveigh aganis the new Hugonot preachers, (as he called them, either from St Hugo his lane in Paris, wher many Protestants duelt, or because in Tours, in France, the Protestants went out to their kirk in the fields at St Hugo his port,) who then were beginning to teach God's trueth in the fields, because they got not libertie to speak in the kirk, and people went out to them, and delyted much to heare God's trueth spoken plainlie: But when the Frier was most vehement upon his invection, all the schollers of the grammar schoole, to the

[1] Lyndesay's play is supposed by Chalmers to have been written in the year 1535, and to have been first acted at Cupar in Fife. We know that it was represented on the Play-field, near Linlithgow, at Epiphany [6th January] 1539-40; and also at Edinburgh, several years later. Between the several acts, when the principal spectators retired for refreshment, coarse or indelicate interludes were performed to amuse the vulgar. It is indeed surprising that such representations should have been tolerated, when we consider the freedom used in exposing the vices of the times, more especially of the clergy.

[2] The former name of the Town of Perth.

[3] No printed copy of Lyndesay's Play, (if this be the book referred to,) of an earlier date than 1603, has been discovered, when it appeared at Edinburgh, under the title of "Ane pleasant Satyre of the Three Estates, in commendation of Vertue and vituperation of Vice."

[4] During the season of Lent.

number of three hundred and above, gave out such an hissing and crying aganis the Frier, that he in great feare ran out of the pulpit, and went away. Before the nixt Sabbath, when another Frier came to teach in that kirk, he, heareing tell what wes done to his brother, complained to the Magistrat that he wes so used; whereupon the Master of the schoole, Mr Andro Simson,[1] (father to umquhill Mr Patrik, Minister at Stirlin,) wes desyred to try diligentlie who were the autores of that hissing, that they might be severelie punished. The Master, being at that tyme a zealous Papist, used all diligent tryell, and found that one of the schollers had that book penned by Sir David Lindesay, whilk was a dittay great eneugh then to have condemned him; but the youth being of a quick spirit, replyed to the Master, when he was going to punish him, that it wes no hereticall book, whilk he should lett him see; then, after he had read it, if he found it an hereticks book, he should be content to be punished at his pleasure. This made the Master desyrous to read the book, but he, by the reading and understanding thereof, was fullie persuaded that all therein contained was true; whilk made him declare to the Councell of the Toune, and to the Frier who was to teach, that he could not get knowledge who made that hissing first in the kirk; yit he was persuaded, if they would leave off their invectives aganis thir new preachers, the bairns would be quyet eneugh; whilk warning made the Frier that preached to say, when he was concluding his sermon, "I will speak nothing aganis thir new preachers, but I will speak aganis ourselves: If we had done

[1] Mr Andrew Symson, who was master of the grammar school of Perth, sometime before the Reformation, appears to have studied at St Andrews; his name occurs as having matriculated in St Salvator's College in 1557, and in St Leonard's College in 1559. Having embraced the Protestant Religion, he became Minister of Dunning and Cargill, in Perthshire; from whence he was translated to Dunbar, by an order of the General Assembly, 28th June 1564. (Calderwood's History, MS.) He officiated there as schoolmaster as well as minister. How long he survived is uncertain; but on the 18th September 1583, "Mr Alexander Home, minister, was presented to the parsonage of Dunbar, vacand be demission of Mr Andro Symson," (Register of Presentations, MS.) He was married to a sister of Patrick Adamson, afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews; and had four sons in the ministry, besides Patrick Symson, Minister of Stirling. (M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. ii. p. 424.)

our duetie in our calling faithfullie, and made yow, God's people, to know God's trueth, as we should have done, thir new teachers had not done as they doe; for what shall poore sillie sheep doe that are poyndit in a fold where there is no meat, but break the dyke and go to their meat where they may have it? so we cannot finde fault with yow that are God's people to run and heare God's word taught yow, wherever ye may get it." Whilk speeches made the people glade, and confirmed the Master of the schoole, (who afterward wes transported to Dumbar, where he wes both minister and schoolmaster, and made that Rudiments, *Quum Literarum Consideratio*,[1] whilk for that were called Dumbar Rudiments,) and all these that had any knowledge of the trueth greatumlie; so that by thir means and the lyke, by the blessing of God, knowledge daylie increassed, and the few godlie preachers that were in this kingdome were well loved, and taught God's word, sometymes in the fields, and sometymes in housses privatlie, and there also ministred the sacraments, be reassone of the great persecution that then was, whereby the Lord made his gospell and trueth to be more and more knowen, untill the tyme of the Reformation, whilk began in the yeare of God 1558.

I will not insist to shew particulars that then occurred, because John Knox, whom God used as a principall mean and instrument in that work, hes written the Historie of these tymes at length, being a zealous, godlie preacher of God's trueth; yea, I may say a verie extraordinarie prophet of God;[2] what ever men, either ignorant or disaffected, have spoken to the contrarie; as by many instances I could relate, haveing [them] particularlie declared to me by these who heard him say, when he was in Rochell in France,

[1] The first words of the Latin Grammar by Symson, "Rudimenta Grammatices, in gratiam Juventutis Scoticæ conscripta," which was originally published at Edinburgh in the year 1580 or 1587. As this Grammar continued for nearly a century and a half to form one of the elementary works used in schools, it was, of course, often reprinted.

[2] "A prophet: witness Gerardus, Vorstii Antibellarminus, Junius, &c."—Marg. note, MS.

"That within tuo or three years, he hoped to preach the Gospell publictlie in St Geils Kirk in Edinburgh." But the persons who heard him say it, being Papists for the tyme, and yit persuaded by a noble woman to hear him preach privatlie, and see him baptize a bairn, who wes caried many myles to him for that purpose, thought that never sic a thing could come to passe; and therfore hated him for so speaking: Yit, comeing home to Scotland, and through stress of storme of weather, being liklie to perish, they began to think upon his preaching, and allowed of everie poynt of it; and vowed to God, if he would preserve their lyves, that they should forsake their Papistrie, and follow the calling of God: whilk they did, and saw and heard John Knox preach openlie in the Kirk of Edinburgh, at the tyme whereof he spak to them.

This, therefore, I will observe, by the way; that when God puts extraordinarie works in men's hands, he communelie also giveth them extraordinarie gifts. And, therefore, I wold have all men to know, that Mr George Wiseheart, who was a notable instrument of God for the propagation of true religion within this realme, and spak many excellent prophesies, had Johne Knox oft in his companie, before he wes martyred by the Cardinall Betone; and, therefore, a litle before his death, *anno* 1546, he advysed John Knox to leave him, and go and doe God's work, the best he might: "For (said he) one of us may be sufficient to be a sacrifice at this tyme."

Among many prophesies spoken by this worthie Martyr of God, I will relate one whilk appertains to this purpose in hand. After he had sustained a wonderfull conflict, and was forced to rise out of his bed in the night, being in Invergowrie, tuo myles be-west Dundie, at that tyme goeth to a garden where he mourned and prayed vehementlie; and when, upon the morn, he wes urged by them who saw and heard him, to tell them what that night's labour meaned? After long urgeing, and sundrie persuasions used, to get some comfort from his mouth, he said, "I am assured my travells are neare an end; and, therefor, pray to God for me, that I faint not in this battell that is neare at hand." And when they replyed, "Alace! that is small comfort to us:" He ansuered, "God shall send you

comfort after me; for this realme shall be illuminated by the light of the Gospell, als clearlie as ever was any nation since the dayes of the Apostles. The House of God shall be builded in it; yea, it shall not lack, whatsomever the enemies imagine in the contrarie, the verie kepstone." (Meaning that it shall be brought to a full perfection.) "Neither (said he) shall it be long ere this be done. There shall not many suffer after me, till that the glorie of God shall evidentlie appeare, and shall once triumph in despite of Satan. But, alace! if the people shall be afterward unthankfull, then fearfull and terrible shall the plagues be that afterward shall follow!"

The trueth of the former part of this prophesie, spoken so absolutelie, blessed be God! we have seen in our tyme, when the Gospell triumphed so in this Kirk, that no man, of what rank soever, durst profess himself to be a Papist, or of a contrarie religion. But, alace! if we live long, we are liklie to see the latter part of this prophesie, whilk is conditionall, performed upon us, for our unthankfulnes and wilfull defection from God's trueth.

John Knox then being in the companie of this servant of God, and haveing the prosecution of that same great work of publishing the Gospell in his hand, no doubt the Lord endued him with the same spirit of prophesie; whereby he uttered many rare and notable speeches, that afterward proved to be prophesies indeed; whereby he stirred up the Noblemen and others, then called "The Congregation," to goe fordward in that begun work, so soone as he came out of Geneva throw France, first to England, where he saw the Masse abolished, and the Pope's autoritie casten doun, in part; and then to Scotland, where he perceaved men in great doubt what to doe. But he, by the powerfull preaching of God's word, and assistance of His Spirit, haveing associated unto him some few others stirred them up, (in the mean tyme, the Queen Marie, the Regent and Dowager, in whose hands the autoritie wes, giveing many fair promises to these of The Congregation, but never doing any thing according to the samyn,) assureing them, that if they would goe fordward in that work, with zealous and with upright hearts, the Lord would mervelouslie blesse it in their hands.

So the Reformation passed fordward daylie; needles kirks, and idolatrous, prophan, sumptuous buildings, were demolished; and I think it wes true that Mr Knox said, "Doun with those crow nests, else the crowes will big in them againe!" And was there any wrong there? I will not justifie all particulare things done at that tyme, in casting doune some kirks which had bene usefull for God's service, in taking away bells, and rugging doun such ornaments as might make the doers of that great commoditie worldlie [riche]; for, can any think, that in such a great alteration in a kingdome, everie man did everie thing rightlie? Yit, in the generall, I say, in the work of Reformation, the rooting out of idolatrie, and the planting of the sinceritie of the Gospell, wes chieflie looked unto; insomuch that the faithfull servants of God, who were the first preachers of His blessed word in this kingdome, had little mynd of themselves, or how they might be intertained; but pansed how this great work might be effectuat to God's glorie, and the salvation of His people's soulles.[1] For this I wish all men to know, that the Reformation of Religion came in otherwise to Scotland than in other parts; because the Queen, who then had the autoritie, being a malicious enemie to God's trueth, thought that sho should suppresse the Protestants in this kingdome, by the bringing in of Frenchmen to help the Papists, who were upon hir syde: yit the Lord disappoynted her. And sho dieing,[2] the work of Reformation prospered; and the Ministers that were, took not their pattern from any Kirk in the world, no, not fra Geneva itself; but, laying God's word before them, made Reformation according thereunto, both in doctrine first, and then in discipline, when and as they might get it overtaken. But, in other places, (as England,) the Reformation coming in by the autoritie of the Magistrat, nothing could be gotten done but according to the Magistrat's desyre; whilk hes bene the cause why other Kirks, professing the same trueth with us, yit had never the sinceritie of discipline amongst them, whilk is the thing

[1] "Why Reformation more pure in Scotland nor England."—Marg. note, MS.

[2] Mary of Guyse, widow of James the Fifth, and Queen Regent of Scotland, died in the Castle of Edinburgh on the 10th June 1560.

that verie few Magistrats or great personages (who would have absolute and unlimited autoritie and power to doe what they will, both in the State tyrannicallie, and in the Kirk Antichristianlyke) can away with.

Idolatrie being now suppressed in many parts of this Kingdome, and the few preachers that then were, being bussilie imployed to sett fordward God's trueth; after the death of the Queen Regent, a Parliament being holden in Edinburgh by the Nobilitie of Scotland, and such as the King and Queen of France appoynted Governours here with them, in the yeare 1560, good acts and lawes were made for the abolishing of the Masse, and confirmation of the true Religion: And it was then inacted by autoritie, (the Ministers being supplicants for the samyne,) that priests, friers, monks, and other kirkmen, that had their pensions and liveings allotted to them for their service, should retaine and brook the said pensions, if they would be professors of the trueth, and leave their papistrie and idolatrie, otherwayes all sould be taken from them for their obstinacie. Whereupon it came to passe, that some of them became Readers, and some Preachers also.

This year 1560 also, the first Nationall Assemblie (whilk we have still [been] accustomed to call "The Generall Assemblie") of this Kirk, conveined in Edinburgh, December 20; wherein there were not above twelve Ministers, viz. John Knox, Mr John Row, David Lindesay, William Harlaw, William Chrysteson, Christopher Goodman, Mr David Weemis, William Darroch, Mr Walter Balfour, John Broun, William Lamb, and Mr Robert Winram; but sundrie Ruleing Elders, commissioners, to the number of thirty, to assist them in that good work; whilk the Lord so blessed, that appoyntment was made of other forty-three, whereof some were to read the Word in the mother-tongue to the people, some also to preach and exhort as Pastors, whereof Johne Erskin of Dun wes one: *Item*, That there should be tuo Generall Assemblies holden everie yeare; whilk was ordinarlie observed for a long tyme; so that, at everie Assemblie, by the blessing of God, the

number of Christ's Ministers increassed, and the number of the godlie professors also grew exceedinglie.

Item, It was inacted aganis Popish dischargeing (whilk God in his Word has not discharged) of secunds of kin, etc., to marie, whereby they drew in much money to themselves by the buying out of frequent dispensations; for the Pope of Rome hes still his one hand in your conscience, and his other hand in your purse!

Item, That such make publict repentance as committs fornication betuix the promise and solemnization of mariage; whereby it appears that the Kirk, in this late Reformation at Glasgow, 1638, and subsequent Assemblies, hes laboured rather to revive acts buried and brought in desuetude by Prelats nor to make new acts.

Item, They earnestlie supplicat the Parliament for a full purging of all Judicatories, and that they will inact strait laws aganis sayers and hearers of Masse.

At the secund Generall Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, Maie 27, 1561, Articles were drawen up, to be presented to the King's Councill, aganis Papists, countenancers of any idolatrie, or superstition, especiallie the Masse, and anent the provision of Ministers.

At the thrid [Generall] Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, Junie 29, 1562, it wes inacted, that unitie of Doctrine, for avoyding of errours and heresies, should be retained, and that sin and vyce should be by Discipline and Kirk-censures punished in all, without any respect of persons.

Item, That Ministers be exactlie tryed in doctrine, life, and conversation.

Item, That Elders be exactlie tryed how they live.

Item, That at each Visitation a compt be taken what books a Minister hes, and how he profitts in his studie and reading.

Item, That Elders who assist not, after admonition, be excomunicat.

Item, That magistrats guiltie of this sin, be not exempted from the censure.

Item, To supplicat the Estats that Kirks be repaired, and that Ministers have housses and aikers, whilk they called Manses and Gliebs.

Item, To supplicat that sins of all sorts, such as sweareing, blasphemeing of God's name, filthie talking, Sabbath breaking, whoordome, drunkennes, etc., be punished civillie by mulcts and corporall pains.

But to return a litle to the yeare 1560.—The Reformation and True Religion thus going well fordward, the Lord from Heaven blessing it, the Nobilitie and Great Councill of Scotland thoght it necessarie and verie expedient, to charge the Ministers that then were, to sett doun in a Book their judgment concerning all the poynts of the Reformation of Religion alreadie begun, as they should answere to God, that they might proceed in everie thing rightlie. To the whilk demand the Ministers gave in their ansuer, in writ, as followes:—

> "To the Great Councill of Scotland now admitted to the Regiment, by the Providence of God, and by the commune consent of the Estats thereof, your Honours humble Servants and Ministers of Christ Jesus within the samyne, wisheth grace, mercie, and peace from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the perpetuall incres of the Holy Spirit.

"From your Honours we receaved a charge, dated at Edinburgh the 29 of Apryle in the yeare 1560, requyreing and commanding us, in the name of the Eternall God, as we will ansuer in his presence, to committ to writing, and in a Book delyver to your Honours our judgement, touching the Reformation of Religion, whilk heretofore in this Realme, as in others, hath bene utterlie corrupted. Upon the recept whereof, so many of us as were in the Toune did conveen, and in unitie of myndes doe offer to your Honours these subsequents, for Commune Order and Uniformitie to be observed in this Realme concerning Doctrine, Administration of Sacraments,

Election of Ministers, Provision for their sustentation, Ecclesiasticall Discipline, and Policie of the Kirk: Most humbly desyreing your Honours, that as ye look for participation with Christ Jesus, ye neither admit any thing whilk God's plaine word doeth not approve, neither yit that ye sall reject such ordinances as equitie, justice, and God's word doth specifie: For we will not binde your Honours to our judgments farther then we are able to prove by God's plaine Scriptures; so must we most humblie crave of yow, even as ye will ansuere in God's presence, before whom both ye and we must appeare to render account of all our actions, that ye repudiat nothing for pleasure and affection of men, whilk ye are not able to improve[1] by God's written and revealed word."

When the Ministers did putt their hands to work, the Assemblie of the Kirk laid some Heads of the Policie of the Kirk upon everie man who wes thought meetest for the same; and after they had given in their travells, to be considered by the Brethren, they were either approven in that whilk they had done, or els their inlaiks were supplied and doubtes opened up to them, that they might sett doune the head appoynted to them more perfitelie; whilk, by great pains, much reading, prayer and meditation, earnestlie incalling the name of God, in end was finished, and by the allowance and approbation of the whole Generall Assemblie; after that some articles whilk were thought too long were abridged. The wholl Policie of the Kirk wes put in writ in a book, and presented to the Nobilitie and Great Councill of this realme in the end of the same yeare 1560, as may be seen in this ansuer of the Secret Councill following:—

"We who have subscryved thir presents, haveing advysed with the Articles herein specified, as is above mentioned, from the beginning of this Book, think the same good and conforme to God's Word in all poynts, conforme to the notes and additions thereto

[1] A forensic term, originally *impreive*, signifying to disprove.

eiked; and promises to sett the same fordward to the uttermost of our powers: Provyding that the Bishops, Abbotts, Priors, and other Prelats and beneficed men which els have adjoyned themselves to us, bruik the revenues of their benefices dureing their lifetymes, they sustaining and upholding the ministrie and ministers, as herein is specified, for the preaching of the Word, and ministring the Sacraments."

This Act is subscryved by twenty-six of the Nobilitie and Councill of Scotland.[1]

It is to be considdered that the Ministers sett doun Tuo Books of the Policie of the Kirk. This First Book contained nyne severall heads, which were largelie insisted upon and plainlie opened up, that all might understand and imbrace them.

1. The first head containeth Doctrine to be taught.
2. The second head containeth the Sacraments how to be administred rightlie.
3. The thrid, the abolishing of all Idolatrie.
4. The fourth, [concerning] Ministers, and their election and admission; and what may disable a man that he may not be admitted to that holy function; and concerning Readers.
5. The fyfth, the provision of Ministers, and concerning the rents justlie appertaining to the Kirk; where there are sundrie things spoken of Universities and Schooles, and how they may be provyded, and how learning and knowledge, especiallie of the Scriptures, should increase by them; and something also spoken of Superintendents and their admission.
6. The sixth treateth particularlie of the Patrimonie of the Kirk.
7. The seventh of Ecclesiasticall Discipline; where it is declared what persons should be subject to the discipline of the Kirk, and the order for publict offenders.

[1] The First Book of Discipline, as above stated, was presented to the Scotish Parliament in the year 1560, and the Act of Secret Council approving it was signed on the 17th January 1560-61. See the names of the subscribers in Knox, Calderwood, &c.

8. 9. The last two heads, concerning the Policie of the Kirk, in many particulars; as concerning prophecying and interpreting of the Scriptures, concerning mariage, buriall, and reparation of Kirks, punishment of such as are profane and contemners of the Sacraments.

Then, after this, the Generall Assemblie appointed Ministers to set downe the other Booke of Policie more succinctlie, whilk containeth thirteen chapters, as also many heads and conclusions of the Policie of the Kirk:

1. The first, Of the Kirk and Policie thereof in generall, and wherein it is different from the Civile Policie.

2. The second, Of the Persons and Office-bearers to whom this Administration is committed.

3. The thrid teaches, How persons that beare ecclesiasticall functions are to be admitted to their offices.

4. The fourth is, Of the Office-bearers in particular, and first of Pastors and Ministers.

5. The fyfth is, Of the Doctor's office, and of Schooles.

6. The sixth is, Of Elders and their office.

7. The seventh is, Of the Assemblies, and Discipline.

8. The eight, Of Deacons and their office.

9. The nynth, Of the Patrimonie of the Kirk, and distribution thereof.

10. The tenth, Of the office of a Christian Magistrate in the Kirk.

11. The eleventh is, Of the present Abuses remaining in the Kirk, whilk ought to be reformed.

12. The twelvth containeth speciall Heads of Reformation whilk the Kirk craves.

13. And the last chapter speakes of the Utilitie that shall flow from this present Reformation to all Estates.

The Second Booke of Policie wes thought by the whole Generall Assemblie, in many meetings, to be very exactlie set downe with

great learning and holiness; and, therfore, everie Minister, when he wes admitted to his kirk, subscryved the samyne upon some Presbyterie day, in presence of his brethren, who had all subscryved the samyne before him, as ye will heare afterward; which subscriptions may be a sore witness aganis some who did afterwards compell Ministers and intrants to subscryve to the verie contrair Conclusions.

I would have you here observing, befor I proceid farther, that there were great hinderances cast in, as uses to be in all good purposes, that thir Books of Policie were not received, nor approven by all men in many yeares following;[1] for they that were Papists in their hearts, were enemies both to the Doctrine and Policie of the Kirk; and they who openlie professed the true doctrine, and yet possessed the kirk rents, were not onlie unheartie freinds, but, under colour, great hinderers of the allowance and approbation of the Books of Policie. Yet, throw continuall dealing, exhortations, and admonitions to the Nobilitie and others of good rank and accompt, and through humble intreatie of the young King James the Sixth and his counsellers, in many Generall Assemblies, at length this Conclusion wes taken at Stirline, where the King was for the tyme, anno 1578:—

"Forasmuch as in the last Assemblie, commission was given to certaine brethren to present to the King's Hienes and Councill, the heads of the Policie of the Kirk, with a supplication to his Grace, The Assemblie desired the report of the brethren's proceedings; who exponed and shew, that, according to their commission, they did exhibit to the King's Majestie a coppie of the heads of the Policie, with the supplication to his Grace, who gave a verie comfortable and good ansuer, That not onlie would he concur with

[1] The Second Book of Discipline, containing "The Heads and Conclusions of the Policie of the Kirk," agreed upon by the General Assembly, in June 1578, was inserted in the Registers of the Assembly in April 1581. Although not ratified by Parliament, it was enjoined by the Assembly in August 1590, and again in July 1591, to be subscribed by all Ministers; and it is still recognised as of public authority in the Church of Scotland.

the Kirk in all things that might advance the true religion presentlie professed in this kingdome, but also would be a protector for the Kirk: And thereafter, his Grace presented to his Councill the said supplication, who nominated persons to confer in the mater, and by his Majestie's procurement obtained of the Councill, that they might choise so many Ministers to confer, as wes at length agreed upon: which conference is readie to be showen."

Notwithstanding of all thir paines and diligence whilk the Kirk took in perfyteing the Book of Policie, and the many promises made, that the said Books should be ratified and approven by the lawes of the kingdome, in open Parliament, and by acts of Secret Councill, the samyne wes never gotten done; but onlie, in the end, an act made in that Generall Assemblie holden at Edinburgh, 1590, That all Ministers, at their entrie to their ministrie, should declare their consent and approbation to the said Book of Policie, by their subscriptions; whilk was obeyed and done, as we have said, and as will be declared afterwards.

This is also to be considered for the clearing of some things alreadie spoken of the Bishops and Superintendents, that this Kirk, being in the infancie and first growing thereof, behoved to choose out of their small number, some who were entered to the ministrie, (whilk, indeed, in a short tyme grew merveilouslie, and were admitted by the Generall Assemblie,) whom the Generall Assemblie thought meetest to be Visitors of Kirks, wherby ministers might be planted and admitted to their office, throughout all the kingdome, and instructed in their dueties, and censured in case of negligence or other faults, either in their persons or callings. Thir Visitors, some of them had bene Bishops before, but had now adjoyned themselves to the Reformed Kirk, and were become preachers of the Gospell. Others were ordinare pastors, but, because this office of visitation of the Kirk wes now enjoyned to them, they were named Superintendents; yit so, as touching their calling, there was no difference in the admission of them and others to the ministrie, as is evident in our Book of Common Prayer sett

doune, and commonelie præfixed to the Psalmes: And albeit the name of a Bishop, Superintendent, and Pastor, be in effect all one thing, yit because in commune speech, the name of a Bishop wes appropriated to some who had these benefices, the Generall Assemblie, even at the beginning, lyked not the same, as savouring of some superioritie, whilk they thought should not be in the persone of any one man in God's Kirk, and among the Ministers thereof: And, therefor, when they named these men, it was with some addition, as in that Generall Assemblie holden at Edinburgh 1562, it is said "Mr Alexander Gordon, commonelie called Bishop of Galloway, makeing petition to be Superintendent of Galloway, wes refuised, because," etc.; whereby it is evident that, by his Episcopacie, he had no place in the ministrie whill [until] he receaved admission from the Generall Assemblie. And, at the same tyme, there was a generall Act concluded, That all Ministers, they also that calls themselves Bishops, should be entered into the ministrie according to the ordour sett downe in the Book of Discipline anent the admission of Ministers, or else they should have no place in that holy calling. Also many other Acts were made aganis the corruptions in Bishops lyves, because sundrie of them were continuallie committing haynous and great offences, and therefore were censured and deposed by the Generall Assemblies, whilk made some of them refuise to come to the Generall Assemblie, whill they were compelled, through the feare of excommunication. The Generall Assemblie also, in their setting of tacks and leases, inhibited them to use their ordinare style of Reverend Father in God, as not appertaining to the Minister of Jesus Chryst, neither is it to be found in the Scriptures.

And, because it were tedious to insist and relate in how many Generall Assemblies the Kirk was troubled in taking ordour with these who were called Bishops, and had these benefices given to them by such moyen as they had in court to obtaine them; when, in the mean tyme, they who were called Superintendents, at everie Generall Assemblie gave ane account how they had discharged their duetie since the Assemblie preceeding; and, after due tryall and enquyrie, they were approven, and continued in their places, or censured,

according as their cariage called for: Ye shall find two or three Acts sett doune in end aganis Bishops, that they should amend their corruptions, and stay the trouble they made to the Assemblies, at that Assemblie holden at Edinburgh 1573. This Assemblie hes concluded, that the jurisdiction of Bishops, in their ecclesiasticall function, shall not exceed the jurisdiction of Superintendents, whilk heretofore they have had, and presentlie have; and that they shall be willinglie subject to the discipline appoynted by the Generall Assemblie as members thereof, as the Superintendents heretofore have bene everie way: And that no Bishop give collation to any benefice within the bounds of Superintendents without their consent and testimoniall subscryved with their hand. Then, afterward this Act was concluded: "Forasmuch as there is great corruption in the estate of Bishops as they are presentlie in this realme, wherunto the Kirk would provyde some remedie in tyme comeing, so farre as they may, to the effect that further corruption may be brydled, Therefore the Assemblie hath concluded, that [no] more Bishops should be elected or made heirafter befor the nixt Generall Assemblie of the Kirk; dischargeing all Ministers and Chapters to proceed any way in the election of the saids Bishops in the mean tyme, under the paine of perpetuall deprivation from their offices." And this Act wes extended in another Assemblie to all tymes to come; and all Bishops alreadie elected were requyred to submitt themselves to the Generall Assemblie concerning the reformation of the corruptions of that estate: Whilk submission the Bishop of Dumblaine willinglie offered to the Assemblie.

This being cleare, then, that from the infancie of this Kirk till the tyme that a full reformation wes made both in doctrine and discipline, (when Presbyteries and Provinciall Assemblies were fullie constitute,) the Superintendents had a verie necessarie charge and calling for the planting of Kirks, visiting of them, and seeing them keep good order, and were verie faithfull, diligent, and holy men, painfull also in their awin severall stations and ministries. On the other part, the Bishops were verie troublesome and offensive to the Kirk of God, (at least many of them;) and sieing many things must

be tolerated for a tyme in the infancie of a Kirk, whilk may not be authorized when the Kirk comes to a greater perfection, many things *in Ecclesia constituenda*, whilk are not to be tolerated *in constituta*, I will speak no more of this purpose at this tyme.

But to proceed in our Historie. In the yeare of God 1561, the young King of France, Francis the Second, Queen Marie's husband, being dead, Queen Marie cometh from France to Scotland;[1] and she being a Papist, yit finding reformation of religion begun, and Acts of Parliament made in favours thereof, she promiseth to ratifie all, provyding she can have libertie to injoy hir awin religion privatlie within her awin palace, for sho brought a bishop and priests with hir. But that mater being reasoned by the Ministers, it wes concluded, That such libertie could not be granted, except they would willinglie bring the plague of God upon hir and all those who consented therto and to the wholl countrey; as, in latter dayes, 1625, the pestilence followed the Masse to London, and destroyed verie many thousands. Yit, notwithstanding, severall of the nobilitie, willing to pleasure the Queen, reasoned for her, That for some short tyme she might have hir masse said to hir privatlie, not doubting but she would be shortly brought to heare the preaching of God's Word, and that wold draw her away from her idolatrie and superstition wherin she had bein broght up. Thus the Ministers, to keep themselves cleare in their sermons and meetings, were ever inveighing aganis her masse, yit could not get the mater remeided at that tyme: But afterward, when she caused murther her husband the King Henrie Stewart, to whom she bare King James VI., *anno* 1566, June 19, that she might get the Erle of Bothwell to be her husband, (whilk mariage wes made by the Bishop of Orkney, and he deposed therefore by the Kirk,) the nobility of Scotland trying the mater, rose up against him and her, so that he fled to Denmarke, where, after ten yeares imprisonment, he died mad, and she wes forced to flee into England; and ther, being intertained

[1] Francis the Second died at Orleans on the 5th of December 1560; and Queen Mary left France on the 2d, and landed at Leith on the 23d, of August 1561.

in a princelie maner by Queen Elizabeth severall yeares; at length she was accused and convict of treason against Queen Elizabeth, and for that wes beheaded *anno* 1586. For, so soone as she wes broght to bed, and her sonne borne, the nobilitie who were Protestants, assisted with the rest called the Congregation, tooke the bairne, and keeped him in safetie, and crouned him King, being but a yeare old; the Queen, in the mean tyme, intertaining civile and intestine warres against the Congregation, because she gatt not her will in all things. The Queen then remaining in England, the nobilitie who stood for the young King, the Erle of Murray then being Regent, and they assisting him, stood also for the true religion: others, againe, that were upon the Queen's faction, albeit some of them were professors of the true and Reformed religion, yet they having the principall castles and forts of the kingdome in their hands, intertained civile warres against the nobilitie and other professors that stood for the King, and his authoritie and preservation; whereby great hurt came both to the Kirk and Comonwealth of this kingdome; for, in this tyme, the Ministers of Edinburgh, and many good professors, were forced to leave Edinburgh, and dwell in other places. Mr Knox remained for a space in St Andrewes; and, after long troubles, there being acts of pacification made betuixt the Lords holding for the King, and these that held for the Queen, the Kirk in this mean tyme preassing to keep their Assemblies, but got litle good done. Yet take here some Acts as followeth:—

At the fourth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, December 25, 1562, wherein (as in the former) Mr Knox Moderated. Delations given in upon all the Superintendents and Ministers, and they all exactlie tryed. Inacted, That whoso hes bene popish before, and hes not as yet satisfied the Kirk, be inhibited to preach: That election and nomination of Ministers be by the people: Transportation declared lawfull where there is reason for it: Provinciall Assemblies to be holden by the Superintendents in Aprile and October, consisting of Ministers and Elders: The communion to be celebrated within burghs four times in the yeare, in landwart twise;

in the celebration of it and marriage, uniformitie to be keeped by all.

At the fyfth Generall Assemblie, holden at Perth, Junii 25, 1563, Mr John Willock, Superintendent for the West, chosen Moderator. All Superintendents and Ministers were exactlie tryed, and accordinglie allowed or censured. Paul Methven deposed and excommunicat summarlie for adulterie: David Fergusson, minister at Dunfermline, haveing at length conferred with him, declared how penitent he thought him for his filthie sin. Inacted, fornication committed under promise of mariage made secretlie, to be punished as any other fornication. *Item*, A partie conceaveing himself wronged by a session, may appeall to the Provinciall and Superintendent, (Presbyteries were not as yit erected;) if he conceave himself wronged by them, he may appeall to the Generall Assemblie. He must, within ten dayes after he hes appealled, give in his reasons of his appealling to the Moderator, but fra the Generall Assemblie no appellation to be made; where, if it be judged *male appellatum*, the faulter to be censured. *Item*, That instructers of youth be well tryed, and poore schollers intertained. *Item*, That nothing relating to religion or reformation be printed till first approven by the Superintendent, and such as he shall associate unto himself; and if they question any thing, not till the Generall Assemblie disput the mater.

At the sixth Generall Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, December 25, 1563, John Willock chosen Moderator. A committie was appointed, (wherof Mr George Buchanan was one,) to revise the Book of Discipline. *Item* inacted, That Ministers be residentiars with their flocks. *Item*, That Elders and Diacons assist in visiting the sick and poore.

At the seventh Generall Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, Junii 25, 1564, John Willock continued Moderator. A number chosen to repare to the Secret Councill, to requyre in Christ's name, and request, that as, ere the Queen, who was a Papist, arryved, religion

was established, so now lawes abolishing the Masse or any tolleration of it may be renewed; [that] ministers (who then lived exceeding meanlie) may be provyded of livelihood; transgressors aganis Christ's ordinances, and open contemners, (and particularlie in Aberdeene,) may be punished condignlie. A faire ansuer (in words) was returned by the Queen, and the Assemblie repromitts to be loveing, loyall, and obedient subjects to hir Majestie in Christ. A great committie was appoynted to considder and reason anent the wholl jurisdiction of the Kirk. Inacted, That a Minister may not leave his flock and transport himself.

At the eight Generall Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, December 25, 1564, John Erskin of Dun, Superintendent of Angus and Mearns, chosen Moderator. Articles were presented to the Secreit Councill, who was desyred to get an ansuer fra the Queenes Majestie, 1°, What remedie for open avowed Masses; 2°, Anent Ministers sustentation; 3°, Superintendents to be placed where there is none, particularlie in the south and north, and more speciallie in Aberdeine, one; 4°, What punishment upon those who have contemptuouslie steeked Kirk doores upon the preachers of Christ's Gospell, as in Paislay, Aberdein, etc.; 5°, Anent manses and gleebs, and reparation of kirks.

Paull Methven, adulterer, is thought ill of, that, professing repentance, he desires and suits his process to be dilated out of the register, seing King David did register his sin; and as for his suit of re-admission to the ministrie, it is judged untymous, till he further evidence deep repentance, and be much suited by some congregation: And the Assemblie declares, they doe much offend and greives, that he being excommunicated, did undertake a ministrie in Ingland before he wes reconcealed to the Kirk, relaxed and absolved; offends also, that he calls some false witnesses, wheras, in effect, he himself hes confessed all that they deponed.

At the nynt Generall Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, Junij 25, 1565, John Willock, Moderator. The nobilitie there present are

desyred to intreat the Queen, to take ordour with haynous sins, as Sabbath-breaking, adulterie, fornication, etc.: That Ministers be provyded with liveings: To regrait the giveing away of kirk lands fra the Kirk: That masse and idolatrie be abolished, and Reformed religion and the Reformation be established by civill lawes: That preachings be repaired unto by all upon the Lord's day: That none be instructers of youth, but such as after tryall be found able and well approven: That all hospitals and mortifications for the poore be restored to them: That all formerlie pertaining to freirs, preists, monks, altarages, etc., be employed for schools and the poore: Masse and all idolatrie to be abolished, even in the Queen's awin person: That poore labourers oppressed in their tythes be eased.

Inacted, That mariage without consent of parents is unlawfull, when not so much as sought, or represented to the Kirk, and the transgressors to satisfie as shall be injoyned. *Item*, That none have pluralitie of benefices, where he cannot discharge both charges: That Ministers, deserters of their charges, be charged to re-enter with deep certification. Johne Knox appoynted to awaite upon and advertise of the Queen's ansuer to the supplication and articles therein contained, and advertise the Superintendents of the same, or any other thing necessare till the nixt Assemblie.

At the tenth Generall Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, December 25, 1565, John Erskin of Dun, Moderator. Because the Queen's ansuer to the articles were not found satisfactorie, Mr John Row wes ordained to draw up ansuers to each of hir ansuers upon each article. She refuised flatlie to quyt her masse; promised to establish religion with advise of hir Parliament; the benefits of patronages being the patrimonie of hir croun, she will not, she may not quyt, but shall assigne Ministers to some portion thereof. The Assemblie replyed, They were heartilie sorie that idolatrie should be avowed after so much cleare light holden forth from Gŏd's word; affirmed no religion to be saveing but the Reformed, as being onlie grounded upon God's trueth: Turks and Jewes have to pretend antiquitie, consent of people, authoritie of councells, multitudes of

followers, and such lyke cloaks; we not onlie preach the trueth, but offers publict dispute to all adversaries: The Masse is a masse of impietie, idolatrie, and blasphemie; confederacie with Christ should be dearer to the Queen, nor any Prince in the world: The retaining of Kirk liveings in her awin hand is sacrilegious, for thereby the soules of God's people shall be defrauded of the meanes of salvation: The teinds are the Kirk's patrimonie, whereby the ministrie and the poore ought to be intertained, Kirks repaired, youth educated; and these done, let the Councill dispose of the rest: We thank the Queen's Majestie for her offer, but it is generall, and no execution can follow upon it till it be particular; so intreats the articles to be reformed.

A supplication to the Queen for Ministers that want stipends; and for redresse when as Ministers are put violent hand into, onlie for reproving of vyce.

Inacted, That, according to God's word, if anie shall marie his wife's brother daughter, or sister daughter, the mariage be held incestuous and null: That revolters to Poperie, after admonition, be excomunicat if they repent not: That no Minister marie any of another parish, without a testimoniall of the proclamation of their bands, and that no impediment is found; the transgressor to be deposed: If any clame a man going to be maried, the mariage not to proceed till the clame be discussed: No beneficed persone may be a non-residentare, under whatsomever pretext: No Minister may quyt his calling and take him to another, under pretexts of povertie; he may lawfullie and ordourlie quyt ane unthankfull people. Upon the notorietie of a great and haynous fact, as adulterie or murder, either confessed or proven by witnesses, the transgressor to be secluded fra the comunion, after whilk censure, if he carie impenitentlie, lightlie, or be negligent to seek reconciliation, or if he carie insolentlie, wantonlie, or otherwise than beseems a penitent, to be excomunicat. Seing Popish priests uses the words of institution and the element of water, if children so baptized abjure Poperie, they comeing to years of discretion, may be admitted to the Lord's Table; for the whole Assemblie acknowledged themselves baptized, yet wes it

done in the Popish Kirk. That they who oppresse children be debarred fra the Sacrament. That those who lyes in fornication, after the promise deferring their mariage, make publict repentance ere they be maried.

Martii 8, 1566. Rizio, commonelie called Signour David, was stabbed.

At the eleventh Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, Junii 25, 1566, John Erskin of Dun, knight, continued Moderator. Supplication to the Lords of Secreit Councill, that no excommunicate persone have *personam standi in judicio*, especiallie when the excommunication is notoure or objected. Transportation refuised upon freevolous reasons, and the people unwilling to want their pastor. A woman haveing hir husband nyne or ten years out of the countrey, yet cannot marie another till she produce a testimoniall of hir former husband's death. Whosoever seeks donation or confirmation of benefices fra the Pope's Kirk, ought not to be admitted to or retained in the ministrie.

Paull Methven, adulterer, upon his serious supplication and great expressions of sorrow, wes receaved thus:—Tuo severall Sabbath dayes in Edinburgh, Dundie, and Jedburgh, both dayes in sackcloth, standing before sermon at the church doore barefooted and bareheaded, and, the last of the two, when he is absolved and receaved, layes asyde that habite, and is imbraced in his awin habite, yit not to be admitted to the Lord's Table, whill he report to the nixt Generall Assemblie in December sufficient testimonialls of his repentance publict, and also of his private Christian cariage.

At the twelvth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, December 25, 1566, John Erskin of Dun continued Moderator. The Assemblie accepts of the Queen's offer for sustentation of Ministers, with a protestation it be not prejudiciall to suit what more is justlie belonging to the Kirk; declared unanimouslie the teinds to belong to the Kirk for the intertaining of Ministers, poore, schoolls, and all

other pious uses. 2°, That Ministers might not be silent, seeing the teinds waisted on other uses, in mean while Ministers pinched, poore starveing, schoolls decaying, kirks falling, bridges wanting, etc. 3°, After due admonition, these who refuise in this to doe duetie to be censured.

Mr Knox obtained leave to go to Ingland to visite his children, and doe his other effaires, being recommended thither with ample testimoniall.[1] Also, an earnest letter was written to the Bishops of Ingland[2] that they would not suspend and depose from the ministrie (as they had done) any of their godlie learned Ministers, because they refused to use surplice, cornet, cap, and tippet, and other trinketts of the whoore of Rome, whilk the Popish priests useth in the verie acting of their idolatrie; advyseing them not to doe to their brethren [that] whilk they would wish were not done to themselves, viz. to urge upon their consciences (a most tender thing) the practise of any thing wherein they had not clearnes, light, and libertie, especiallie any of the dregs of the Romish beast; for what hath a Minister of the Gospell to doe to take in his hand or in his forehead any such mark of that odious beast? May he not justlie feare God's wrath if he shall doe it? Feed the flock of Christ not with constraint: give no offence either to Jew or Grecian, or the Kirk of God: all things (even lawfull) edifie not: Wherefore we humblie supplicat and request that our dear brethren be not troubled for triffles and Romish rags: We trust ye will not despise our request, albeit we have not much worldlie pompe. We are your Brethren in Christ.

A commission of jurisdiction being given to the Bishop of St Androes, an enemie to Christ, a supplication is drawen up to the Secret Councill aganis it, That their Honours would take to heart that that perjured enemie of Christ, and murderer of his brethren, commonlie styled Archbishop of St Androes, Hamilton, a bastard, wes by a signatour past restored to all his former jurisdiction, and had gotten a judicatorie of commissariot, confirming of testaments,

[1] [2] These letters are contained in Calderwood's MS., and have been inserted in the Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol. i. pp. 84, 85.

donation of benefices, with all his former rents and emoluments. This is not onlie to cure the head of the wounded beast, (seing he wes once turned out,) but also to turne the Ministers out of their liveing, and, if we should be silent, to make us guiltie of the blood of all the soules that so should perish; and by the Lord's strength we will not be subject to that usurped tyrannie, more nor to the Divill himself, for he may judge of heresie, and take ordour with it, and what Papists call heresie none of your Lordships is ignorant. The remedie is this:—The Queen is not well informed, for she may not doe contrare the well established lawes of the land: but so it is, that in a free Parliament (the best that ever was in this land) that odious beast wes depryved of all jurisdiction, office, or autoritie; whilk Parliament the Queen hes ratified at hir arrivall, and by diverse proclamations since that tyme hes confirmed our religion and reformation: wherefore crave boldlie and freelie justice of the tyrant, (yet without tumult,) and ye shall see he dare no more be seen nor howletts [owls] in the day light, and this concerns your Honours als much as us, wherefore look to it, as ye will be ansuerable to God, etc.

This bastard brother to Duke Hamiltoun first professed himself a Protestant; returning from forrayne countreyes, wes made Abbot of Paisley, and afterward Bishop of St Androes, in the rowme of Cardinall Beton, sticked Maie 28, 1546; apostatizing and professing Poperie, withdrew also the Duke fra the Reformed religion; became an open enemie, and vyle licentious liver; 1571, he is taken prisoner in the Castell of Dumbartan by the Earle of Lenox, grandfather to King James VI.; wes hanged at Stirline for his accession to King Henrie the Earle his sone[1] his death, and the death of the Regent Earle of Moray,[2] killed at Linlithgow by one James Hamil-

[1] That is, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, son of Matthew, Earl of Lennox, who was elected Regent of Scotland, 12th July 1570, but was killed at Stirling 3d September 1571.

[2] John Hamilton was natural son of James the first Earl of Arran. As above stated, after the murder of Cardinal Betoun, he was promoted to the See of St Andrews. Keith, in mentioning the active part the Archbishop took on behalf of Queen Mary, says, "After this," (the battle of Langsyde, 13th May 1568,) "he was

ton of Bothuelhauche, whose life he had spared, being taken a prisoner, bearing airms aganis the Regent.

Persons falling in adulterie ought not afterward to have mariage granted to them, but ought to be put to death according to God's law, and to supplicat for this. He who, December 26, 1566, maried his father brother's wife after forewarning, let the incestuous be persued criminallie by the civill judge: delate them. Summonds direct aganis all bishops, abbots, priors, and other beneficed persons who serves not the cure, to ansuer at the nixt Generall Assemblie.

At the thirteenth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, Junii 25, 1567, Mr George Buchanan, Principall of St Leonard's Colledge in St Androes, Moderator. Perceaveing the danger of religion and reformation by the bloodie decrees of Trent, and cruell attempts of Papists in France and Flanders, and aganis Scotland in particulare, plotts both within and without the land; and that Ministers have no provision, and the poore members of Christ are starving on streets, and lying as dung misregarded; and seing a Mutuall Band is requisit in such cases; it is appoynted that a Generall Assemblie conveen againe upon the 20 of Julie nixt to come, and to it invites

declared a traitor by the Earl of Moray, then become Regent; whereupon, after lurking some time among his friends and relations, he fled for security to the strong castle of Dumbarton; at the surprize of which fortress, he fell into his enemies' hands, and was hanged publicly on a gibbet, in the town of Stirling, the first day of April 1570."—(*Catal. of Bishops.*) This date is erroneous: it should be 1571. His execution must be attributed to the Regent Earl of Lennox; for Keith, with an apparent want of candour, has taken no notice of the fact that the Regent Earl of Moray had been previously murdered, being shot from a window in Linlithgow, by the Archbishop's nephew, James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, on the 23d January 1569-70. The castle of Dunbarton was not taken till the 2d April 1571, when Archbishop Hamilton, with "utheris of the Queen of Englandis rebellis," were made prisoners; and he was executed as a common malefactor, on the 7th of that month, and, to add to the indignity, this distich was affixed on the gibbet:

Cresce diu foelix arbor, semperque vireto
Frondibus, ut nobis talia poma feras.

The Archbishop, on his trial, denied any knowledge or participation of Darnley's murder, but it is alleged he acknowledged being privy to that of the Regent Moray.—(*Hist. of King James the Sext*, p. 71,—*Richard Bannatyne's Memoriales*, p. 104.)

and requyres by common letters all the Protestant noblemen and barrons within the kingdome; yea, and all others also of what rank so ever, to assist with their counsell and concurrance in so necessare a work: for the prosecution of whilk good work, a commission was given to a certaine number of the Assemblie, with full and ample power, etc. The letters were direct and subscryved by these comissioners, John Erskin of Dun, Masters John Spottiswood, John Dowglas, John Knox, John Row, John Craig.

A man falling in fornication, and binding himself to marie the woman if ever he should haunt hir company, falling againe with hir, yit should not be compelled to marie hir, but be punished for his offence. Whoso[ever] wilfullie haunts the companie of excommunicat persones, one or more, after admonition, to be processed also with excomunication. A fast to be keeped in Edinburgh two Sabbaths before the ensueing Assemblie.

At the fourteenth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, Julii 20, 1567, Mr George Buchanan continued Moderator.[1] Some course wes taken as they could with Ministers provisions, who now wes assigned to the Thirds of benefices or teinds; (for many of the Ministrie were in great povertie, and not able to attend their charge,) many were absent, and sent letters of excuse.

ARTICLES AGREED UPON.

1. That, seing in ane lawfull Parliament, before the Queen's arrivall, the Masse, all Poperie, all monuments of idolatrie, all superstition, all usurped jurisdiction, was abolished; that these lawes stand in vigour aganis all persons whatsomever; and the Nobilitie and Gentrie present bind themselves to defend the same Parliament, and to ratifie it in the nixt Parliament, according to their place and power, and at all other convenient tymes and occasions.

2. That the Act concerning the thirds of benefices now assigned

[1] According to Calderwood, Mr John Row, Minister of Perth, was elected Moderator. But Petrie refers to this as the continuation of the previous Assembly, and makes no mention of the election of a new Moderator.

to Ministers be speedilie put in execution, and effectuallie, till a course be taken with the wholl patrimonie of the Kirk. *Item*, The small benefices extending to 300 merks. *Item*, The annuells, obits, and altarages within burghs.

3. That the Nobilitie and Gentrie præsent shall labour in the nixt Parliament, that what concerns the Kirk be first done in Parliament, and that they be invested in their wholl patrimonie, and that these præsent oblishes to reforme themselves, to give good example to others, according to God's Word: And ordaines refuisers to be excommunicat; and poore labourers of the ground to be eased of their teinds, and that tacks be not sett over their heads without their awin consent.

4. That none be instructers of youth, publictlie or privatlie, but these that are admitted by the Superintendents and Visitors of Kirks, being found both sound and able.

5. That all crymes be sharplie punished, and where there is neither a law nor a judge to execute it aganis such or such a vyce, that at the nixt Parliament that be helped.

6. That seing the murder of the King is so odious a fact, and so disgracefull to the nation, and that the realme and toun cannot be free of God's wrath but by shedding the blood of the murderers, the present Nobilitie and Gentrie binds themselves to the uttermost to pursue that murder impartiallie aganis all that shall be found guiltie and accessorie to it.

7. They bind themselves to defend and maintaine the Prince, now borne, King James VI., crowned July 26, 1567, aganis all who would also oppresse and murder him (doubtles) as they did his father.

8. That all kings, rulers, magistrats, at their installing in their office, shall sweare to defend the true religion, and set fordward the work of Reformation, as they are oblished in God's Word, Deut. xvii.; 2 Chron. xxiii. 16; 1 Reg. ii. 3, 4.

9. That wise, godlie, and learned men have the charge of the education of the Prince, that comeing to majoritie he may be, by the blessing of God, a comfortable instrument of God, being vertuouslie educated.

10. That they shall conveen themselves and all their forces, the host of God shall goe through the wholl land and root out the Masse and all countenancers of it, shall destroy all monuments of idolatrie, shall punish all odious crymes, shall revenge the King's murther, shall pull doune all unlawfull jurisdiction, shall put out all corrupt instructers of youth, and all that exercise any function in the Kirk not being lawfullie admitted to the Ministrie, and shall doe all incumbent to them for the establishing of the true religion.—*Subscrived by about* 76 *hands.*[1]

A Convention of a number of brethren did hold in Edinburgh, December 18, 1567, to prepare maters for the Assemblie ensueing in that same moneth, without prejudice or prælimitation of the Assemblie alwayes. Where it wes thought good that the names of all adulterers and incestuous persons were gathered together out of everie congregation, and by the Superintendents and Generall Assemblie requyre the judge competent, in the name of Jesus Christ, to purge the land of such horrible crymes according to God's Word.

At the fifteenth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, December 25, 1567, Mr John Row, minister at Perth, Moderator. Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, named, who might at all tymes concur with the Secret Councill and my Lord Regent his Grace in all things concerning the Kirk, and for decision of questions, etc.

Adam,[2] called Bishop of Orknay, haveing maried the Queen with the Earl of Bothuell, and, in so doeing, transgressed in marieing a divorced adulterer, the Assemblie depryves him of all function in the ministrie. Also, Mr John Craig wes challenged for proclaming their bands of mariage; who answered, that he did in the mean tyme declare publictlie how scandalous that mariage would be, and

[1] The Subscribers' names are contained in the Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol. i. 110.

[2] Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney: He was also a Lord of Session, and became Commendator of the Abbey of Holyrood.

that he should never be the man should marie them; and withall, that he had the advise of grave brethren to doe what he did.

At the sixteenth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, July 1, 1568, John Willock, Moderator. Ordained that none have power to vote in the Generall Assemblie except Superintendents and Commissioners appoynted for visiting of Kirkes, and such Ministers as they choose to bring with them, who are well affected, and able to reasone and disput and judge of maters, also ruling elders, commissioners of burghs, shyres, and universities. The Ministers to be chosen at the Provinciall Assemblie, the Commissioners fra Burghs to be chosen by the Toune Councill and Session, Commissioners of Shyres to be chosen at the Provinciall Assemblie. That all Commissioners have a written subscryved commission; and lest the matter degenerat in a monopole, that from tyme to tyme they change Commissioners, and not still choose the same men.

Inacted, That he who slayes any upon suddentie and inadvertence be debarred from the Lord's Table untill he satisfie the Kirk. That a murtherer, adulterer, or incestuous person, being to be receaved by the Kirk, keep that same ordour wes observed in the receaveing of Paull Methven, pag. [29,] with this addition, that if it be for murther, the penitent shall stand with the weapon in his hand (or the verie lyke) wherwith he killed his neighbour. That Papists who, after sufficient instruction and admonitions, remaine obstinate, be excommunicat.

ARTICLES PRESENTED TO THE LORD REGENT HIS GRACE.

1. That the assignation to the thirds in some places will not come up to the half in others, not to the quarter of the Minister his stipend.

2. Shall Papists peaceablie possess a twa-part of the patrimonie of the Kirk without any imposition, and shall Christ's Ministers, who labour in the word and doctrine, not have a third?

3. That all the commone charges, intertaining of schooles and poore, come off the Papists twa-part, that the third at least may be

frie to the Ministers of Christ, who should have the wholl, adding all other pious uses.

4. That there may be qualified persons presented to benefices presentlie vacand, pertaining to Cathedrall and Metropolitan Kirks, Nuneries, etc.

5. That the Colledge of Aberdein be reformed and purged of corrupt instructers.

6. That all odious crymes be suppressed by punishments.

7. That a Committee of the Councill meet with the Commission of the Kirk to treat of the jurisdiction of the Kirk, and to prepare it before the Parliament.

8. That Superintendents be placed where none are.

9. That a judicatorie be appoynted for augmenting and setling of Ministers stipends as need requyres.

Ansuered by The Regent:—That such as is put to the horn for Ministers stipends, their escheits shalbe uplifted, and the Ministers paid out of the first and readiest. That these Kirks vacand shall be given to qualified persons, and any prebendaries vacand shalbe uplifted by the collectors. Ordains a Commission to be made for reforming of Aberdein Colledge. Let the Regent's Grace have a roll of the committers of the vyces, they shall be proceeded aganis according to justice. The persons named shalbe warned to conveen August 8. Superintendents cannot be presentlee named. Let the Kirk give a Commission till the nixt Generall Assemblie: and for augmenting of Ministers stipends, the Clerk-Register, Pittarro, and Mr Henrie Balnaves, with some of the Kirk, or any two of them, to finde out what overture they think meitest.

A Minister agreed with a Vicar to pay him a yearlie duetie for his viccarage if he would give it over to him, seing he served the cure; another Minister accuses this Minister of simonie. The other protests that he be convicted *in pœna talionis* if the Assemblie found it not so. *Quæritur, An contractus sit Simoniacus? Et si sit, qua pœna puniendus qui scandalum commisit? Secundo, Si accusator cadat causa, qua pœna est iste puniendus qui [illud] scandalum suscitavit?* Ansuer, Publict repentance for his accusation.

The Bishop of Orknay, upon his repentance and submission, is restored againe to the ministrie of the word, and is ordained to make sermon in the Kirk of Halyroodhouse, and in the end of the sermon confesse his offence in marieing the Queen with the Earle of Bothuell.

At the seventeenth Assemblie, conveened at Edinburgh, December 25, 1568, John Willok continued Moderator. Received a pious letter from the Earle of Glencairn, professing his zeall for the work of reformation, and that he had put the Ministers in that bounds in possession of the Bishoprick of Glasgou, viz. the thirds now pertaining to them; craved, some honest Ministers to be given unto him: for the whilk the Assemblie blessed God, and grants the nobleman's desire.

This Assemblie being rare and thin, be reason of storm of weather, and a report (albeit false) of the pestilence to have bene in Edinburgh, ordaines the Assemblie to conveene at Edinburgh, February 25, nixt to come.

At the eighteenth Assemblie, conveened at Edinburgh, February 25, 1568[-69,] (for the yeare then begouth not till March 25, for so it is yit in England to this day, and the change wes not whill 1600, at whilk tyme James VI., by an Act of Councill, ordained the supputation of the beginning of the yeare to be from Januar 1,) Mr David Lindesay, Moderator. A supplication to the Supream Magistrat, What ordour is to be taken with these who in Papistrie receaved benefices, now serves not the cure, and yit payes but a third? *Item*, If a beneficed persone may set tacks to any whom he will? *Item*, That the Regent's Grace would reduce all benefices once granted in favours of the Kirk, now given to others, contrare to law.

A letter presented from the Duke of Chattelherault his Grace to the Generall Assemblie, bearing, that the sense of the troubles of this countrey drew him home from France, if it lay in his power to help a poore, distracted, oppressed people; professing that his par-

ticular wrongs sustained, lay not so neare his heart as the publict: That he resolves God's word shalbe preached throw the kingdome, and the sacraments administred according to the institution. Nixt, That each subject may peaceablie enjoy his awin possession. Regraits the distance betuix the Queen and a part of hir subjects, wishes all hostilitie to be foreborn, yet desyres ordour to be taken with the slauchter of the Queen's husband. And because he understood that the Earle of Moray wes to oppose himself unto him, as wes reported, but he would not beleeve it, till experience spoke it out; intreated that the forces now in armes might be employed upon oppressors and thieves to take ordour with them; and if the Earle of Moray would pursue him, he doubted not but God and the nobilitie would take his part in his righteous cause; desyreing the Ministers to notifie his purpose to the people, and if any had any doubts anent him, that they would come and confer with himself.

(*Subscribitur*) Your Christian Brother,

JAMES HAMILTOUN.

The Assemblie ansuered the bearer, That they would advise with my Lord Regent his Grace ere they returned any answere, and that they would, according to their calling and power, pacifie the nobilitie.

A fast is concluded to be observed eight dayes with great sobrietie and abstinence, and to begin presentlie where it may be, and in more distant places when they may.

Ordained, that Superintendents and Comissioners of provinces shall *pro re nata* appoynt fasts as God in his providence shall call for, [and] they in their godlie wisdome shall see requisit, so that it needs not be delayed to a Generall Assemblie.

ARTICLES SENT TO MY LORD REGENT HIS GRACE.

That remedie be found aganis the Earle of Huntlie his oppression and tyrannie, who hes deposed the Kirk's Collectors, and placed others of his awin.

That his Grace and the Councill consent to his excomunication, if he remaine obstinat.

That his Grace consent to transport Mr Robert Pont from Moray.

That odious crymes be punished.

That the Justice-Clerk does not his part in that.

That (once at least) a distinction be made betuix the jurisdiction of the Kirk, and that whilk is civill.

That that question, Whither the adulterer shall be admitted to the benefit of mariage, yea or not, may at last be decyded.

At the nynteenth Assemblie, holden in Edinburgh, July 1, 1569, William Chrysteson, minister of Dundie, Moderator. Mr John Craig is judged to have done honestlie in that mater anent the proclameing of the bands betuix the Queen and the Earle of Bothuell. Persons guiltie of capitall crymes, summoned and not compearand, to be excommunicat.

ARTICLES PRESENTED TO MY LORD REGENT.

That a portion of the teinds be allotted to the poore.

That the poore labourers may intromett with their awin teindis upon a reasonable composition.

That these who have pluralitie of benefices be compelled to dimitt all except one.

That remedie be provyded aganis selling and changeing of benefices, setting of long tackes. All tackes sett since the assumption of the thirds be disannulled, and ane inhibition for tyme to come.

Item, Anent the jurisdiction of the Kirk, my Lord Regent ordains the persons nominat by the Parliament to meit, treat, and defyne according to God's Word. The thirds of all benefices was assigned to the Kirk, by the Parliament holden at Edinburgh in December 1567. The Generall Assemblie [to] appoynt the proportion how much shall a Superintendent have, how much a Commissioner, how much ane Exhorter, how much a Reader.

A letter from The Regent, beareing his care of the Kirk, that yeare he wes exyled in Ingland, the Ministers got nothing, but the King being crouned, and he admitted to his regencie, he established

religion by lawes, and had a care to provyde Ministers. The nobilitie, be reasson of commone burdens, hindered Ministers provisions. At last the thirds were provyded to the Kirk, upon promise that commone charges should come off them; wherefore, see how ye will satisfie the Nobilitie in this. As for crymes, we are doeing our best, and, after your tryall, assure you such shall be put to death who deserve it. Dated at Aberdeine, Junij last, 1569.

(Subscribitur) Yours assured friend,

JAMES REGENT.

And, for some particulars in the Regent's letter, the Assemblie answers, That Nicoll Sudderland is guiltie of incest, because he knew that the woman wes harlot to his mother brother before. *Item*, Anent chaplanries, agrees that they be disponed to colledges and the poore, according to the Act of Parliament.

Januar 21, 1569[-70,] the Regent wes shot at Linlithgow, out at a windo, by James Hamiltoun of Bothuelhauche.[1]

At the twentieth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, March 1, 1569 [-70.] (It wes appoynted to meet at Stirline, February 25, but wes adjourned by reason of troubles falling out throw the slaughter of my Lord Regent's Grace:) Sermon being had, and prayer to God after sermon by William Chrysteson, last Moderator, Mr John Craig is chosen Moderator. And it is inacted, That, in all tyme comeing, the Moderator of the preceeding Assemblie preach at the subsequent; after preaching, open up the Assemblie by prayer, and then proceed to the chuseing of a Moderator. Adulterers and incestuous persons are ordained to make publict repentance bareheaded and barefooted in sackcloth, and the last day to be receaved in their awin ordinarie clothes. If the person have bene excommunicat, he shall stand in sackcloth at the kirk-doore barefooted and bareheaded, and be secluded fra the publict prayers, and in tyme of preaching, sitt in a publict place and eminent, where

[1] This paragraph is transposed in the MS., as it precedes the notice of the Assembly in July 1569, on the previous page.

he may be knowen by the rest, and not to be absolved till he report his Minister's testimoniall to the nixt Assemblie, of his good and Christian behaviour. If any Minister sett his gleib or manse, or any part of the fruits thereof, with diminution of the rentall, that all such tacks be declared null, and he depryved of his benefice for ever. Persons who will not forbeare the companie of excomunicat persons after due admonition, themselves to be excommunicated also. The children of excomunicat persons are to be receaved to baptisme from the hands of a faithfull member, undertaking for their education in the Christian Reformed Religion. It is declared, If a single woman committ adulterie with a maried man, she shall be equallie punished, *soluta cum conjugato*, as well as *solutus cum conjugata*, or *conjugatus cum conjugata*. If a man repudiat his wife and bairnes, let the Minister labour for reconciliation, when there is no just cause to repudiat, and let the offended partie complaine to the judge ordinare. If parties be contracted in mariage, and their bands registrat, if carnall copulation have followed after that, by their awin confession, the partie that refuiseth to marie *(in tali casu)* after admonition, to be excomunicat; but *si res sit integra*, and no carnall copulation has followed upon it, then the partie refuisand not to be compelled, yit to be punished for inconstancie and levitie. That Ministers use no civill offices. That Ministers be publictlie admitted in all tyme comeing.

At the twenty-first Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, July 5, 1570, Mr Robert Pont, Moderator. Inacted, That Ministers, at their admission, shall protest solemnlie, never to leave their vocation, under the paine of infamie and perjurie. That all pastors begin to catechize the children of their congregation, being nine years of age. That such as hes made defection fra the lawfull autoritie of the King's Majestie, be admonished to return to his Majestie's obedience; with certification, if they contemptuouslie refuise, the spirituall sword shall be used aganis them. Brethren were nominat to dealle with my Lord Duke his Grace, the Earles of Argyll, Eglintoun, and Cassillis, the Lord Boyd, etc., sundrie barons and

gentlemen, and to report their ansuers to the nixt Assemblie. Cloakers of notour adulterie, let the rule have place, *consentientes et agentes pari pœna puniantur.* It is asked, A woman fathers a bairn on a man, and is readie to sweare he is father: He denyes, and swears he never knew the woman, Quæritur, *Utri credendum?* Respondetur, *Neutri.* Excommunication may be used aganis those who withholds Ministers stipends, after all diligence is used that lawfullie and possiblie could be done. A commission is given to eighteen Ministers and Elders, or any seven of them, to treat upon Articles given in, or to be given in, and to report to the nixt Generall Assemblie.

At the twenty-second Assemblie, holden in Edinburgh, March 5, 1570[-71,] Mr George Hay, Moderator. Ordained, that in all tyme comeing, all Superintendents and Commissioners for planting and visiting of Kirks, bring their Registers and Books of Visitation to the Assemblie, that their diligence may be knowen.

ARTICLES PERTAINING TO THE JURISDICTION OF THE KIRK, TO BE PROPONED TO THE REGENT'S GRACE AND SECRET COUNCILL, AND PETITIONED TO BE APPOYNTED BY THEM.

1°. That the Kirk have the judgment of true or false religion, or doctrine, heresies, or such lyke, pertaining to the preaching of the word, and administration of the sacraments.

2°. The election, examination, and admission of them that are admitted to the ministrie, and other ecclesiasticall functions, who have charge of soules, and ecclesiasticall benefices, also the suspension and deprivation of them therefra for lawfull causes.

3°. All things that concerns the Discipline of the Kirk whilk stands in correction of maners, admonitions, rebookes, excommunication, and receaving to repentance.

4°. The judgment of maters ecclesiasticall betuix persons that are of the Kirk, and in speciall, those of the ministrie, as well concerning benificiall causes as others.

5°. Jurisdiction to proceid by admonitions to the sentence of ex-

comunication, if neid beis, aganis them that rob the patrimonie of the Kirk appertaining to the ministrie, or otherwise intrometts therewith unjustlie, whereby the ministrie is in danger to decay.

6°. And, because the conjunction of persons in mariage belongeth to the ministrie, the causses of adherence and divorcements ought also to appertaine to them, as naturallie annexed thereto.

Forsamekle as many homicides, adulterers, etc., in respect of fead, distance of place, storme, and other impediments, cannot repair to the Generall Assemblie as wes appoynted, That in tyme comeing they repair to the Provinciall Synod of the respective bounds whilk conveens twyse in the yeare, in Aprile and October, and there receave their injunctions, just as the Generall Assemblie prescryved.

That in tyme comeing, no hard questions be proponed to the Generall Assemblie, but that they be all proponit to the Provinciall Synod, where, if they receave satisfaction, it is well, if not, let the Superintendents bring them to the Generall Assemblie, there to be decyded. That all mariages be solemnized in face of the congregation, and that no Minister marie persons of another congregation without testimoniall of their Minister, or a licence asked and obtained of him by the parties; contraveeners to make publict repentance. Inhibites Magistrats to hold their Courts in Kirks. Mitigation to be used in the receaving of penitent excommunicats who were never formerlie of our Assemblie. These who stayes the proclamation of bands by infamous misreports, shall be punished as false informers and slanderers. Pactions betuix the patron haveand the greater part of the teinds, and the beneficed Minister haveing the smaller part, tending to simonie, is unlawfull.

A certaine Minister refuiseth to marie a man seeking to marie his awin servant whom he had humbled, because he thought that judiciall law is not to be observed. The Minister is found to have done wrong, and the Superintendent is ordained to satisfie the man's lawfull desire.

At the twenty-third Assemblie, holden at Stirlin, August 6, 1571,

Mr Gilbert Gairdin, Moderator. A letter from Mr Knox, presented to the Assemblie, dated from St Androes, August 3, 1571, beareing, That calumnies and aspersions wherewith he wes charged were all false; charging them in Christ's name to be faithfull, and carefull of the flock, and that they shall prove traitours to the flock if they admitt unfaithfull or unable men; eschew that, as ye avoyde hell's fyre; in the strength of God withstand the merciles devourers of the patrimonie of the Kirk, and then, if men will spoyle, let them doe it to their owne perill and damnation. Your battell is hard, but go to it in the Lord's strength, communicat not with other men's sins, either by consent or silence, bot protest publictlie that yee are free of that robberie whilk will, ere long, bring God's vengance on the committers of it.

Articles given in to the Assemblie by the Regent's Grace, and also Articles given by the Assemblie to the Regent's Grace, Parliament, and Councill; and the Comissioners of the Generall Assemblie nominat, appoynted to meet at Stirlin, August 22, to reason and report.

At the twenty-fourth Assemblie, met at Leith, January 12, 1571 [-72,] Mr Gilbert Gairdin continued Moderator. No generall Act past.

At the twenty-fifth Assemblie, holden at St Androes, March 6, 1571[-72,] Mr Robert Hamilton, minister of St Androes, Moderator, though Mr John Douglas, Archbishop of St Androes, wes present at the Assemblie. If the vicarage exceed 40 lib., the vicare shall furnish the communion elements: If not, the parson, or he who hes the great teinds, shall furnish them. Ordains the Superintendent of Fyfe to use his awin jurisdiction, (as of befor,) without any subjection to the Archbishop of St Androes, and requests him to concur also with the Archbishop in his visitations, whilk he exerces be vertue of his Commission till the nixt Generall Assemblie.

At the twenty-sixth Assemblie, holden at Perth, August 6, 1572,

John Erskin of Dun, Moderator. Inacted, That whatever member of the Assemblie does speak unorderlie, and without leave asked and obtained of the Moderator, he shalbe forthwith removed, and not get admittance to that Assemblie againe. Certaine names, such as Archbishop, Bishop, Archdean, Dean, Chanceler, Chapter, etc., being found in sundrie writes, and thir names and designations being thought offensive as savouring of the Romish hierarchie, the Assemblie desyres thir names changed; and protests, that in sometymes useing of thir names, they be not thought to aggree to any poynt of Poperie. Protests also that Articles agreed upon be only for an interim, till a more perfyt ordour may be obtained at the hands of the King and the nobilitie.

At the twenty-seventh Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, March 6, 1572[-73,] Mr David Fergusson, Moderator. Mr John Row censured for marieing the Master of Craufoord and my Lord Drummond's daughter without proclamation of bands; and what wes done in it wes not in due tyme, viz. on Thursday at the evening prayers; notwithstanding of his excuse, that it wes at the command of the Session, whereof my Lord Ruthven was one.

Inacted, That no collections for poore be in tyme of divine service, but at kirk-doores. Beneficed persons, non-residents, to be deposed if, after admonition, they reside not with their flockes.

Johne Knox,[1] now deceassed, haveing been so notable an instrument of God, that his worthie travells may be remembred in his posteritie, the Assemblie recommends to the magistrat to give to his wife, Margaret Stuart, and her three daughters, his stipend for the ensueing yeare 1573, now approaching, after his deceass, viz. 500 merks, tuo chalders wheat, six chalders beare, four chalders oats.

Ordains excommunication to be aganis Papists somewhat more summary, viz. within eight dayes after the admonitions, if they doe not joyne themselves to the established religion, now, by the Lord's blessing, Reformed.

[1] Knox died at Edinburgh, 24th November 1572.

It being desyred by my Lord Regent his Grace,[1] that some learned Ministers might be also Senators of the Colledge of Justice, it is ansuered, No Minister is able to discharge a duetie in both those callings. Who is sufficient for these things? No man that goes a warfair entangleth himself, etc.

ARTICLES AND OVERTURES PRESENTED BY THE PROVINCE OF LOTHIAN.

1°. That a coppie of the Acts of the Generall Assemblie be given to everie exercise.

2°. That maters falling out, new incidents and emergents betuix the Provinciall Synods and Generall Assemblies shall be marked everie exercise, and put in frame twenty dayes before the Generall Assemblie.

3°. That matters referred to the Generall Assemblie be registrate faithfullie by the Superintendent's clerk, and reported by the Superintendent.

4°. That, as of before, Noblemen and Barons, ruleing elders, frequent the Assemblie, to conciliat the more reverence and autoritie.

5°. That these who have not present money wherewith to buy books, the Collector advance them the money, to be repayit by their stipends.

The Assemblie approves all thir Articles, and ratifies them as good and necessare.

If a man go out of the countrey, stay seven yeares, marie another wife, his wife also be maried to another man; both are adulterers, except a lawfull sentence of divorcement have preceded the second mariage. According to the Word of God, and practise of the primitive Kirk, no person may exercise a calling in the Kirk, and be also a Civill Judge. These tuo must not be confounded in the person of him who is a preacher of the word, and administrator of the sacraments.

[1] John, Earl of Mar, elected Regent, 6th September 1571, having died 29th October 1572, he was succeeded in the Regency by James, Earl of Morton.

At the twenty-eighth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, August 6, 1573, Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, Moderator. The Superintendents, Bishops, and Comissioners Books and Registers delyvered to be tryed. That the names of all excommunicats be reported at the Generall Assemblie, that none pretend ignorance, and censures to be diligentlie used aganis resetters of, or haunters with them. Parish Kirks incommodiouslie situated may be changed, provyding it be done with consent of all interested; and that it carie not along with it any prejudice to the kirk, gleeb, or manse. That gleebs and manses be mortified to the Kirk by the King's Majestie, this to be supplicated. Consulters with witches ordained to make publict repentance, and to be excommunicat if they dissobey. That uniformitie be keept in excommunication, 1°, The Minister shall be, by letters from the Superintendent and Commissioners, commanded, after admonitions contemned, to excommunicate the delinquent, and the Minister shall indorse these letters bearing the admonitions and excommunication, if no obedience given, and so report their diligence. That there be no partialitie in discipline and censures; great men, nobles, and barons, offending in these things whilk deserves sackcloth, shall take on that same habit whilk the poore take on, and no pecuniall sowme, *etiamsi ad pios usus*, shall liberat him from it. If a man dimitt his benefice *simpliciter*, let him dimitt it in the hands of the just patron.

At the twenty-ninth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, March 6, 1573[-74,] Mr Andro Hay, Moderator. Inacted, That all commissioners take a speciall notice how hospitall rents are used or abused, that my Lord Chancellour may receave the reports, and present them to my Lord Regent his Grace.

A large letter was drawen up and sent to the Regent, Councill, Nobilitie, Bishops, etc. The purpose wes declareing the divyne right of Assemblies, and the necessitie and utilitie of them. In the beginning, the nobilitie and barons did countenance the Assemblie, and much aided the Ministers, how did dishaunt them; wherefore, my Lord Regent, the Councill, Nobilitie, Bishops, and Barons, were re-

quired in Christ's name, and as they would testifie their love to the worke of God, to assist in the Assemblies of the Kirk, they being members thereof. And, because the Regent had desyred, in Articles whilk he gave to the Kirk, first to be charitablie admonished before he be traduced, therefore, now they take this course, etc.

Bishops ordained to be subject to the Discipline of the Kirk as the Superintendents still have bene, and the jurisdiction of Bishops not to exceed that of Superintendents, in any thing. No Superintendent or Bishop shall admitt a Minister without the assistance of thrie well qualified Ministers within that province; whilk thrie shall subscryve the Act of Admission with them in token of their consent. A Minister haveing more Kirks nor one, shall reside but at one of them, and be called the Minister of that Kirk; yet doe what good he can to the rest whill the Lord of the harvest thrust furth more labourers; and then he shall have his option to take him unto any one of them he pleases, that the rest may be provided with pastors of their awin.

August 3, 1573.—The Laird of Grange, Kirkaldie, wes executed for treason.

At the thirtieth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, August 7, 1574, John Duncanson, Moderator. It being regraited, that sundrie Ministers were collectors and chamberlanes to beneficed persons, bishops, and others, it is inacted, That whosoever does so in tyme comeing, the contraveeners shall be deposed.

ARTICLES PROPONED TO THE REGENT'S GRACE.

1. That Superintendents, and stipends to them, be in all parts of the countrey destitute thereof, or where the bounds is so great as that the charge cannot be discharged, as St Androes, Glasgow.

2. That Ministers put out of brughes be brought back againe.

3. That commission be granted to well affected noblemen and gentlemen in every province for punishing of odious crymes, as adulterie, incest, witchcraft.

4. That vackand Kirks be planted, and stipends assigned to them.

5. That Doctors of Theologie be placed in colledges, and stipends assigned to them.

6. That a generall ordour be taken with the poore; and that teind sybbows,[1] leeks, kaill,[2] and onyons, be discharged.

7. That in each province there be a judicatorie for divorces, for the ease of the poorer sort.

8. That qualified persons be provyded for vacant bishopricks.

9. That the Books of Assignation be delyvered to the Clerk of the Generall Assemblie.

Inacted, That those who in their wifes tyme fell in adulterie, and now hes maried that whoore with whom they fell in adulterie, be separated till the judge competent decern whither that mariage be lawfull, yea, or not; if they refuise to separate, let them be excommunicat. That the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper be celebrated only on the Lord's Day. That none buy, sell, or cowp any benefice, directlie or indirectlie; the contraveeners to be punished with all severitie and rigour as simonaicks.

The Assemblie hes thought good that the Superintendent of Lowthian, the Minister of Edinburgh (Mr James Lowson), and Minister of Leeth (Mr David Lindesay), shall make intimation and advertise the brethren that they may meet at any tyme when ever their presence shalbe required at a Parliament or Convention of Estates; whilk meeting shalbe reputed and accompted a Generall Assemblie. Absents from one Assemblie to be summoned to the nixt (there to be censured), except their excuse of absence be judged relevant.

At the thirty-first Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, March 7, 1574[–75,] James Bishop of Glasgow, Moderator. Inacted, That seing most of the Commentaries upon Scriptures are written in Latin, none be admitted to that function of the holie Ministrie but they who understand Latin, and can speake congruous Latin,

[1] *Sybbows*, the green tops of young onions. [2] *Kaill*, colewort.

exceptand these, who, for their other singulare graces, shall be judged fitt for the holy calling by the Generall Assemblie.

Discharges all clerk-playes, comedies, or tragedies, out of Canonick Scripture, and if any be made out of Apocrypha, the same to be considered ere they come in publict; and no clerk-play whatsomever to be acted on the Lord's day, but onlie upon week dayes. The contraveener to be censured, and, if he be a minister, to be deposed.

Ministers who go on to marie persons contracted whenas lawfull impediment is proponed, to be censured by the Superintendents and Commissioners of the respective bounds where they live.

Mr Andro Graham being presented to the Bishoprick of Dunblane, under the name of a preachour, although it be notoure he had not bein one, wherefore ordains him to exercise on Wednesday in the Magdalene Chapell before the Bishops, Superintendents, and Comissioners who can be present there; but especiallie before the Ministers of Edinburgh, on Rom. v. 1, etc.: Albeit the Kirk hes not as yet passed a finall sentence and conclusion, if all presented to such benefices should be preachours; or if the person presented be qualified, if alwayes the presentation is to be obeyed.

All who hes renunced poperie, sworne and subscryved to the true religion reformed, if they refuise to participat the Holie Supper of the Lord, to be counted as relapsers, and to be proceeded aganis with excommunication.

But to returne to the Historie, broken off, page [24,] at the fourth Generall Assemblie. The Ministers of Edinburgh comeing back againe, the Assemblies keeped more frequentlie, and gave in supplications and articles continuallie to the young King, to his Regent and Councill, to get all Papistrie suppressed; all monuments of idolatrie abolished; and that none should get any Kirk benefice bestowed upon them but they who were found qualified and well gifted for the same; and that such Ministers as were alreadie placed should have their manses and gleibs, whereby they might be resident with their flocks; and yet at this

tyme the nobilitie, for their awin ends, were placeing Bishops in vacand benefices, albeit the sincerest of the ministers and good professors would faine have had them altogether removed out of the Kirk: That the Superintendents (who had no benefices but only their stipends) and the Assemblies, consisting of ministers and elders comissioners, might governe the Kirk; but that could not be gotten fullie done, as our Kirk and other godlie zealous pastors in other parts would have wished. For it was about this tyme that Mr Beza, minister of Geneva, wrote a letter to Mr Knox, then minister at Edinburgh, concerning the Bishops whom he thought to have bene altogether removed from our Kirk; whose words concerning them I have sett doune, because they are so pertinent to our purpose.

Sed et istud, mi Cnoxe, te cæterosque fratres velim meminisse, quod jam oculis pene ipsis obversatur, sicut Episcopi Papatum pepererunt, ita Pseudo-Episcopos, Papatus reliquias, Epicureismum terris invecturos. Hanc pestem caveant, qui salvam ecclesiam cupiunt; et quum illam in Scotia in tempore profligaris, ne quæso unquam admittas, quantumvis unitatis retinendæ specie, quæ veteres etiam optimos multos fefellit, blandiatur. (*Bezæ Cnoxo, Epist.* 79.) That is to say, "O my dear Knox, I would have you and the rest of your brethren remembering this whilk now we may evidentlie behold before our eyes; that, as Bishops brought foorth and made a Pope, so thir false Bishops, who are nothing but remainders and relicts of the Papacie, will bring in Epicurisme and Atheisme in the world. Let all men, therefore, who wishes the welfare of Christ's Kirk, eschew such a great pest; and, seing that ye have tymeouslie banished it out of Scotland, I pray you let it never have place againe, albeit it carie with it a flattering appearance to hold in peace in the Kirk, whilk also deceaved many of the best auncient fathers."

Our Kirk then preassed to see the Articles and Heads of the Policie of the Kirk practised and obeyed, seing that all men seemed to be content therewith: for there wes never any Act concluded in the Generall Assemblies of the Kirk in these dayes, till all men had their doubts resolved be them either by particular conferences, or

by publicke reasoning and dispute, whilk made God's work rightlie to goe fordward; so that all corruptions knowen to be in the ministrie, and also vyces among the commone people, were daylie taken ordour with: for the Kirk was strictlie and well governed by Kirk-Sessions, in everie particulare congregation, where elders and deacons could be had qualified for their offices. Then afterward by Presbyteries, in cheif touns 20 ministers, or some fewer or more, as the bounds about that toune could affoord, with ane elder accompanieing each minister, meeting together everie week on a certaine day appoynted; at which tyme some portion of holie Canonick Scripture wes opened up and exponed by one of the saids ministers, and another minister did delyver doctrins and uses upon the same text, and some tyme tuo, and some tyme three, speaking by course, would add something, either doctrine, or observations, or uses, to that whilk had bein formerlie spoken, whilk wes called the Exercise of Prophesieing, or, in ecliptick expression, the Exercise of the Ministers. After whilk exercise, all maters of discipline belonging to that præcinct or bounds were handled.

Above Presbyteries were Provinciall Assemblies, holden twise everie yeare, in Aprile and October, wherein all the Ministers of the province conveened, with their comissioners ruleing elders. And finallie, the Generall or Nationall Assemblies mett twise in the yeare also, and oftner *pro re nata;* whereby it came to passe, that no idolatrie, heresie, error, superstition, publict sin, or profanitie, could escape censure and punishment according to the weight and desert thereof; for, if a minister, with his session and congregationall consistorie, could not get ordour taken with any offender or scandalous liver in his parish, he wes delated to the Presbyterie; and if the Presbyterie could not, the Provinciall Synod took ordour with the same. And if that judicatorie wes not of sufficient autoritie, the Generall Assemblie ended the controversie; for fra that judicatorie there wes no appellation. And if one Assemblie could not settle the controversie, it wes still agitat in subsequent Assemblies, till it wes put to a poynt. But, to avoyd ambition, preheminence, and tyrannie, the Moderators, both of Presbyteries and Provinciall As-

semblies, were chosen out of a leet made twise in the yeare, and such like, at everie Generall Assemblie a new Moderator was chosen; and, when he dimitted his place at the opening or entrie of the ensueing Assemblie, he taught a sermon, to stirre up his brethren to their dueties in their stations and calling, and relating to the tymes and present exigencies.

But now the Generall Assemblie of this Kirk began more seriouslie to speak of the Governement of the Kirk; and therefore, in the yeare 1575, the question wes proponed in the Assemblie holden at Edinburgh, August 6, concerning Bishops, If their name Bishop, being appropriated to some few, and not to all the Ministers of the Gospell, and if their autoritie and jurisdiction over and above their brethren, and places whilk they at that tyme had in the Kirk, was lawfull and tolerable? For ansuer to this question, it was thought expedient that sixe of the most learned, holy, grave, and prudent brethren, (three for the affirmative, three for the negative,) should meet and reassone that question *pro et contra*, as their light judgement and memorie served them for the tyme; and all the particulars concerning the said question being dispute and most exactlie considdered in nyne or ten Generall Assemblies, (everie Assemblie useing then to continue two weeks at least,) in end, with the consent of all, yea, even of the Bishops themselves, *nemine contradicente*, that office of a diocesan Lord Bishop was counted unprofitable, and unlawfull to be in God's Kirk: And many Acts were made to this same purpose, whilk afterward was riven out of the Registers of the Generall Assemblies, (ye may easilie judge by whom,[1]) yet, by God's good providence, a principall Act wes concluded, and also remains undestroyed in the books and registers of this Kirk, (whilk, by a rare providence, were preserved in the tyme of prelaticall apostasie, and being presented and exhibited to the most renowned Assemblie at Glasgow, *anno* 1638, were found and proven to be famous and authentick by 19 impregnable Reasons,[2] from page 1 to page 7,) and the Act was published to all in the yeare 1580, in the

[1] The author here alludes to Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews.

[2] See the printed Acts of Assembly for 1638.

Assemblie holden at Dundie, Julie 12. Wherefor I will here insert the principall Acts of all these Assemblies.

At the thirty-second Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, August 5, 1575, Mr Robert Pont, Moderator. After the tryell (as the custom wes) of the lyves and conversations of Bishops, Superintendents, other ministers, and comissioners: John Durie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, protested, That any tryell of the Bishops now past doe not prejudge the opinions and reassons whilk he and other brethren of his mynde purposes to propone in opposition to the name and office of a Bishop, as now it is used. The Assemblie will not permitt an advocate to come and plead for any man, but the person must ansuer for himself, or, if absent, some brother must ansuer for him. Inacted, that Ministers be clothed gravelie and soberlie, not in light apparrell in regard of colour, or costlie and sumptuous, and their wives and children to be subject to the same ordour. For fear of ambition and other inconveniences, That Comissioners from provinces be changed from tyme to tyme, where able and well affected men can be had to put in their rowms.

ARTICLES TO BE PRESENTED TO MY LORD REGENT HIS GRACE.

1. That vacant Kirks be planted with Ministers, and that livings be given to Superintendents and Comissioners who wants.

2. That all vyces be punished, and all that hinders the doctrine of the Gospell; that mercats on the Sabbath day be abolished; and that such as hinders Ministers in the exerciseing of their calling be punished.

Provision for the poore out of the teinds, whilk is their patrimonie; that hospitalls be restored to their right use, and their livings be reduced; that almes be given out of abbacies, as of before. Provision to be made for schoolls, particularlie that Glasgow be helped. Assignations appoynted by the Prince and the Kirk, but now are altered, be repaired againe; and that hereafter no alteration be made but by the advise of the Kirk.

That all dayes formerlie observed as holie dayes, (besyde the Sabbath,) as Yoole dayes and Saints dayes, may be abolished, and a civill penaltie inacted aganis the contraveeners.

Aged and infirme Ministers to have their stipends dureing their lifetyme. That seing the Clerk hes great pains, and gives out the Ministers letters gratis, That he be well payed of his ordinare stipend.

Anent the question proponed by certaine grave brethren, Whither the Bishops, as they are now in Scotland, hes their function of the word of God, yea or not? or, if the Chapters appointed for creating of Bishops ought to be tolerated in this reformed Kirk? The Assemblie appoynts for the affirmative, Masters George Hay, John Row, David Lindesay; and for the negative, Masters John Craig, James Lowson, and Andro Melvill, to meet, reasone, confer, treat, and dispute upon the said question, and to report the result of their disputes, their judgements, and opinion, to the Assemblie.

The brethren appoynted to reason in this question did give in this ansuer, before the dissolveing of the Assemblie, That they think it not expedient as yit to give ansuer directlie to the maine question, but agries, that if any unqualified Bishop be chosen, not haveing these qualities and qualifications requyred in God's word, he be tryed by the Generall Assemblie *de novo*, and that being found unqualified, he be deposed.

The poynts whereupon they agreed concerning the office of a Bishop and Superintendent, 1°. That the name of a Bishop in scripture is commone to all them that hes a particulare flock, over the whilk he hes a peculiar charge, to preach the word, administer the sacraments, and, with concurring of his elders, to exercise discipline.

2°. Out of this number may be chosen (understand especiallie *in ecclesia constituenda*) some who may have power to oversee and visite such a præcinct bounds, besyde his awin flock, as the Generall Assemblie shall appoynt; and in these bounds to appoynt ministers, with consent of the ministers of that province, and of the flock to which they shall be appoynted; also to appoynt elders and deacons in everie principall congregation, (wherein yit there is

none,) with consent of the people thereof; and finallie, to suspend ministers for reasonable causses, with consent of the ministers of the province foresaid.

It is declared, That the Kirk hath power to cognosce and decerne upon heresies, blasphemie, witchcraft, and violation of the Sabbath day, without prejudice alwayes of the civill punishment. There is no law to compell a man who hes lyen with a virgin, either to marie hir or to pay hir tocher-good. Bairns begotten in fornication before the mariage; if the man marie that same woman instantlie, after the mariage are not to be esteemed bastards.

At the thirty-third Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, Aprile 24, 1576, Mr John Row, Moderator. Inacted, aganis pluralitie of offices incompatible in one man's persone. Anent the opinion of the brethren appoynted to confer anent the office of a Bishop, etc. The Assemblie approves the advise ordaining such Bishops as have not yit receaved the charge and oversight of a particulare flock, that to-morrow they condescend upon the name of the particulare flock each one will accept to take the care of.

The Universitie of St Androes appoynted to be visited, and the Visitors named. *Quæritur*, If the patrimonie of the Kirk, whereupon the ministrie, poore, and schoolls, ought to be mantained, be *ex jure divino?* The ansuer to this question, and further disputation about it, is referred to the first day of Maie nixt.

Ministers appoynted to meet and confer anent the Policie and jurisdiction of the Kirk, and to report their overture to the nixt Generall Assemblie.

At the thirty-fourth Assemblie, convecned at Edinburgh, October 24, 1576, Mr John Craig, Moderator. The Regent's Grace is desired to be present at the Assemblie, or els some comissioners in his name. Ansuered, He could not satisfie their desire, the advertisement was so sudden.

Brethren were nominat to put that whilk concerned the Policie in good forme, and present it to the Assemblie.

Ordains all ministers and readers within eight myles, more or less, at the good discretion of the Visitor, to repair to the place of the exercise of prophesieing weeklie, especiallie the minister that should first prophesie, and he that wes appoynted to add; wherein, if any of these tuo faill, for the first fault, they shall confess their offence upon their knees before all the brethren; for the second, before the Provinciall Assemblie; for the third, to be summonded before the Generall Assemblie, there to receave censure for his offence; and it is declared, that the fourth fault deserves deprivation.

It being complained, That Mr Patrick Adamson was presented by the Regent's Grace to the Bishoprick of St Androis, and not tryed by the Assemblie, Mr Patrick being present, ansuered, That his Grace had desisted fra that mater; whilk ansuer wes ordained to be reported to his Grace.

A register of buried and dead persons to be in everie parish. No tacks to be sett without the advise of the Kirk, by any beneficed persone whatsomever. Mr Thomas Hebron [Hepburn] taught, that never a soule went to heaven before the latter day. The Assemblie condemnes this proposition as erroneous, false, and, if pertinaciouslie maintained, hereticall; ordaining, that none approve or mantaine such a corrupt opinion, under the paine of censure; ordaining the said Mr Thomas to resort to godlie, learned brethren, for information and resolution, and not to enter in the ministrie without the advise of the Generall Assemblie.

The Chapiter of St Androis declared Mr Patrik Adamson to be presented to the Bishoprick there by the Regent's Grace, but that they had not given their consent, be reasone that he wes not tryed by the Generall Assemblie, according to the Act of the Kirk. Mr Patrick being requyred to submitt himself to the tryell of the Assemblie, ansuered proudlie, He could not doe that.

Violators of the Sabbath by salt-pans, mylns, fishing, or any other labouring, are to be debarred from the benefitts of the Kirk, whill they make their repentance; and if they continue in that horrible sin, to be excommunicat. One that committs adulterie and incest ought to be double punished. No minister or reader ought

to tap aill, beer, or wine, or keep an open tavern, *indecorum est.* None ought to be buried in a kirk; the contraveener to be suspended from all benefites of the Kirk, till they make their repentance. James,[1] Bishop of Glasgow, being asked, if he would obtemper and obey the Act of the Assemblie, and betake him to a particulare flock, ansuered, That he desired that mater to be laid asyde till the King's majoritie; for, seing that estate of Bishops was now the third Estate in Parliament, if he should give way to alter it, he might be challenged of perjurie. When the Kirk and Parliament agreed to the alteration of that Estate, he should acquiesce, and, in the mean while, when he was in Air or Glasgow, he should take the chairge of a flock, as the brethren in these bounds thought meit.

The Assemblie continues the said Bishop in his office of visitation till the nixt Generall Assemblie, and ordains him to betake him to a particular flock.

At the thirty-fifth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, October 1, 1577, Mr Alexander Arbuthnet, Principall of Aberdeine Colledge, chosen Moderator; who haveing been absent fra the last Assemblie, and so not acquaint with the referres, [matters referred,] did choose assessors to assist him, and concurre in all maters to be proponed to the Assemblie.

The heads of the Policie were read, and all were invited to propone their doubts or scruples in publict, or to come and reasone the maters in privat first, and then in open Assemblie; and at last some brethren were sett apart to revise, digest, and putt all the Policie in good ordour, that it might be brought to some good end.

The Assemblie, finding that Mr Patrik Adamson had embraced the bishoprick of St Androis; had usurped the office of visitation, not authorised by their power and commission; had deserted his ordinarie charge in the ministrie; because the said Mr Patrik is absent, gives commission to some brethren to summond and call the said Mr Patrik before them, to try and examine him in the præmisses whereof he is accused; try also the chapiter by whome he

[1] James Boyd of Trochrig.

wes inaugurat, and report againe to the nixt Assemblie; and in the mean tyme to discharge him of all furder visitation of the said bounds, till he be admitted to the same by the Kirk.

It is not to be forgotten that David Fergusson, one of this committie, heareing, that in the tyme of the inauguration, a corbie wes sitting on the houses top, crying, Croup, Croup, Croup, he said, (in his accustomed merrie wise way,) this is *malum omen*, for inauguration is *ab avium garritu*, and the raven is *omnimodo* a black bird, and so ominous; and whoso could read rightlie what the corbie spake, it would be found to be Corrupt, Corrupt, Corrupt.

Certaine brethren being sent to the Regent's Grace, to acquaint him with the Policie of the Kirk, and some other articles; he ansuered, He wes pleased with their paines, and should return such ansuer as lay in his hand, or els he should conveen the Councill to that effect. The brethren had also in commission to suit libertie to Mr John Davidson to return to the countrey.

Some of the heads of the Policie were yet doubted of, and disputed, as *de Diaconatu; de Jure Patronatus; de Divortiis*, etc.: of thir, further disputation appoynted. Because the Policie wes a mater of so great importance and concernement, and wes not yet perfyted, The Assemblie appoynts a generall Fast over the wholl Kingdome and Kirk of Scotland; and ordaines brethren to meet againe the twentieth of October instant, to examine all the Policie, and report their diligence to the nixt Assemblie.

At the thirty-sixth Assemblie, conveened at Edinburgh, October 25, 1577, Mr David Lindesay, Moderator. The Assembly, takeing to consideration a great confusion in their meetings, by the casting in of purposes not foreseen, and by the multitude of proponers thereof, thinks meet, that dureing this Assemblie, certaine brethren nominat, should meet and conferre with the Moderator upon all maters of importance, to be treated upon at this Assemblie, and so to prepare them for the Assemblie; and also thinke fitt, that Acts made in the Assemblie be considered by these brethren adjoyned to the Moderator, and thereafter, that they be read in open Assemblie.

This wes called The Privie Conference, and in dayes of defection, it came to ane horrible corruption, for the Privie Conference did all, and the Assemblie was a cipher.

Mr Patrik Adamson, in my Lord Regent's name, exhibited a letter sent fra the Queen of Ingland to his Grace, informeing of ane Assemblie to be holden at Magdeburgh, for establishing of the Augustane Confession, with a letter written from the Casimire to hir Majestie to that same purpose, desirand the Assemblie to considder if they thought meit any of the learned Ministers of this kingdome should also repair thither. The Assemblie refers the answer to October twenty-eighth instant. The Assemblie thinks it verie fitt, that some goe to Magdeburgh, and nominatts eight of the learndest of the Assemblie, desireing the Regent to name any two of these his Grace pleased. The Regent thought Masters Andro Melvill and George Hay meitest to goe; but said, he would advise with the Councill.

Mr Thomas Kinneir, minister at Craill, deposed fra his ministrie, many scandalous things being clearlie proven aganis him; and it is ordained he be debarred fra the Holie Supper, till he make his repentance for his scandalous life.

The Policie being all read over, is allowed by the Assemblie; only *de Diacçnatu* is concluded by pluralitie of voyces, yet without prejudice of further reasoning. Brethren are appoynted to revise it all carefullie, write it over *in mundo*, present it to my Lord Regent's Grace, and conferr with him about it, or any poynt of it; and for that effect, at all tymes, to await on his dyet.

The Lord Glamis, Chancellour, was slaine at Stirlin, March 17, 1578.

At the thirty-seventh Assemblie, conveened at Edinburgh, Aprile 24, 1578, Mr Androw Melvill, Moderator. Four Assessors appointed. Inacted, That, in all tyme comeing, Bishops, and all ecclesiasticall office-bearers, be named only by their awin name, or be called Brethren, not Lords.

The brethren appoynted to attend the Regent's Grace reports they did so; but that the alteration of the governement had lett that bussines, for now King James VI. had taken upon himselfe the governement, being about twelve years of age; whereupon, for staying of corruption, they had given in a supplication to the Councill, with four articles. 1°. That the Act of Parliament be observed relating to those who bears publict charge in this kingdome. 2°. That ordour may be put to the late murder at Stirlin and Edinburgh. 3°. For the Policie of the Kirk. 4°. For a support to the appearand famine. The Councill promised to send some of their number to assist and vote in the Assemblie.

A generall Fast is indicted to begin the first Sabbath of June nixt to cum, and to continue till the secund Sabbath of June inclusive, with the accustomed exercises all the week over. In mean while, a supplication to the King's Majestie to discharge, by open proclamation, all Maie-playes and insolencies then usuall to be committed. The brethren are desyred by the Councill to give them the names of such as are suspect of Poperie; and if they refuise to subscryve the Confession of Faith, and to participat the holie communion, the Councill shall take ordour with them.

Ministers are appoynted to confer with some of the Nobilitie anent the Heads of the Policie, and to satisfie them in their doubts: also, they were suspected of their religion. All the brethren being requyred to propone any doubt against the Ecclesiasticall Policie, if any they had; and no man proponed any at all, all were silent.

The Assemblie, perceaveing more and more corruptions in the office of a diocesan Lord Bishop, inacts, That no Bishop shall be elected or made before the nixt Generall Assemblie; and if any Chapiters or Ministers shall contraveen, to be perpetuallie depryved, and this mater to be first proponed in the nixt Assemblie, to be yit further considered and taken ordour with. And such lyke, that no Commissioners of provinces shall give collation of any benefice to any other except to the Minister serveing the cure, and where the benefice lyes, the contraveeners to be depryved; and if they

[be] urged to it by the Prince's letters, let them shaw this Act for their warrand, till furder ordour be taken in it at the nixt Assemblie.

The Book of Policie [being] now some way perfyted, it is ordoured that one coppie be presented to the King's Majestie, another to the Councill; and the brethren nominat are ordained to attend on them at all tymes for conference and resolveing of their doubts; also to reason anent ceremonies; also how far ministers of Christ's Gospell may meddle with civill effairs; and, particularlie, if they may have vote in Councill, Session, or Parliament.

Causes of a publict fast and humiliation were found many and pressing. 1°. Universall corruption in all estates. 2°. Coldnes, slacknes, deadnes, neutralitie in religion and reformation. 3°. Daylie increes of all vyces and anormities, particularlie adulterie, incest, murder, (more speciallie at Edinburgh and Stirlin latelie,) sacriledge, sedition, division. 4°. The present famine, whilk, joyned with sedition and division, threatens no less nor utter ruine. 5°. The bloodie decrees of Trent. 6°. That God would bless the King's Highnes government; particularlie, that he with his Parliament may make and execute good lawes; more speciallie, may establish by law the Policie of the Kirk now concluded.

At the thirty-eighth Assemblie, holden at Stirlin, June 11, 1578, Mr Johne Row, Moderator. Fyve assessors were chosen. The King's Majestie wes invited to be present and assist the Assemblie.

Inacted, That the Act of the præceding Assemblie anent Bishops shall be extended to all tyme comeing, ay and whill [until] the estate of Bishops be root and branch taken away. And that all Bishops be presentlie charged to submit to the present reformation anent the corruptions of that office; the refuisers to obtemper, after admonitions, to be excommunicat. Whereupon the Bishop of Dumblane presentlie submitts.

The Act anent collation of benefices to stand in full vigour till the nixt Assemblie. Whoever sets tacks or fewes of their bene-

fices, or any part or parcell thereof, or any Chapiter consenting thereto, if they be ministers, that they be depryved.

The Brethren reported a verie favourable ansuer fra the King's Majestie that he consented to the Policie, and that he would not onlie concur with the Kirk, and establish the true religion presentlie professed, but that he would be a procurator for the same. Whereupon the King presented the Kirk's Supplication to the Councill, and a conference was appoynted betuix the Councill and Ministers. The benefice of a non-resident shall vaik. It is desyred that by speciall Act of Parliament, horning and caption be decerned aganis excomunicats.

Here the Register of the Kirk wants four leaves. Also ane Act aganis setters of tacks and fewes is imperfit. It was in favour of the Kirk, schoolls, and poore, who wes dieing daylie throw famine and want of sustenance.

At the thirty-ninth Assemblie, conveened at Edinburgh, October 24, 1578, David Ferguson, Moderator. Seven assessors. Some of the Nobilitie being present, the Moderator directs his speech to them; first, of the care of the Assemblie to keep religion pure; and nixt, to settle a Discipline and Policie, without whilk religion and doctrine will not be long keeped pure and inteer; shewing, that the Councill and Ministers at the conference had agreed but to some Heads, not all, as yet; desyreing the Nobilitie present to make profession presentlie of the allowing of the Policie of the Kirk for themselves and their part; as also, that they would labour at the King and Councill's hands for to obtaine these following:—

1°. That the Heads of Policie agreed upon may be established by law, and the rest not fullie agreed upon may also be put to a poynt by further conference. 2°. That the Act concerning the thirds be renewed. 3°. That none vote in Parliament in name of the Kirk, but with commission from the Kirk. 4°. That presentations of benefices be directed to the Commissioners of provinces where the benefices lyes. The Nobilitie present ansuered, they had

made, and did now make, profession of the religion and reformation present, promiseing to maintaine the same. Desyreing the Assemblie to supplicat the King and his Councill for the particulars mentioned, promiseing to assist the Assemblie.

Mr James Boyd, Bishop of Glasgow, requyred to submitt to the ordinance of the Kirk, ansuered in write,—1°. The office of a Bishop is allowed by the word of God, and he being elected by the King and Kirk to be Bishop of Glasgow, thought his calling lawfull. 2°. If he offend in the execution of his calling, he is content to be judged by the Kirk, desyreing that it may be by the canon, 1 Tim. i. cap. 3. 3°. As to my rents for serveing the cure, I esteam them lawfull. 4°. As to my vote in Councill or Parliament, my subjection compells me to obey when I am called to it, and it is verie necessare the Kirk have some present at the inacting of lawes, in the doing whereof, I protest before God I intend to doe nothing contrare to the puritie of the Scriptures and a well reformed countrey; as also, I declare that a good part of my liveing is given me for that same verie cause.

This ansuer wes judged by the Assemblie unsatisfactorie, and he was desyred to return at the afternoone, better advysed to submitt to the Kirk.

(Here also the Assemblie book wants two leaves. The maters being relating to Bishops, it is easie to espy who did mutilat the Register.)

Articles were given in to the King and his Councill; and in the Register they are unperfite, nothing left but some few lynes in the end of them, anent the punishing of vyces whilk abound in the land. That all persons depryved of their functions be charged to dimit their benefices, otherwise to be excommunicat; and if these to whom it belongs to excommunicat them doe it not, they to be depryved dureing the will of the Generall Asssemblie; and this Act to be presentlie execute aganis the Bishop of Dunkell, and Minister of Saulin by the Commissioners *respective* where they dwell.

All Bishops are presentlie charged to submitt to the Assemblie in the reformation of all corruptions alreadie discovered in their

office, and in any other corruption whilk afterward shall be found contrare to the word of God, viz:—1°. That they be pastors of particulare flocks. 2°. That they usurp no criminall jurisdiction. 3°. That they presume not to vote in Parliament, in name of the Kirk, without commission fra the Kirk. 4°. That for the upholding of their ambition and ryotousness they do not uplift Kirk rents, whereupon the ministrie, schoolls, and poore, must be intertained, but that they content themselves with a competencie as other ministers have. 5°. That they claim not the title of Lords. 6°. That they claim not temporall jurisdiction, whereby they may be distracted from their callings. 7°. That they tyrannize not over, but be subject to their particulare elderships. 8°. That they usurp not the power due to Presbyteries. 9°. That they usurp no further bounds of visitation nor the Generall Assemblie committs to them.

Because Poperie increasses throw parents sending of their children to places where Poperie is professed, that all such parents be requyred to recall their children from such places home againe. And siklyke, that the children being of perfite age be requyred to return. Contraveeners to be excommunicat, a due and competent tyme alwayes being granted to them.

At the fourtieth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, Julie 7, 1579, Mr Thomas Smetoune, Moderator. Assessors appoynted.

Mr John Duncanson, the King's Highnes minister, presented the King's letter to the Assemblie, bearand the desyre of peace in the realme, and desyreand ministers in their doctrine, assemblies, and cariage to contribut to that end, and to forbeare any novation not yet established by law; promiseing to confirme in the ensueing Parliament all articles of Policie agreed upon by the Councill, and that further conference may be had upon the articles not yet agreed upon, professing his willingnes to sett fordward religion and reformation according to God's will and word, with all diligence and all meanes whilk may be used.

(*Subscribitur*) JAMES R.

Mr Ninian Dazell, minister and schoolmaster in Dumfriece, is deposed for his apostasie, ay and whill his repentance be as notoure as his apostasie is. (Here also a leaf is riven out of the Register.)

Diligent inquisition to be made for Jesuits and seminarie priests, and being apprehended, that they be charged to give a confession of their faith, and to revoke their errours, and to subscryve to the reformed religion established within this Kirk, or refuiseing, that they be excommunicat.

A supplication to the King's Majestie that the Universitie of St Androes be visited and purged of many corruptions, and for that effect that they produce their foundation;[1] and that the King's Majestie may be pleased to appoynt some godlie and wise commissioners to joyne in this good work with the commissioners of the Kirk. The Assemblie gives full power to their commissioners to meet where the Parliament shall sitt, and there advise and draw up articles in name of the Kirk to be given in to the Parliament.

Articles also were presented to the King. 1°. That he would inhibit, under such pains as his Highnes and his Councill thinks fitt, that none send their children to Popish touns in France or elsewhere. 2°. He would cause the masters of the Universitie of St Androes produce their fundation, that both they may be visited according to it, and errours in the fundation may be amended. 3°. That ordour be taken with such Jesuites as are presentlie in the countrey. 4°. Seing the charge of his Highnes house is too great a charge for any one man, that his Majestie would be pleased to nominat any one of the best gifted in the kingdome to be adjoyned colleague to Mr Johne Duncanson. 5°. That seing some parts of the Policie are not as yit agreed upon, that his Majestie would appoynt some grave, wise, well-affected men, free of the corruptions desyred to be reformed in the Policie, to conferre with the ministers anent them. 6°. Because the Generall Assemblie understands that the King's Majestie, with advise of his Councill, [1°.] Directs letters to stay the execution of the Acts of the Kirk;

[1] *Foundations*, or, as Petrie explains it, their *primary Grants*.

2°. Summonds ministers to take new tryell of the sentence of excommunication, after it is ordourlie pronunced, with a warrand of God's word and discipline of this Kirk; 3°. Stayes the pronunceing of sundrie sentences of excommunication, duelie and ordourlie proceeded: That his Majestie in tyme comeing would doe none of these things, but that the acts and sentences of the Kirk may have due execution without controlment.

That no Readers celebrat the Sacraments, or make mariages, but such as the Provinciall Assemblie authorizes and thinks meet. That everie one serve where his benefice is, and that there be no pluralitie of benefices and offices. The Ministers of the exercise are judged a Presbyterie in the meanwhile, whill the Policie be established. Elders or Deacons discharged to read publictlie.

No persone bearand envy to his neighbour is to be admitted to the Communion, but the persone envyed testifieing their brotherlie love, may be and should be admitted. Persons repairing to May playes after admonition, especiallie Elders or Deacons, shalbe debarred from the Sacrament till they satisfie, confesse their sin, professe sorrow for it, and promise amendment.

Mariage may be solemnized any day of the week, a convenient number of witnesses being present. Mariage solemnized by a Popish priest in a clandestine way, without proclamation of bands, is declared null; wherefore let them so maried be charged to separat themselves, (as liveing in whoredome,) then let their bands be proclamed ordourlie, and this done let them be maried.

At the forty-first Assemblie, holden at Dundee, July 12, 1580, Mr James Lowson, Moderator. Some brethren thought that ordour of assessors tyrannicall, or tending to tyrannie, superioritie, and usurpation, yit, by pluralitie of votes at that tyme, it wes caried to be continued as a good and profitable thing. So eleven assessors were nominated to assist the Moderator.

The King by his letter nominats Mr John Craig to be his Minister, for whilk choise the Assemblie blessed the Lord, and praised the King for his zealle. Also he directed, with a written commis-

sion as from his Majestie to attend the Assemblie and assist them, the Prior of Pettinweem and the Laird of Lundie.

Because the insatiable avarice of many men is such that nothing can stay or stop it, it is ordained, that whosoever dilapidats his benefice, or diminishes any part of it, or setts any tacks or fewes at his awin hand, he shall be excommunicated without furder processe summarlie. Readers who can doe nothing but read are declared no ordinare office-bearers in the Kirk of God.

A letter wes produced and read, sent to the Assemblie by the Erle of Lennox, blessing God for his voyage to this countrey, at this time, where the Lord had showen to him his saving trueth; and although he had made a confession of his faith first at Edinburgh, then after had subscryved The Confession of Faith at Stirling, that yit he wes readie to doe whatever further the Assemblie would requyre of him relating to religion or reformation, professing his tender care of the Kirk, King, and countrey, or comonwealth, etc.

Inacted, That readers who hes read two yeares, and now cannot exhort, be deposed by the Commissioners of that province; and that no reader bruik or injoy gleeb or manss where there is ane actuall Minister. The King haveing emitted a proclamation aganis Papists, the execution of it is seriouslie recommended to all the Commissioners of the respective bounds. The Kirk being much damnified by the taking away of the thirds [of benefices], to supplicat the King to restore the Kirk to that benefite wherwith once they were invested. A pastor should have no more congregations but one, nor ought he to be named the minister of more congregations nor one. Apostates who, out of the countrey, hes committed idolatrie, since their subscryveing of The Confession of Faith, let them for their apostasie make their repentance, if they refuise, let them be excommunicat.

Compeared Captaine Anstruther, and confessed his apostasie, in that, beand in France, he had presented his bodie at the Masse, albeit in his heart he detested and abhorred that idolatrie, and keeped his heart upright and true to the Reformed religion, acknow-

ledged his defection, professing sorrow for it, engageing himselfe to submitt to whatever correction the Assemblie would be pleased to injoyne, and, in token of his sincere meaning, did hold up his hand. As to the cruell boutcherie and odious massacre of Paris, (whilk was anno 1572, August 24,) he declares, he keeped the King's gate of the Louvre in the tyme of that bloodie boutcherie, but past no further.

Concerning collation given by Bishops, visitors, or beneficed persons, contrair to the Act of the Kirk, the Assemblie adds this, that it shall be null in itself, and of no force in all tyme comeing.

Inacted, That both in burgh and land there be twyse preaching on the Lord's Day, viz. both befor and afternoone, that God's people may be the better instructed and catechised. Pastors to doe in this as they will ansuer to God and his Kirk.

It is inacted, That in everie Provinciall Assemblie there shall be certaine assessors adjoyned to the Commissioners of the province, who shall subscryve with them in all maters of weight and importance.

Commissioners directed to the King's Majestie with articles, and to labour and insist for a good ansuer to them. 1°. That ordour be taken with them that putts violent hand on ministers, or hinders, troubles, or interrupts them in the exercise of their callings. 2°. That deposed Ministers and others lose also their benefices that qualified men may injoy them. 3°. That those be punished who goes in pilgrimage to superstitious kirks, chapells, wells, etc., particularlie those who latelie went to the Holie Roode of Peebles. 4°. That no presentation of benefice be directed to any person but such as beares commission fra the Generall Assemblie, according to the Act of Parliament, and if any be otherwise receaved, that their admission be declared null. 5°. That all benefices vacand, where ministers are planted, be given to the ministers serveing the cure where they vake, they being able for it. 6°. That in respect of the zeall and good affection of James Lord Arran both to Kirk and commonewealth, the King and Councill would be pleased to

take some substantiall course and solid way both for his bodily health and comfort of his conscience. 7°. That the Book of Policie may be established by ane Act of Councill whill a Parliament be had [held], at whilk also it may be confirmed. 8°. Because there is a stranger banished for religion, who is a printer called Vautroller,[1] and also there is great necessitie of such within this kingdome, your Majestie and your Councill would be pleased to licentiat him to print.

Forsameikle as the office of a Bishop (as it's now used, and commonelie taken within this realme) hes no sure warrand, autoritie, or good ground out of the Scriptures of God, but is brought in by the follie and corruption of man's inventions, to the great overthrow of the Kirk of God; the whole Assemblie of this nationall Kirk, in one voyce, after libertie given to all men to reasone in the mater, not any one opposeing himself in the defence of the said pretended office, finds and declares the samyne pretended office, used and termed as is above said, unlawfull in itself, as haveing neither fundament, ground, nor warrand within the word of God: And ordains, that all such persons as bruiks, or shall bruik hereafter, the said office, shall be charged *simpliciter* to dimitt, quyte, and leave off the samyne, as ane office whereunto they are not called by God, and suchlyke to desist and cease from all preaching, ministration of the Sacraments, and using any way the office of pastors, whill they *de novo* receave admission from the Generall Assemblie, and that under the paine of excommunication to be used aganis them; wherein if they be found disobedient, or contraveen this Act in any point, the sentence of excommunication, after due admonition, to be used aganis them.

And for the better execution of the said Act, it is ordained, that

[1] Thomas Vautrollier came to England early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, either from Paris or Rouen, and was admitted a brother of the Stationers Company, 2d October 1564, and continued to print books till 1588.—(See Herbert's Typographical Antiquities, vol. ii. pp. 1065–1075.) He came for a short time to Scotland, where he established a press in 1584, and various works bear his name as printer at Edinburgh in the years 1584 and 1585; after which he appears to have returned to London.—(*Ib.* pp. 1502–1504.)

a Provinciall Assemblie shall be holden in everie province where any such usurped bishops are, beginning the 18th day of August nixt to come, whereunto they shall be called and cited by the visitors of the said provinces to compeer before their Assemblies; and more speciallie, the Bishop of St Androes to compeer in St Androes, the Bishop of Aberdeine in Aberdeine, the Bishop of Glasgow in Glasgow, the Bishop of Moray in Elgin, to give obedience to the said Act; whilk if they refuise to doe, that the said Provinciall Assemblie shall appoynt certaine brethren of their ministrie to give them publict admonitions out of the pulpitts, and warn them, in case they disobey, to compear befor the nixt Generall Assemblie, to be holden at Edinburgh the twentieth day of October nixt to come, to heare the sentence of excommunication pronunced aganis them for their disobedience. And to this Act the Bishop of Dunblane agreed, submitting himself to be ruled thereby.

This prime and principall Act escaping the hands of sacrilegious Prelats, who mutilated and did ryve out many leaves of the Registers, and did batter others together, shewes there is a God above, and a speciall Providence attending his Kirk and the effairs thereof.

It is to be carefullie considered, that the King's Majestie's commissioners were present at the makeing of this Act, and agreed thereunto, and that all Bishops were removed out of the Kirk, and from their places shortlie after this; only the King and his Councill advysed with the Generall Assemblie, how votes should be supplied in Parliament for the Bishops, and how their offices should be discharged in their courts, seing they were reckoned now the third Estate in Scotland: and after long advysement, great disputation being had, the Kirk concluded, That there should be of the ministrie, commissioners sent from the Generall Assemblie at all tymes needfull, both to Parliament, Councill, and Conventions of Estates, to assist the King and his three Estates of Lords, Barons, and Burgesses with advyse, and some also thought they might vote in Parliament: And as for the executing of the Bishops civill and criminall jurisdictions, the heretable baillies might supplie that part:

Wherewith the King and Councill were content, desyreing alwayes that at everie Parliament, the Generall Assemblie might meet some dayes before it, that they might advyse what Acts were convenient to be concluded for the propagation of true Religion and liberties of the Kirk of God; whilk wes granted, and much good done thereby, as severall Acts of sundrie Parliaments, now extant in print, evidentlie declares.

Not long after this, when the Kirk had gotten some quyetnes, and yit perceaving defection to be comeing fast on, thought it needfull and expedient, for preventing the samyne, to pen a more particular Confession of Faith than wes sett downe at the first: It was commonlie called The King's Confession, whilk, for the exactnes and worthines thereof, is much esteemed of in all other Christian Kirks professing sinceritie; and is translated into many and diverse languages, whereby this Kirk of Scotland and everie member thereof, by their great oath, renunced all the corruptions of other Kirks, and promises in God's presence to keep still the profession and practise of that true religion in doctrine and discipline, whilk then the King and all his subjects, true members of this Reformed Kirk, did professe and daylie practise. And so ministers were charged by the King and his Councill to be carefull to see that all their parishioners might sweare and subscrive to the said Confession of Faith, the whilk the King and his Household had first subscryved, and to whilk they had solemnlie sworne. Whilk diligence of ministers did much good, for they laboured diverse yeares to gett the oaths and subscriptions of all that would be rightlie informed by them, to stand to the said Confession of Faith unto their lives end.

This Confession following wes printed and openlie sett out to all,[1] being made *juris publici* at the command of the King and his Councill, when this Kirk of Scotland was rightlie reformed, and all corruptions putt to the doore, and religion and reformation gloriouslie flourishing, both in doctrine, worship, and discipline.

[1] At London, by Robert Waldegrave, 1581, small 8vo, and many other editions.

ANE SHORT AND GENERALL CONFESSIONE OF THE TRUE CHRISTIANE FAYTH AND RELIGIONE, ACCORDING TO GODIS VORDE, AND ACTIS OF OUR PERLAMENTIS, subscryued by the Kingis Maiestie and his Houshold, with sindrie otheris, to the glorie of God, and good example of all men, att Edinburghe, the 28 day of Januare 1580–[81,] and 14 yeare of his Maiesties reigne.[1]

We all, and ewerie one of ws wndervritten, protest, That after long and dew examination of owre owne Consciences in matteris of true and false religioun, are now throchly resolued in the trueth, by the Worde and Sprit of God: And therefore, we beleue with owre heartis, confesse with owre mouthes, subscrywe with owre handis, and constantly affirme before God and the whole world, That this onely is the true Christiane Fayth and Religion, pleasing God, and bringing saluation to man, quhilk is now, by the mercy of God, reweled to the world by the preaching of the blessed Ewangell; and is receaued, beleued, and defended by manie and sindrie notable Kyrkis and realmes, but chiefly by the Kyrk of Scotland, the Kingis Maiestie, and three Estatis of this Realme, as Godis eternall trueth, and onely ground of our Saluation; as more particulerly is expressed in the Confession of owre Fayth, stablished and publictly confirmed by sindrie Actis of Perlamentis, and now of a long tyme had bene openly professed by the Kingis Maiestie, and whole body of this Realme both in brught and land: To the quhilk Confession and Forme of Religion we willingly aggree in owre conscience in all poyntis, as wnto Godis wndoubted trueth and weritie, grounded onely wpon his written Worde: And therefore, we abhorre and detest all contrarie religion and doctrine;

[1] This has been very carefully collated and printed from the Original in the Advocates Library, indorsed—"Couenant subscryved be King James, of worthie memorie, and his Houshold, 28 Ja^ry 1580. Sent frome Somer in France be Monseur (*the name illegible*) to my Lord Scottistarvett in August 1641." It will be observed, among other peculiarities, that the letters *v*, *u*, and *w*, are used indiscriminately; and *subscryved* is written *subcryued*. In many places the writing has been so much injured as to be decyphered with considerable difficulty.

but cheifly all kynd of Papistrie in generall and particular headis, ewen as they are now damned and confuted by the Worde of Gode and Kirk of Scotland: But in speciale, we detest and refuse the wsurped authoritie of that Romane Antichrist wpon the Scriptures of God, wpon the Kirk, the Ciwill Magistrate, and conscience of men; all his tyrranous laues made wpon indifferent thinges agaynst owre Christiane libertie; his erroneous doctrine agaynst the sufficiencie of the written Worde, the perfection of the Lawe, the office of Christ, and his blessed Ewangell; his corrupted doctrine concernyng originall synne, owre naturall inabilitie and rebellion to godlines, owre justificatioun by fayth onely, owre imperfect sanctification and obedience to the Law; the nature, number, and wse of the holie Sacramentis; his fywe [five] bastard Sacramentis, with all his ritis, ceremoneis, and false doctrine, aded to the ministration of the true Sacramentis without the Worde of God; his cruell judgement agaynst infantis deperting without the Sacrament; his absolute necessitie of baptisme; his blasphemous opinion of transubstantiation, or reall presence of Christis body in the Elements, and receawing of the same by the wicked, or bodeis of men; his dispensationeis with solemnet othes, periuries, and degreis of mariage forbidden in the Worde; his crueltie agaynst the innocent deuorced; his diwilishe Mes; his blasphemous preisthood; his prophane sacrifice for the synnes of the dead and the quyck; his canonization of men, calling wpon angelis or sainctis deperted; worshiping of imagreis, reliquès, and croces; dedicating of kyrkis, altaris, dayis; woues [vows] to creatures; his purgatorie, prayeris for the dead, praying or speaking in a strange langwage; with his processioneis and blasphemous letanie, and multitude of aduocatis or mediatoreis; his manifold ordoures; auricular confession; his despered and wncertayne repentance; his generall and doubtsome fayth; satisfactioneis of men for theyr synnes; his justification by workes; his *opus operatum*, workes of supererogation, meritis, pardones, perigrinationeis, and stationeis; his holy water, baptisyng of bellis, cungering of spritis, crocing, saning, anoynting, coniuring, hallowing of Godis good creatures, with the superstitious opinion joyned therewith; his worldlie

monarchie, and wicked hierarchie; his three solemne woues [vows], with all his shawelingis of syndrie sortes; his erroneous and bloodie decretes made at Trent, with all the subscryweris and approweris of that cruell and bloodie band, coniured agaynst the Kyrk of God: And fynally, we detest all his wane [vain] allegories, ritis, signes, and traditioneis broght in the Kyrk, without or agaynst the Worde of God, and doctrine of this true reformed Kyrk; to the quhilk we joyne owreselues willingly in doctrine, fayth, religion, discipline, and wse of the holie Sacramentis, as lyuely memberis of the same, in Christ owre Head: promising and suearing by the great name of the Lord owre God, That we shall continue in the obedience of the Doctrine and Discipline of this Kyrk, and shall defend the same according to owre wocation and pouer, all the dayes of owre lyues, wnder the paines conteyned in the Law, and danger both of body and saule in the day of Godis fearfull iudgement. And seing that manie are styrred wp by Satan, and that Romane Antichrist, to promise, sweare, subscryue, and for a tyme wse the holie Sacramentis in the Kyrk deceatfully, agaynst there owne conscience; mynding hereby, fyrst wnder the externall clok of the religion, to corrupt and subuert secretly Godis true religion within the Kirk; and afterward, when tyme may serue, to become open ennemeis and persecutoris of the same, wnder wane hope of the Papis dispensation, diuised agaynst the Vorde of God, to his greater confusion, and theyr dowble condemnation in the day of the Lord Jesus: We therefore, willing to tak away all suspition of hypocrisie, and of syk dowble dealing with God and his Kirk, protest, and call the Searcher of all heartis for witnes, that owre myndis and heartis do fullely aggree with this owre Confession, promise, othe, and subscription; so that we are not moved for any worldly respect, bot are perswaded onely in owre conscience, throught the knawledge and loue of Godis true religion prented in oure heartis by the Holy Sprit, as we shall answer to him in the day when the secretis of all heartis shalbe disclosed. And because we perceaue, that the quietnes and stabilitie of owre Religion and Kirk doth depend wpon the sawetie and good behauiour of the Kyngis Maiestie, as wpon ane confortable

instrument of Godis mercy graunted to this cowntrey, for the mainteining of his Kyrk, and ministration of Justice amongis ws; We protest and promise solemnetly with oure heartis, vnder the same othe, hand-writ, and panes, that we shall defend his persone and authoritie with owre geyr, bodyes and lyues, in the defence of Christis Euangell, libertie of owre countrey, ministration of justice, and punishment of iniquitie, agaynst all enemeis within this realme or without, as we desyre owre God to be a strong and mercyfull defender to ws, in the day of owre death, and cuming of oure Lord Jesus Christ: To whome, with the Father and the Holie Sprit, be all honour and glorie eternally. Amen.

JAMES R.

LENOX. MORTOUNE.
ARGYLL.
RWTHVEN.
ROBERT STEWART.
SETON.
R. DUNFERMLING.
P. MR OF GRAY.
CATHCART.
JAMES HALYBURTOUN.

Mr JOHNE CRAG.
JHON DUNCANSON.
MICHAELL ELPHINSTOUN.
P. YOWNG.
ROBERT ERSKYNE.
JAMES ELPHINSTOUN.
S. BORTHIK vithe hand and hart.

WELZAME CRAG.
JHONE MORDO.

JAMES MR OGILUY.
ALLANE MR CATHCARTT.
VILLIAME SCHAW.
JAMES STEUART.
ALLEXR. SEYTOWN.
J. CHISHLEY.

JAMES COLUILL of Est Wemes.
GEORGE DOUGLAS.
ALEXR. DUREM.
WALTER STEUARD, Pryore of Blantyre.
VILLIAM RUTHEN off Billindane.
JHON SCRYMGEOUR, zownger off Glaswall.
WILLIAM MORRAY.
DAUID MURRAY.
JAMES FRASSER.
RICHARD HERIOT.
Maister THOMAS HAMILTON.
WALTER KYER.

THE KING'S MAJESTIE'S CHARGES TO ALL COMMISSIONERS AND MINISTERS WITHIN THIS REALME.[1]

Seeing that We and our Household have subscribed and given this publick Confessione of our Faith, to the good exemple of our subjects: We command and charge all Commissioners and Ministers to crave the same Confessione of their parishoners, and to proceed against the refusers according to our laws and order of the Kirk, delivering their names and lawfull process to the Ministers of Our House, with all hast and dilligence, under the pain of fourtie pound to be taken from their stipends, that We, with advice of Our Counsel, may take order with sik proud contemners of God and our Lawes.

Subscribed with Our hand at Halyrudhouse, the second day of March 1580[-81,] the 14 year of our Reigne.

This wes the touch-stone to try and discern Papists from Protestants, and according to the laudable examples of Reformers mentioned with praise in Scripture. This Confession, called also THE COVENANT, in dayes of espyed defection, was renewed, the Kirk acknowledgeing that to be the principall mean, by the blessing of God, for the preventing of, and reclameing from, apostasie and backslyding. Wherefore, at the Generall Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, March 24, 1595, the beginnings of defection being then espyed, this Covenant was renewed: also, now of late, *anno* 1638, it was solemnlie renewed, with such necessarie additions as these tymes called for; an usurped Prelacie, with an overawing High Commission, being so farr sett up, and corruption haveing so farr prevailled, that Spottiswood, Archbishop of St Androes, styled Primat of Scotland, was also High Chancellour of Scotland, many Ceremonies antichristian and popish were brought in, and, with-

[1] This addition, which is contained in Calderwood and the old printed copies, forms no part of the original parchment roll. The Confession was also signed by King James the Sixth and his Household on more than one subsequent occasion. One of these, dated 25th February 1587-8, and preserved in the family of Maxwell of Pollock, is mentioned in the Collection of Confessions, vol. ii. p. 106, Edin. 1722, 2 vols. 8vo.

out ordour or warrand, obtruded on the Kirk of Christ; a book of Ecclesiasticke Canons, framed by the Prelats, a book of Ordination, a Service book, or book of Commone Prayer and Liturgie, framed much more popish and antichristian nor was the Inglish Service book, whilk yit was verie litle other nor the Masse in Inglish: But, above all, they had taken away the Generall Assemblie, (the great bulwark, under God, of this Kirk,) knowing that the first thing to be done in ane Assemblie then, wes to take ordour with Prelats as a crew of perjured men, who had betrayed their trust and the Kirk of God, and had transgressed all their limitts and caveats; wherefore, after sixe null Assemblies, wicked and unlawfull, holden *respective in annis* 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, 1618, for the space of twentie years, till 1638, there was no Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland at all.

The Kirk then, and about this tyme, 1580, 1581, being well governed by Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Provinciall and Generall Assemblies, there wes no publict vyce tolerated either in the Court or countrey, either among pastors or people; strict lawes and rules were sett down for Ministers, how they should give themselves to continuall praying, reading of the word, studie, meditation, and learning; and what tryells they should undergo before their admission to the Ministrie; the Kirk useing fasting and prayer that day whereon a Minister was admitted, the wholl number of the brethren of that Presbyterie (in the Low Countreyes it is called a Classe) and the wholl congregation giveing their consent, all being present; and, after sermon, imposition of hands was made by all the Ministers of the Presbyterie there conveened. Then wes he ordained and commanded (all other things being done whilk was requyred of him) to attend and waite diligentlie on his calling, and threatned with great punishment if he should transgress, or be deficient in his duetie; and lawes were made concerning a Minister his behaviour, either privatlie, being unmarried, or publictlie in his familie, he being married, with his people or flock, and how he should be grave and modest in his apparrell, and what bodilie exercises

and recreations he might moderatelie use, and what recreations and pastymes he should abstaine from; yea, it was then inacted, That if any man should use any worldlie moyen, indirectlie or directlie, to gett a place in the Ministrie, he should be counted *reus ambitus*, and excluded from the Ministrie till he should show evident tokens of repentance, holines, and sanctification, awaiting and continuallie exerciseing his gift whill God's Kirk and some congregation earnestlie sought and invited him.

Thir lawes and good constitutions did much promove and sett fordward true religion, the Kirk at that tyme being carefull that no unworthie persone should be admitted to the Ministrie, and that the best gifted men should be placed in royall burghs, principall touns, and chief congregations in the kingdom.

At the forty-second Assemblie, conveened at Edinburgh, October 20, 1580, Mr Andrew Hay, Moderator. (The register wants four Sessions of this Assemblie.) Mr Johne Row now being deceassed, the burgh of Perth earnestlie suits a Minister.

A Minister may be transported from his awin flock by their consent to an other charge, by the Generall Assemblie, for good reasons and necessare causses. It is declared, that, upon grave and good considerations, a minister may leave his charge in the pastorall office, and exercise the office of a doctor in a colledge or universitie at the command of the Generall Assemblie. It is found that many apostats were returned into this countrey; ordains all Commissioners in provinces diligentlie to try them out, execute the Acts of the Kirk upon them, and let them be punished as adulterers; particularlie that the Laird of Dun, in Angus, execute this act upon the Master of Gray, an apostat now returned to Scotland. It being reported to the King that the Master of Gray his houss did shake and rock in the night as with an earthquake, and the King interrogating David Fergusson, What he thought it could mean that that houss alone should be found to shake and totter? He ansuered, Sir, Why should not the Divill rock his awin bairnes?

The Kirk now being setled, and not now being *Ecclesia*

constituenda, the Assemblie finds, that the visitation of kirks to stand in one man's persone tends to tryannie and corruption; therefore ordains so many sett apart for the work to draw up a platforme of Presbyteries against the nixt Assemblie, the visitors to have the oversight of provinces whill that tyme.

The Assemblie appoynts twenty Commissioners nominat, whereof six a quorum, to attend the King's Majestie's ansuer to the articles alreadie given in, and to conferr, and treat, and reassone with his Majestie and Councill in all those things, and any other, that concerns the good of the Kirk. Mr Androw Melvill is transported from Glasgow, where he was Principall of the Colledge, to the Marian Colledge in St Androes, commonlie called the New Colledge, a colledge of divinitie, to be Principall thereof; and ordains those to whom this is intrusted to visit that Universitie in relation to poperie, and purge it out, etc. Also, Mr Thomas Smetoune, minister at Paislay, is transported to Glasgow, to be Principall of that colledge in the roume of Mr Androw Melvill. It is declared, that a minister of the Gospell who does leave his calling, afterward desyreand to be but a ruleing elder, should not be receaved, but ought to be censured and punished as *desertor gregis*.

At the forty-third Assemblie, conveened at Glasgow, Aprile 24, 1581, Mr Robert Pont, Moderator, the Laird of Caprintoune being the King's Commissioner. (The register there wants about three or four Sessions.) All were requyred, as they would ansuere to God, and in the name of Jesus Christ, (as they had been formerlie,) to give up and delate the names of such ministers as did live scandalouslie. The Laird of Caprintoune presented the King's letter to the Assemblie containing his commission, and also certaine rolls containing the number of Presbyteries, to whom the planting of kirks should belong, and the number of congregations belonging to everie Presbyterie; and the Assemblie did nominat a committee for reviseing of the draught, and to report their judgement thereanent. The condemning of the unlawfull office of a Bishop or Lord Prelate is reiterated by the Assemblie. Mr Alex-

ander Arbuthnot is transported from the Principalitie of the Colledge in Old Aberdeen (whilk he dimitts in favours of Nicoll Dalgliesh) to the ministrie of New Aberdeen.

Concerning these things that were proponed to the Assemblie in writ by the King's Majestie's Commissioner in his Majestie's name, and the King's ansuer to the Kirk's articles, with a commission consisting of gentlemen and ministers for advise for the uniting and divyding of congregations as the mater called for, the Kirk blessed God for the King's zeall, and gives three articles to be craved of his Majestie and his Councill. 1°. That a judicatorie be appoynted to cognosce of injuries done to ministers in the exercise of their calling, and to punish delinquents according to the qualitie of their crymes, and Mr John Skene to be procurator to the ministers so injured. 2°. That an Act of Parliament be made anent the deposition of ministers. 3°. That vacand benefices be disponed onlie to the ministers where the benefices vaikes, if they be found able men, according to the meaning of them that conferred at Stirlin. Caprintoune his instructions did beare,—1°. To signifie to the Assemblie that much conference had bene anent their articles betuix some of his Councill and the Ministers; and that the thirds of the benefices, as it wes a great evill to the King and diminution of publict charges for twenty years bygone, so it will not prove a sure way to provyde for ministers. 2°. That a platform be drawen up for uniting of lesser, and divyding of greater congregations, for the better accommodation of people and pastors sustentation. 3°. That a draught is in readines containing a commission to noblemen, gentlemen, and ministers, in the respective bounds, to considder of all this mater, and to report how this poynt of Reformation may be promoved. 4°. That it be declared what Presbyteries may cognosce upon; what things shall be reserved to the Provinciall Synods; and lastlie, what causes shall be devolved on the Generall Assemblie, and what persones shall ordourlie repair thereto and voyce therein: That all be in readines that it may be begun to be practised againe the first of November. 5°. To shew what articles are ansuered with a satisfactorie ansuer, what not, and the

reasone why it is so. That the Assemblie give their opinion and advise what portion of the rents, pertaining to the Kirks before the Reformation of religion, they think shall fall to us in caise all benefices were vacand; and, in the meanwhile, whill they be vakand, what we shall have yearlie for the support of our estate and publict effairs of the realme. How the taxe for the ministers part shall be payit in tyme comeing; also, to offer an overture for the persons that shall occupie the place of the Spirituall Estate in Parliament in tyme comeing, after the deceass of these that are present possessors of the places, in respect of the great decay of the rents thereof; an overture for the forme of presentations; to whom, what tryell, what the forme of admission and collation, &c.

FOR ERECTION OF PRESBYTERIES, CONSIDDER.

That in Scotland (forby the Province of Argyll and the Ysles, of whilk bounds, as yit, no rentalls have been given up) there are 924 kirks: of thir many are small congregations, and but pendicles; many kirks are demolished; some congregations also of larger extent nor the parishioners may convenientlie conveen to their parish kirks: Therefore, it hes been thought meet to reduce these 924 kirks to 600 kirks, and that there be a minister at each one of these, their stipends to be in four degrees; 100 to be at 500 merks a peece; 200 at 300 merks a peece; 200 at 100 libs. a peece; and 100 at 100 merks a peece; or somewhat a litle more or less nor the overtured summes, according to the abilitie and extent of the rents in the place. Thir considerations to hold though all the benefices were vakand; personages and viccarages to be united; whereas now sundrie of them are payed to severall persons. Thir 600 kirks to be divyded in 50 Presbyteries or thereabout; 12 kirks or thereabout to each Presbyterie. Three Presbyteries, or more or fewer, according as the countrey lyes, to make up a Provinciall Synode and a Diocie, and everie Provinciall Synod shall appoynt the place of the nixt Synod within that same Diocie. The Generall Assemblie shall consist of persons having commission from, and directed thither by, the Provinciall Synods, (just so

in the Directorie for Church Governement, page 24, printed *anno* 1647.) The meanest benefices to be provyded to young men new come from the schoolls, and the other to men of greater judgment, learning, and experience, *gradatim*, and the greatest benefices to the most worthie and able men, who must be intrusted with the greatest congregations; and that notice be taken of this from three years to three years, for the eschewing of avarice and ambition: prebendaries founded upon tithes to accress to the ministers liveing, and the rest for schoolls.

A PLATFORME OF THE PRESBYTERIES AND PROVINCIALLS.

PROVINCIALL.	PRESBYTERIE.	
1. Orknay,	Tingwell,	1
	Kirkwall,	2
2. Kaithnes,	Weik,	3
	Dornoch,	4
3. Rosse,	Channonrie,	5
	Tayne,	6
	Dingwall,	7
4. Murray,	Forres,	8
	Elgin,	9
	Invernes,	10
5. Bamf,	Bamff,	11
	Deare,	12
	Kildrimmie,	13
6. Aberdene,	Aberdene,	14
	Inverurie,	15
	Kincardin-O'Neill,	16
7. Angus,	Dundie,	17
	Killimure,	18
	Kethinis,	19
8. Mearns,	Bervie,	20
	Fordoun,	21

PROVINCIALL.	PRESBYTERIE.	
9. Dunkeld,	Perth,	22
	Dunkeld,	23
	Crieff,	24
10. St Androes,	St Androes,	25
	Falkland,	26
	Dunfermline,	27
11. Edinburgh,	Stirlin,	28
	Linlithgow,	29
	Edinburgh,	30
	Dalkeith,	31
12. Hadingtoun,	Hadingtoun,	32
	Dumbarr,	33
13. Jedburgh,	Chirnside,	34
	Dunse,	35
	Kelso,	36
	Jedburgh,	37
14. Pebles,	Melros,	38
	Pebles,	39
	Biggar,	40
15. Glasgow,	Lanerk,	41
	Glasgow,	42
	Dumbartan,	43
16. Aire,	Aire,	44
	Irvin,	45
	Mayboll,	46
	Cammonell,	47
17. Galloway,	Whithorn,	48
	Kirkcubright,	49
18. Dumfries,	Dumfries,	50
	Penpont,	51
	Lochmaben,	52
	Annan,	53

Thus Presbyteries were presentlie erected in the most eminent places to be patterns to the rest. Ordoured, that the Moderator

of the Presbyterie remaine in that office till the nixt Provinciall Synod.

Seing many suites have bene made to the magistrat for establishing the Book of Policie, and they have hitherto proven ineffectuall, therefore that posteritie may perceave the care of the Kirk, seing it is alreadie agreed into in severall Assemblies, it is ordained that it be registrat among the Acts of the Kirk, there to remaine *ad perpetuam rei memoriam;* and that everie Presbyterie have a coppie of it, subscryved with the hands of all the ministers of that Presbyterie, and by the whole of the Generall Assemblie.

The Confession of Faith, commonlie called the King's Confession, (because authorised by the King's Majestie's proclamation, and subscryved first by him,) is declared by the Generall Assemblie, all in one voyce, to be a faithfull, good, and orthodoxe Confession, and ordains the tenor thereof to be followed out, as the samyne is laid out in the foresaid proclamation.

A method of preaching is ordained to be sett out by Mr Thomas Smetoune, and published in print.

Forsamekle as Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Prioresses, Commendators, etc. called ecclesiastick persons, does bruik and enjoy the rents of the Kirk, and devour hir patrimonie without exerciseing of any office in the Kirk, but living as drons, therefore ordains the severall Presbyteries to cite all such persons before them, and ordains them to submitt themselves to the nixt Generall Assemblie, as they will ansuer to the Kirk. Readers were declared no office-bearers in the Kirk, and therefore not to be admitted in tyme comeing. (So Directorie for publict worship, 1645, page 11.) It is ordained that hereafter all presentations be directed to Presbyteries. It is craved of his Highnes that prelacies be dissolved.

June 2, 1581.—The Earle of Morton was beheaded with the axe of the Maiden[1] he himself had caused make.

[1] *The Maiden*, this singularly interesting historical relique is still preserved, and forms a conspicuous object in the Museum of the Antiquarian Society at Edinburgh.

At the forty-fourth Assemblié, conveened in Edinburgh, October 17, 1581, Mr Johnne Craig, Moderator. Ordained, that Presbyteries be fullie and rightlie constituted, and that the now named place of a Presbyterie seat be not altered but with advise of the Generall Assemblie. That the minister who celebratts either Sacrament or maries any persons in a privat houss, shall be deposed from his function. The King's Majestie's Commissioners inquyred of the Commissioners of the Kirk, If the Kirk also condemned the office of a Bishop whereunto is annexed a temporall jurisdiction, wherein good office is done to the Kirk, as by vote in Parliament, assisting of his Highnes Councill, contribution in taxations; and such lyke, What overture to make it appeare that the King shall not be damnified by the taking away of that estate: The Assemblie judging this a weightie mater, set apart a committie to conferr on this bussines, and rypen it for the Assemblie.

The Assemblie finding great negligence in many ministers in not requyreing subscriptions to the Confession of Faith, the King haveing renewed a command, the Assemblie also ordains all ministers to use greater diligence, and their diligence to be reported at the nixt Provinciall Assemblies *respective*, and the Moderators of these Assemblies to report to the Generall Assemblie, and he that shall be found negligent shall be deposed fra his ministrie.

The opinion of the Committie, after much debate, was, that as for vote in Parliament, and assisting in Councill, commissioners for the Kirk might some way supplie that; as for other civill and criminall jurisdictions, the heretable baillies might supplie that part. This opinion the Generall Assemblie homologatts and allowes.

Mr Walter Balcanquall accused for speaking in his sermon aganis the Duke,[1] after he had bene before the Councill, after reasoning the judgment of doctrine is referred to the Generall Assemblie; he, the said Mr Walter, desyres his accuser, according to the Apostle's rule, to produce tuo or three witnesses to prove the lybell. Commissioners were sent to informe the King's Ma-

[1] Esme Steuart, Lord D'Aubigny, who was created Duke of Lennox in 1580.

jestie of this ansuer, and to intreat commissioners to be sent from his Majestie to see the mater tryed and judged. Mr James Lowson is ordained to pen a platforme for the erecting of Presbyteries, and proceeding therein, that an uniformitie may be observed. Mr Robert Montgomrie, minister at Stirlin, is accused of fifteen grosse poynts of false, erroneous, and hereticall doctrine.

Anent articles and overtures given in by the Synod of Lothian, it is agreed that ministers shall designe gleebs and manses; and where no Presbyteries are, that the former commissioners shall doe it. The ministers of Orknay and Zetland were appoynted to attend on the platt for modifieing of ministers stipends. To suit of the Parliament, that the tryell and admission of schoolmasters be injoyned to Presbyteries. That everie Presbyterie day, there be some dispute in some poynt controverted betuixt us and Papists. To suit of Parliament, to declare all mariages null whilk are without consent of parents, and not according to the ordour setled in the kirk of God. Also, ane Act aganis such as go in superstitious pilgrimages to superstitious places, observe superstitious festivall dayes, setts on superstitious fyres, as at Midsommer, etc. That seing ambiguitie is found in the word, "Notorious adulterie," and hereby many lewd persons escape unpunished, they would inact punishment aganis all lawfullie convicted of adulterie. That punishment be ordained for magistrats slack in punishing those that by mercatts violat the Lord's holie day; and also, let the Kirk doe their part in proceeding aganis them. That ministers who teaches at Abbay-kirks be provyded with gleebs and manses als well as others. To complaine that provestries and prebendaries that sould intertaine schoolls; yea, severall of them should pay these that have the cure of soulls; yit, notwithstanding, they are given away to courtiours; and to crave an Act for redresse in tyme comeing.

Seing by deadlie feads among noble men and gentle men religion is scandalized, charitie broken, the word contemned, discipline confounded, the commonewealth weakened and wounded, brethren are sett apart in all quarters of the land to laboure, by all good ar-

guments, to persuade to reconciliation, love, and agreement. Alexander Borthwick, minister at Livingstoun, craves libertie to go for a space to some universitie and studie, to fitt him the better for his charge; the Assemblie yeelds to it, provyding his flock be served in the mean tyme.

The King as yit returning no ansuer concerning Mr Walter Balcanquall, Mr David Lindesay is directed to repaire to the Councill of Edinburgh, and inquyre, If they, or any of them, fand any errour or offence in Mr Walter Balcanquall's sermon on Wednisday was eight dayes; they ansuer that, in that sermon, they heard nothing amiss or unsound: Whereupon no accuser, with witnesses, coming fra the King's Majestie, the said Mr Walter, *nemine contradicente,* is assoylled.

Anent the power of Commissars, and wherein they incroach upon and meddle with the jurisdiction due to the Kirk, a committie is appoynted to reasone with the Commissars of Edinburgh, and to report the result to the nixt Assemblie. The King's Majestie consulted anent Mr Robert Montgomrie his accusation, agreed he be proceeded aganis; professing he heartilie agreed to the Kirk of Scotland in all poynts of Doctrine, albeit in some poynts of Policie he was not as yit resolved.

The Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, eight being a quorum, are ordained to present such articles, heads, and supplications, to the Lords of Articles of Parliament as should be given to them by the Kirk; particularlie, that no Act of Parliament pass in favours of Bishops contrare to Godis Word and Acts of the Kirk. The Presbyterie of Stirlin is ordained to goe on in the tryell of Mr Robert Montgomrie his process, lyfe, and conversation, and he is discharged, under the paine of excommunication, not to vexe the kirk of God with his aspyreing to the Bishoprick of Glasgow. To supplicat the Parliament, that if a minister depart this life after Michaelmas, *quia tunc fruges separatæ sunt a solo,* his executors shall fall that year's stipend, and also the half of the nixt. This was renewed at the Generall Assemblie at Monros, 1595, Junij 24.

At the forty-fifth Assemblie, conveened at St Androes, Aprile 24, 1582, Mr Andro Melvill, Moderator. Assessors were chosen, ministers and elders. Falkland declared no Presbyterie, they being in all but three ministers, and now one of them declared scandalous; wherefore, till it please the Lord of the harvest to send forth more labourers, all be-east Leven is ordained to keep St Androes Presbyterie, all be-west Leven to keep Dunfermline Presbyterie.

That all masters of ships give up, immediatlie after their arryvall, the names of all strangers passengers in their ships, that it may be knowen what Papists and others comes to this kingdome, the disobeyers to be censured; and recommends to the Parliament, and magistrats of the respective boundis, to punish the masters of ships, who brings hither Papists, as they think fitt, so as the evill may be repressed best. Certaine Papists within the Scottish congregation of Campheir troubling the rest by alledging an immunitie, the Assemblie gives their wholl power to the minister of Campheir to proceed aganis them, requesting the Conservator to assist him.

That as the examination and admission of a minister does belong to the ministers, so also the deprivation of them, both ministers and bishops, does belong to them, and that, both *ab officio et beneficio*, no otherwise then if he were naturallie dead. Causses of deprivation we take to be heresie, papistrie, commone blasphemie, or swearing, perjurie, fornication, adulterie, incest, slaughter, theft, commone oppression, commune drunkennes, usurie aganis the lawes of this realme, non-residence and absence fra his flock forty dayes together, in one yeare, without a lawfull reassone, allowed by the Generall Assemblie, pluralitie of benefices, except the possessor will astrict himself to one of them, dilapidation, simonie, *ambitus*, etc. The forme of the process of deprivation. A lybelled precept and summonds directed upon fourteen dayes to one within the kingdome, and upon forty dayes to one without the kingdome, directed by the Kirk, and such commissioners as have power to elect and admitt the persone complained upon, summond-

ing him to compeer to ansuere upon the complaint; and, in case of his absence on the day appoynted, to summond him *pro secundo*, with certification, if he compeer not, the lybell shall be admitted to probation, and he shall be holden *pro confesso*. After decreet, if the partie sentenced conceave himself wronged, it shall be lawfull to him to appeall to the nixt Generall Assemblie, and to intimate the same within ten dayes after the decreet, otherwise the decreet to receave present execution. It is concluded that the Kirk hes full power to revoke any thing formerlie done to their hurt and prejudice.

A sentence of suspension aganis Mr Robert Montgomrie by the Presbyterie of Stirlin was found ordourlie proceeded, albeit the said Mr Robert alledged and protested in the contrare. A letter fra the King in his favours was answered discreetlie and wiselie, yit standing to their poynt. Mr Robert affirmed, he knew nothing of his sentence but by report: the contrare wes found and proven; and that, in contempt of the Kirk and their sentence, he had since his sentence preached and administred the Sacraments; and the said Mr Robert demanded of the Assemblie,—1°. If they would accuse him of any thing concerning the Bishoprick. 2°. That he might have the coppie of the ministers large discourse, in writ, to ansuer to it particularlie. He removed. An officer of airms charges the Assemblie, Moderator, and Assessors, under the paine of rebellion and putting of them all to his H[ighnes] horn, if they should direct any summonds aganis the said Mr Robert, or use any excommunication, innovation, or slander aganis him, or trouble him in his ministrie, for aspyreing to the Bishoprick of Glasgow, &c. Whereupon the said Mr Robert left the Assemblie; being called, compeered not; Mr Thomas M'Gie is ordained to warn him to the morne.

It is ordained that none be admitted to the holie and weightie charge of the ministrie under twenty-five yeares of age, except such as whom the Generall Assemblie shall judge meet and worthie, be reassone of singular endowments and rare qualities.

Mr Thomas M'Gie declared that he had, before witnesses now

present in the Assemblie, summoned Mr Robert Montgomerie, who also promised to appeare; yit, being called, compeared not, but a procurator in his name gave in an appellation. The Assemblie finding that he had contemned the Assemblie, and the just sentence of the Kirk; that he had lied avowedlie in open Assemblie, haveing protested before God he was speaking trueth; that he procured the chargeing of the Assemblie with the King's letters; that he had preassed to overthrow the discipline of the Kirk; usurped another man's flock, accompanied with armed men, since his suspension; that he had railled in pulpitt aganis the brethren who suspended him; that he had stirred up great dissension betuix some of the nobilitie and the Kirk; for these, and many other personall vyces and foull crymes, the Assemblie, all in one voyce, deposes him *in perpetuum*, and ordains him to be excommunicat except he prevent it by repentance. The Assemblie first voyced him worthie of such a sentence; whereupon, Mr Mark Ker, my Lord of Requests, the King's Commissioner, desyred the superseeding of the pronunceing of the finall sentence till first the King should be advertised of it. Whereupon, a letter wes drawen up to the King's Majestie, blessing the Lord for his pietie and good will to religion, and for his Articles given in, to whilk they promise an ansuere; compleaneing heavilie on that charge, whilk Mr Robert Montgomrie had caused give the Generall Assemblie, whilk uncouth and unhard wickednes they hoped his Majestie would not countenance, seing it wes a mean to dryve them either to be unfaithfull in their charge, or to be declared the King's rebells: That he would not suffer any such schisme to enter betuix his Majestie and the Kirk, as wicked men for their awin gaine wes endeavouring to make, being confident they would make all appeare before his Majestie that wes alledged aganis Mr Robert Montgomrie, and that he wes a most vitious man. Dated St Androes, April 28, 1582.

The whole Assemblie deposes Mr Robert Montgomrie fra his ministrie dureing the will of the Generall Assemblie, and decerns him presentlie to be summarlie excommunicat by the Moderator,

and everie minister to intimat this sentence at his first sermon after his home-comeing. Mr Robert comeing in, and renunceing his appellation, the sentence of excommunication is not presentlie pronunced, he desyreing conference till Monday, and promiseing to attend carefullie on the doctrine to-morrow, being the Lord's Day. Mr Robert Montgomrie at conference, after prayer to God, did confess,—1°. That he was commanded by the brethren at Stirlin to desist from his office. 2°. That he had baptized bairns begotten in fornication, the parents neither haveing made repentance, nor found caution ordourlie. 3°. That he promised to the Presbyterie there not to seek another chairge. 4°. That in March last he heard mention of his suspension. 5°. That he usurped Mr David Bennet his flock, whilk he confesses to be greevous evill. 6°. That he procured and raised charges aganis the Generall Assemblie, an haynous sin. 7°. That he accepted the Bishoprick of Glasgow without advise of the Assemblie: for whilk great gross evills he submitts himself to the Assemblie to be disposed upon at their pleasure. Sundrie Presbyteries in Lothian protested aganis the sentence of the King and Councill in favours of Mr Robert Montgomrie; and the wholl Assemblie allowing it, adhered to their protestation, and so did the said Mr Robert.

Inacted, That no man presume to enter into the holie calling, by moyen, ambition, covetousnes, or any indirect way, or, being entered, use any unlawfull or indirect wayes to declyne censure; and being entered to that holie calling, no man seek to be loosed fra that calling by civill power; and that none procure letters or charges to stay censure and discipline; and that none use any appellation fra the Generall Assemblie, thus to stop all discipline and policie whilk the Lord hes put in the hands of his servants; all these under the paine of excommunication, to be pronunced summarlie, without any processe upon the notorietie of the transgression; and this not to prejudge laick patronages untill the tyme that lawes in that particular be reformed, according to God's word, (whilk was not done till Charles I.'s second trienniall Parliament, sess. 2, page 87, March 9, 1649.)

Mr Robert Montgomrie protested, before the Assemblie, he should attempt nothing concerning the Bishoprick of Glasgow but by the advyse of the Generall Assemblie.

Profaners of the Sabbath by mercatts to be sharplie censured by the respective elderships, as they would testifie their zeall to God and obedience to the Kirk.

The King's Articles being both weightie and obscure, are to be advysed upon till the nixt Assemblie, and the King to be advertised of this, and that everie eldership or presbyterie have a coppie of them, that they may the more advysedly give in their ansuer of them: To regraitt to the King the weakening of the Kirk and Discipline by these letters directed by the Secret Councill aganis the Generall Assemblie, and the great assistance Mr Robert Montgomrie hes gotten aganis the Generall Assemblie, exhort his Majestie to reforme these things.

That Presbyteries be erected in all places of the countrey where they may be had.

ANSWERS TO DOUBTS CONCERNING PRESBYTERIES.

1. Let a Moderator remaine from one Synod to another.
2. That the Ruling Elders be fewer nor the pastors and doctors.
3. That Ruleing Elders keep ordinarlie and upon advertisement.
4. That such as absents themselves pay a penaltie.
5. That the day of the Exercise be also for processes.
6. That they appoynt other dyetts as they think meet.
7. No Presbyterie is astricted still to send their Moderator to the Generall Assemblie.
8. The Moderator shall not be astricted to the visitation of kirks, but other two or three may be chosen for that use.
9. In grave maters the Moderator and clerk shall subscryve in name of the Presbyterie.
10. The Presbyterie shall appoynt and choise a clerk of their awin.
11. Each minister shall cause execute the summonds of the Presbyterie within his pariosh.

12. Approves the ordour of Edinburgh for admitting of elders.

13. Collation of benefices, designation of manses and gliebs, to be done by the Moderator, provyding he doe nothing but by advyse of the Presbyterie.

14. To advise what ordour for collations and designations where no Presbyterie can be had.

15. That processes for weightie maters be in writ; others may be but verball.

16. None may be compelled to be an elder, but only exhorted.

A Fast, for eight grave reasons, to last eight dayes, and the King be desyred to intimat it by proclamation, and to assist.

At the forty-sixth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, Junij 27, 1582, Mr Andro Melvill continued Moderator. John Durie made a large narration how and for what he had bene processed before the King and his Councill, and was this day to be charged to remove off the toun, whereupon he craved the advise of the Assemblie how to carie in the mater: the Assemblie sent tuo of their number to the King to understand what he meanit by such cariage, to putt him in mynd of his promises to the contrare, and to make suit for the brethren of Glasgow summoned by him to St Johnstoune. A letter directed to John Duncanson to assist the commissioners.

The Councill of Edinburgh being charged to remove John Durie their minister, sends to advise with the Assemblie what to doe *in tali casu*, and they appoynt some brethren to conferr with them; in mean tyme, the Assemblie gives John Durie a testimonie that his doctrine (for whilk he wes challenged) wes sound, and his life honest; and although his flock and the well-affected amongst them had advysed him to remove quyetlie for a space, yit the Assemblie advyses him first to abyde till he be charged, and then remove for a space, giveing him libertie elswhere to preach wherever Providence should cast him, till he may in peace, and with libertie, remaine with his awin flock.

Mr Robert Montgomrie now being excommunicat, (as not have-

ing given satisfaction,) and being receaved and intertained by the Duke, brethren are sent to the Duke's Grace to forewarn him of the danger in a modest way, that, according to the Acts of the Kirk, if he did not putt him away, he himself behoved to be processed.

The King, in a letter to the Assemblie, professes he will adhere constantlie to the Reformed religion; and as for that mater of Glasgow, shall doe in it as the Kirk shall have contentment. As for the Laird of Minto,[1] Provest of Glasgow, and his colleagues, the Assemblie finds the cryme proven, and declares them worthie of excommunication; delayes the pronunceing of the sentence at the King's desyre, yit gives power to their commissioners to doe it if they finde no redress.

The Duke his ansuer wes a queree,—Whither is the King or the Kirk superior? for he was commanded to intertaine that man (Montgomrie) by the King's Majestie. The Assemblie delayes the ansuer till that great Convention of Estates to be at Perth; ordaining their commissioners to walk wiselie in the mater, but to process the Duke if the Acts of the Kirk be not obeyed.

Greevances and Articles given in by the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie to the Convention at Perth, Julij 6:

The autoritie of the Kirk now being abrogat, censures contemned, violence used aganis ministers, and no punishment for it, whereby religion, reformation, discipline, is lyke to be trampled under foot, Regraits:—

1. That the King's Majestie, by some corrupt advise, is made to think that he cannot be head of the commonewealth unles he also be head of the Kirk, (whilk onlie belongs to Christ, and the execution of those things spirituall and ecclesiastick belongs to ministers and ecclesiasticall office-bearers,) and so to erect a new Popedom, and to confound these tuo jurisdictions whilk Christ hes distinguished in his word; for, 1°. benefices by an absolute power, and pretext of a prerogative royall, are given to unworthie men

[1] Sir Matthew Steuart of Minto.

flat contrare to God's word, and to the overthrowing of many soulls.

2°. Presbyteries and Assemblies, Provinciall and Generall, are charged, by the King's letters, not to proceed aganis manifest offenders according to God's word.

3°. John Durie,[1] by Act of Councill, is suspended fra his ministrie, and so banished from his flock.

4°. Excommunicat persons are intertained by pryme noble men, particularlie Mr Robert Montgomrie,[2] excommunicat, hes preached before the King's Majestie, a deep wound to religion, and a great scandall in all nations abroad.

5°. An Act of Councill made and proclamed in opposition to Mr Robert Montgomrie his excommunication, disannulling it with a most scandalous narrative.

6°. Ministers abused, and no redress; particularlie, Mr John Howison,[3] by the magistrats of Glasgow, rugged out of the judgment-seat and place of moderation in the Presbyterie of Glasgow, cruellie and outragiouslie handled, and caried to prison lyke a thief, and the perpetrators of the cryme maintained.

7°. The displaceing of the minister of Glasgow,[4] an honest man, and convocation of the lieges for that effect.

[1] John Durie was ordered by the Privy Council to leave Edinburgh, for having publicly accused the Duke of Lennox, in one of his sermons, as the cause of all the present troubles in the Church.—*Vide supra*, p. 95.

[2] This unhappy man, the occasion of so much trouble to the Church, was minister of Stirling. He entered into a simoniacal bargain with the Duke of Lennox, in 1581, and received a presentation to the See of Glasgow. At length, in 1587, he surrendered this office, and became minister of Symington, in Kyle.

[3] Howison was minister of Cambuslang. The Presbytery of Glasgow having met on the 8th June 1582, when he was Moderator, Stuart of Minto, who was Provost of Glasgow, with a number of attendants, appeared and commanded the Presbytery to stop all further proceedings against Montgomery. Howison having declared that in such a matter even the King's warrant was not sufficient, he was taken by the beard, forcibly pulled from the Moderator's chair, and committed to prison for contumacy. Such an outrage occasioned considerable disturbance in the town; and the Presbytery, with becoming spirit, proceeded to excommunicate the chief actors. The Provost afterwards confessed his offence, and submitted to the Assembly, who remitted him to the Presbytery.

[4] Mr David Weemes. On the 8th March 1582, Montgomery, "with a number

8°. One of the King's guard pulled him out of the pulpitt in tyme of sermon on a Communion day, in face of all the congregation, and no reparation.

9°. The kirk-officer cast into prison, in the King's presence, for executing of summonds aganis a scandalous man.

10°. Ministers and masters of colledge and schoole were compelled, in tyme of a public fast, by letters of horning, to leave their kirks and schooles destitute; and since that, they have been continued and delayed fra place to place, fra tyme to tyme, to wearie them with travell, and exhaust them with expenses.

11°. The schollers[1] their blood wes cruellie shed, an incensed multitude being conveened by the commone bell and drum, the Colledge intended to be brunt; yit no reparation.

12°. Association with bloodie murderers by taking and giveing of propyns [gifts].

13°. The Duke's Grace hes oft promised to reforme his house, yit nothing done in it.

14°. Lawes made for mantenance of religion, and punishing of Papists and enemies to reformation, not put to any execution, so that religion is liable to decay.

Many other Greevances there are, but, at this tyme, we putt up no more to your Majestie till we see how these are redressed, beseechand your Majestie, as the Lord's Lieutenant, to look carefullie to the repairing of these by the advise of worthie men, that so your Majestie's throne may be established, religion may flourish, sin may be punished, so that Israel may heare and feare, and doe no more so, ministers may peaceablie and chearfullie, without stop or lett, discharge their offices, to the glorie of God, &c.

At the forty-seventh Assemblie, (being a frequent one,) con-

of the Guard," came to the church where Weemes was officiating, and, pulling him by the sleeves, cried, "Come down, Sirrah!" He answered, "He was ordained by the Kirk, and would give place to none intruding himself without order."—*Vide* Calderwood, pp. 121, 123.

[1] The students of the College having interfered in behalf of Howison when he was dragged from the meeting of Presbytery by the magistrates of Glasgow, a tumult had ensued.

veened at Edinburgh, October 9, 1582, Mr David Lindesay, Moderator. Assessors chosen—the King's Commissioners, Mr James Haliburton, and Colonell Stuart.[1]

The Answeres from the King's Majestie, and Convention at Perth, to the Greevances being read, they are found not full and satisfactorie, wherefore to be renewed, and others added to them. The Provinciall Synods (for eschewing of ambition) shall change the place of their meeting, as they themselves think meet by pluralitie of voyces. Bishops being found altogether unrulie, some ordour to be advysed upon how to curb them. James Montgomrie is ordained to make publict repentance for speaking with Mr Robert Montgomrie, excommunicat, and to promise amendement in tyme comeing. Bishops ordained to be called before the respective Presbitries, and to be accused of not preaching, administration of sacraments, exerciseing of discipline, haunting with excommunicats, dilapidation, setting of tacks contrarie to the Acts of the Kirk, scandalls in their life and conversation, and personall cariage; and, according as they are found guiltie, to proceed aganis them, as they will be answerable to the nixt Assemblie.

The Laird of Minto, Provest of Glasgow, confessed his offence, is referred to the Presbiterie there, and his colleagues likewise; and for haunting the companie of Mr Robert Montgomrie, excommunicat, and other offences. These who abused Mr John Howison, being summoned before the Assemblie, and disobeyed, ordained to be excommunicat in the kirk of Glasgow.

ARTICLES MEET TO BE PROPONED TO KING AND COUNCILL.

1. Seing the Spirituall jurisdiction is in the Word distinguished fra the Temporall, that the Act of Parliament, concerning the libertie and jurisdiction of the Kirk, be inlarged and explained: That no persone whatsomever, in tyme comeing, take upon them any thing belonging to the Kirk, as placeing or displaceing of ministers, spirituall liveings and offices, silenceing of ministers,

[1] Colonel William Stewart, some time Colonel in Flanders.

tryell and judgment of doctrine, staying or disannulling kirk censurs, or exeeming of offenders therfra, &c.

2. That Presbitries be established, and opposers punished by a penaltie.

3. That Provinciall and Nationall Assemblies have power (by an Act) to conveen so oft, and in such places, as they think fitt.

4. That Presbitries have the same power whilk Bishops had in designation of manses and gleebs, and reparation of kirks.

5. That everie congregation have a severall pastor, to be intertained on the teinds of the parish where he serves: That manses annexed to great benefices be dissolved, pensions given, and tackes sett out of the thirds, be revoked.

6. That out of the temporall lands of abbacies, priories, bishopricks, nunries, &c., whereupon friers, monks, nuns, &c., ydle bellies, were intertained, masters of schoolls and bursars may be sustained.

7. That out of Bishops rents the commone charges of the Presbitries may be born; such as visitations, commissions, scribes, posts, &c.

8. That the Kirk be restored to the thirds, according to the Act of Parliament.

9. That presentation of benefices be directed to Presbitries where they ly.

10. That no presentations be given to any with a blank, thereby for filthie lucre to go through the countrie makand most shamfull merchandise, seeking who will offer most, and receave least, but that patrons regard these who are recommended to them by the Presbitries and Universities.

11. That ministers unable, throw age, sicknes, or other accidents, have their liveings dureing their life tyme, and, in mean while, to provyde how the cure may be served.

12. That the liveings of deposed or excommunicat ministers vaik, and others, worthie men, may be provyded thereto.

13. That these who are knowen to be Papists, (and so apostats,) notwithstanding of their oath and subscription, be banished or

punished otherwise as the King his Councill and Estats thinks fitt, counting them as traitors.

14. That no league be made with foreigne Papists.

15. That as a law is made for Lords of Session to preserve them from violence, the like be made for Ministers.

16. That a remedie be found how spirituall liveings, now transferred to temporall lordships, may be reduced for intertaining of the ministrie, poore, and schoolls, and other pious uses.

17. That colledge kirks be provyded out of the thirds, because the colledges hes their awin teinds by Act of Parliament.

18. A penaltie to be put upon such as burie in kirks.

19. That diminution of rentall be a sufficient cause of reduction of tacks and fewes; and that the impairing of silver rentall *de liquido in liquidum* be counted diminution, alswell as conversion of victuall to smaller pryces nor it gives for the tyme.

20. That everie beneficed person, at his entrie, find sufficient caution to recompence what hurt so ever he shall doe to his benefice.

21. That, in tyme comeing, it be not permitted to a beneficed man to set tacks, and that they be bound to repair what hurt they have done to their liveings contrare to law.

22. To declare what tacks and fewes are lawfull, and that two or three nineteen years tacks be declared null.

ARTICLES AND GREEVANCES TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE AND HIS COUNCILL.

1°. That the slanderous proclamation and infamous lybell aganis ministers, published at Perth, Julie 12, be tryed; and if any minister be found guiltie of such cryms, that with all vigour they be punished; if otherwise, that the autors, dyters, setters out of that infamous lybell, be punished accordinglie, and the ministers be declared innocent.

2°. That that unparalelled violence done to Mr John Howisone, and that to Mr David Wemiss, minister at Glasgow, be so punished as others may feare to do so.

111581

3°. That they who were actors in that sedition in Glasgow aganis the schollers, especiallie the Magistrats, be punished.

4°. That the late proclamation for the Kirk's libertie be explained and inlarged.

5°. To informe the King how wicked men they are that persuads him to owne the quarrell of wicked men and ungodlie proceedings.

6°. That all Acts aganis Presbitries and Assemblies be deletted and put out of registers; also, that aganis John Durie.

7°. That they considder the horrible inconveniences to follow upon that Act of absolute autoritie and power; and that it be deletted for ever.

8°. To stay all wicked association.

9°. That the stipend of the minister of Stirlin, given to Mr Robert Montgomrie, may be restored, that the destitute toune may get a well qualified man.

10°. That the Earll of Arran, James Hamiltoun,[1] sometyme a good instrument for the well of the Kirk, now bereft of his estate under cullor of law, may be pitied and helped.

11°. That commissioners be appoynted for visiting all the colledges.

It being asked who should sitt in Parliament and Conventions, and vote in the name of the Kirk, it is answered, such as beare office in the Kirk, haveing commission from them, (but not Bishops, who have no office in the Kirk,) should assist in Parliament and Conventions.

At the forty-eighth Assemblie, conveened at Edinburgh, Aprile

[1] James third Earl of Arran, (son of James Duke of Chatelherault, Governor of Scotland,) having been declared insane by an inquest, the title was conferred on his tutor, Captain James Steuart, a favourite of James the Sixth, who had promoted him to the high office of Lord Chancellor. On his disgrace in 1585, the title to the earldom of Arran was restored to the Hamiltons. Calderwood also speaks of the Earl of Arran, "now visited by the hand of God, and, under pretence of law, bereft of his living," as having been "a notable and comfortable instrument in reforming the Kirk of God," p. 137.

24, 1583, Mr Thomas Smeton, Moderator. Assessors appoynted. That seing the King's Majestie was sending an ambassador to Ingland, (with whom Mr David Lindesay, Moderator in the last Assemblie, was going,) he would desyre that the Queen of Ingland, with other reformed princes, might joyne together in a league aganis Papists and the bloodie decrees of Trent; also, that her Majestie would disburden her good people of the burthen of ceremonies imposed contrare to Christian libertie.

The King's Majestie's commissioners, the Provest of Dundie, and [Carnegie] Laird of Colluthie, desyred a commission to be given some brethren with power to conclude in great maters; but the Assemblie answered, that they had found great hurt in that alreadie to the Kirk of God.

Baptisme administred by such as have no calling to doe it, declared null. He who removes from his flock, haveing obtained a presentation to a greater benefice, shall be deposed; neither ought a Presbitrie to transport such an one without libertie obtained from the Synod.

At the forty-ninth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, October 10, 1583, Mr Robert Pont, Moderator. Assessors chosen. Acts of Generall Assemblies shall be as standing lawes, and it shall not be lawfull to call them in question till the Generall Assemblie alter them.

ARTICLES TO BE PRESENTED TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE WITH INSTRUCTIONS.

1°. It is a greef of heart to see apostats, enemies to Christ, and the King, and kingdome, forefaulted for treasone, suspected and heavilie bruted with the murder of your Majestie's father, still impugners of the trueth both by word and writ, continueing in their wickednes, unreconcealed to God or his Kirk, to enjoy the benefit of pacification, to the prejudice of faithfull ministers whom they labour to dispossess and oppress.

2°. Other apostats, now open idolaters and blasphemers, are receaved in Court and familiaritie with your Majestie.

3°. A wicked obstinat Papist or traffiquer being warded at your Majestie's command, is let loose, and no inquisition after or punishment of the doers of it.

4°. That your Majestie seems to have too great respect to Papists both in France and in Scotland; besyds the irreligious behaviour of some of your servants who hes succeeded to good and gracious men, who hes faithfullie served your Majestie fra your tender aige.

5°. Since your Majestie took the governament in your awin hand, we have had many fair promises for preserveing of the Liberties of the Kirk, and transmitting of them to posteritie, many suitts have been put up to your Majestie, yet nothing done, but the Kirk is daylie bereft of such priviledges and liberties as formerlie she hes enjoyed.

6°. The thirds are sett in tacks in defraud of the Kirk, sua that no minister hereafter can be provyded.

7°. Abbacies are disponed without any provision of the kirks annexed thereto.

8°. Spirituall liveings are given to bairns, and turned to Temporall lordships.

9°. There is nó punishment inflicted for incest, adulterie, fornication, murder, drunkennes, sweareing, and other horrible crymes.

10°. A heavie complaint fra all your Majestie's subjects, that the lawes of the countrey hes no place, are not putt in execution, so that no man can be sure of his life, land, or other goods.

11°. Your Hieness autoritie is interponed by letters of horning to stop the proceedings of the Generall Assemblie in matters meerlie ecclesiasticall.

12°. The great divisions and feads that are amongst the nobilitie is a matter of great lamentation, distraction going commonlie before destruction; for a kingdome divided aganis it self cannot stand; that, therefore, your Majestie would labour, by the intercession and mediation of wise, discreet, peaceable, and indifferent men, to brydle unquyet spirits, and to cherish and incourage good men, to the glorie of God, establishment of your Royall throne,

and wealth and welfare of your Majestie's countrey and kingdome.

More particular instructions were given to the Commissioner almost upon everie head.

Mr David Chalmers,[1] a notorious enemie to God and religion, heavilie bruted with accession to the murder of the King's Majestie's father, yet hes obtained the benefit of the pacification, whereby the servants of Christ are prejudged in their liveings, and all this without any satisfaction made to the Kirk, or any tryell. The fier of Fintray,[2] a great traffiquer aganis religion and reformation, hes so great moyen at Court, and in the countrey, that he is verie liklie to overthrow the trueth, if remedie be not found to prevent it. In the fourth article is meaned the King of France and Duke of Guise, and other Papists there; and, within this countrey, the Earles of Huntlie and Crawfoord, with divers others.

Particulars of the hurt of the Kirk. The abbacie of Aberbrothok is disponed to the Duke,[3] and no provision made for ministers. The abbacie of Halirudehouss is disponed to the Abbot's young son.[4]

[1] David Chalmers, or Chambers, of Ormond, had been educated for the Church, and was admitted, in 1565, one of the Lords of Session on the Spiritual side. He was in great favour with Mary Queen of Scots, and assisted in her escape from Lochleven in 1568, for which he was forfeited. Her declining fortunes having forced most of her adherents to seek for refuge abroad, Chalmers went first to Spain, and thence to France. He returned to his native country after an absence of fifteen years, obtained a remission of his forfeiture, and, notwithstanding an accusation of being accessory to the murder of Darnley, and of being "a formall and profest enemie aganis the truth of Chryst's religion," he was restored to his seat on the bench. He again, however, left Scotland, and died at Paris in 1592.

[2] *Fear*, one who holds property in fee. The person here mentioned was David Grahame, the young Laird of Fintrie, son of Mr David Grahame. He was executed, 16th February 1592, for trafficking with Spain against the Protestant religion in this country.

[3] The Duke of Lennox.

[4] John Bothwell, eldest son of Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, who exchanged that bishoprick for the abbacy of Holyrood, with Robert Stewart, in 1570.—(Keith's Bishops, by Russell, p. 226.) John Bothwell obtained a provision to the abbacy of Holyrood, under the Great Seal, 24th February 1581,—(Charters of Holyrood, p. xxxix.,)—and the lands of the Abbey were erected in his favour into a Temporal Lordship in 1607.

Inacted, That a Presbitrie may change the place of their conveening, provyding it be done with commone consent. Ministers, bearers with, and countenancers of, superstitious people repareing to superstitious wells in pilgrimage, giveing them meat or drink, welcomeing them in, or inviting them to, their housses, merits deposition; also, ministers who gives the Communion to their flocks, but takes it not themselves, merits deposition. A minister may go out of the countrey for his health, provyding he obtaine his Majestie's licence, acquainting the Presbitrie with it, and provyde his place sufficiently at the sight of the Presbitrie. That no tacks of benefices be sett till the Presbitrie try all the reasons and circumstances in the bussines, that it may be reported to the Assemblie for the weell of the Kirk, that this labour may be much spared to the Generall Assemblie which hath been troubled hereabouts.

A process led by the Presbitrie of St Androes aganis a witch, Aleson Pierson, with a process led aganis that Mr Patrick Adamson by that same Presbitrie, and also the process of the Synod of Fyfe to justifie the said accusation laid aganis the said Mr Patrick, wes exhibited to the Assemblie, &c.

That youths doe not maintaine fals opinions, howbeit averred by Aristotle or other profane authors. That masters instruct their schollers in the falshood of these tenetts:—1. Omnis finis est opus aut operatio. 2. Civilis scientia est præstantissima, ejusque finis præstantissimus et summum hominis bonum. 3. Honesta et justa varia sunt et inconstantia, adeo ut sola opinione constent. 4. Juvenes et rerum imperiti, et in libidinem proclives, ab audienda morum Philosophia arcendi. 5. Quod per se bonum est, et causa cur cætera bona sunt, non est summum bonum. 6. Dei agnitio nihil prodest artifici ad hoc, ut arte sua bene utatur. 7. Summum bonum vel boni minimi accessione augeri vel reddi potest optabilius. 8. Pauper, deformis, orbus aut infans, beatus esse non potest. 9. Bonum æternum bono unius diei non est magis bonum. 10. Fœlicitas est actio animi secundum virtutem. 11. Potest aliquis sibi suo studio fœlicitatem comparare. 12. Homo in hac vita, et esse et dici potest beatus. 13. Nemo post hanc vitam

potest vel esse vel dici beatus, nisi propinquorum vel amicorum ratione. 14. Natura apti ad virtutem, eam agendo comparamus. 15. Libera est nobis voluntas ad bene agendum. 16. Mundus est physice æternus. 17. Casus et fortuna locum habent in rebus naturalibus et humanis. 18. Res viles et inferiores non curat Dei providentia. 19. Animæ pars una vel etiam plures sunt mortales. 20. Ex nihilo nihil fit.—These, and others also depending on these, and what may be drawen from these by necessarie consequence: These who maintaine these to incurre the censure of the Kirk.

No Act of Presbitrie shall have any faith in judgment except it be subscryved by the Moderator and Clerk.

The King's Majestie's answer to the Articles, after long conference with the Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie at Stirlin, October 17, 1583, tended to excuse all that was done upon sundrie respects and considerations; promiseing to make and inact lawes for the furtherance of any good purpose; imputing the fault in the not punishing, or not rectifieing of crymes and enormities to the inferior judges that are under him; desyred generall articles to be yet declared more particularlie; and, as for one particular, Mr David Chalmers, he knew nothing but that he was forefaulted for that commone action of his being at, and accession to, the field of Langside, fra whilk forefeiture many were releeved als well as he; but, and if it can be found and proven that he wes accessarie to the murder of his dearest father, or shalbe tryed to be enemie to religion or reformation, he promises he shall be severelie punished.

Here we cannot but (*obiter*) mark the prevalent force and strength of malignancie, and of the malignant divill that now of late possesses the hearts of many men, haters of religion and reformation, (particularlie of presbyteriall governament, whereby they cannot escape censure for their profanities and enormous debordings,) and an absolute prerogative royall in the commonwealth and prelaticall governament in the Kirk, that so they may uncontrolled, uncensured, live as they list, as did Israel when there was no king; (Jud. xvii. 16.) They are in love with, and are

countenancers and abetters of, these who hes killed cruellie, unnaturallie, contrare to their oath and covenant, their father, or husband, or children, or brethren, or dearest and nearest friends: (This we have seen in many experiences since the late reformation in anno 1638, &c.)

Here are almost three yeares intermitted, in the whilk no mention of any Assemblie or any Act at all.

Aprile 28, 1584, Gowrie beheaded at Stirlin.

At Edinburgh, March 22, 1584 [-85,] was a Parliament, wherein presbyteriall governament wes condemned under the name of unlawfull conventions; and the latelie abjured Bishops office wes sett up againe; and Mr Robert Montgomrie, excommunicat for accepting it, wes restored: when the Act wes intimat the ministers protested aganis it publictlie, for whilk they were banished, and so Edinburgh had no minister.

At the fiftieth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, Maie 10, 1586, the King's Majestie's Commissioners, my Lord Privie Seall, and Mr Peter Young, did shew that the King himself could not be present nor come up to the Assemblie, but desyred that, at afternoone, they would repair to the Chappell Royall in the Abbay, where he would speak his mynd to them; and, in meantyme, desyred they would surceass and superseed the election of a Moderator while that tyme; to the whilk the brethren agreed, with a protestation that it should not in tyme comeing prejudge the libertie of the Assemblie.

The King, personallie present in the Assemblie in the Chappell Royall, declares why he called them hither; and leets being made, Mr David Lindesay, by pluralitie of voyces, is chosen Moderator. Twenty-four ministers chosen assessors, forby [besides] elders: The King's Majestie nominat sixe of his to attend the Assemblie, and any tuo or three of these to be his commissioners. Anent the uniformitie in discipline, it is thought meet it first be proponed in the Privie Conference, and then in the Assemblie. This Privie

Conference, in tymes of apostasie, proved the bane of this Kirk, for the Privie Conference did all, the Assemblie was made a cifar.

The Kirk register wes in the King's custodie: commissioners were sent to solicit the re-delyverie thereof. His Highness answer was, that ilk day they should be delyvered to the clerk of the Assemblie, but at night they should be delyvered to my Lord Privie Seall whill the end of the Assemblie, betuix and whilk he promised his personall presence.

Inacted, That Presbyteries be setled in all convenient places. In Zetland, 1; in Orknay, 1; in Catnes, 2; in Rosse, 2; in Morray, 4; in Aberdeen, 5; in Mearns, 1; in Angus, 3; in Dunkell, 1; in Perth, 2; in Stirlin, 1; in Lothian, 5; in Fyff, 4; in Mers and Teviotdale, 3; in Annandale, 1; in Nithsdale, 2; in Galloway, 4; in Carrick, 1; in Air, 1; in Cuningham, 1; in Irvin, 1; in Ranfrow, 1; in Dunbartan, 1; in the Nether and Over Ward of Clidsdale, 2: Summa, 50. Of thir Presbyteries were Provinciall Assemblies appoynted, and the wholl frame putt in the Clerk Register his hand, that they might have his judgment of it.

Also, the King is intreated, by the mediation of my Lord Secretare, one of his Majestie's commissioners, that the Generall Assemblie may meet yearlie, and that his Majestie would appoynt the tyme. A burgh may not choise a minister without consent of the wholl landwart pariosh belonging thereto.

All pastors, doctors, elders, may voyce in an Assemblie, haveing a commission unto it; also any who hes any mater to propound may be present, and may heare maters reasoned, but may not voyce. There are in the Scriptures four office-bearers, Pastors, Doctors, Elders, Diacons, but no Bishop, as they have bene taken in tyme of Poperie; but everie pastor is a Bishop in scripture language.

At a conference at Haliroodhouss betuix commissioners appoynted by the King's Majestie and the Kirk's commissioners, it is agreed, That the name and office of a Bishop is commone to all pastors; this being read publictlie in Assemblie, is assented unto. 2°. It is lawfull to the Generall Assemblie to admitt a pastor have-

ing a benefice presented by the King's Majestie to the samyne. 3°. Visitation belongeth to pastors [in] the Presbyterie; also the Generall Assemblie may send a man to visit with these whom the Presbyterie shall adjoyne to him. 4°. Wherever mention is of a Bishop in the Conference, they agree no other Bishop but such as Paull describes. 5°. A Bishop may visit a certaine bounds limited unto him; with such as the Provinciall Synod shall adjoyne to him, in presentation and collation he shall doe nothing without the Presbyterie. 6°. A Bishop, in his doctrine, life, and conversation, shall be censured by the Presbyterie and Provinciall Assemblie; also by the Generall Assemblie, seing he hes his commission of them. 7°. If he admitt one, or doe any thing without the greatter part of the Presbyterie, the deed to be null, and he to be deposed. 8°. His power is *ordinis causa, non jurisdictionis;* and where he may not overtake all his bounds, (of old called a diocie,) commissioners shall be presented by the King, and admitted by the Assemblie, to whom onlie they shall be countable, and the Bishops to have no power of visitation, &c. within the bounds assigned to them. 9°. Whatever Bishops or commissioners doe it shall not prejudge the visitation of the Presbyteries. 10°. Whatever may depryve a minister either in doctrine or life, that same may depryve a Bishop.

The King's Majestie's commissioners dissented and protested aganis the proceeding of the Assemblie in so far as they had subjected Bishops to Presbyteries and Provinciall Synods, it being (as they alledged) contrare to the conclusion of the Conference at Haliroodhouss, protests the voyce of the Assemblie to be null in that poynt. Commissioners were sent to the King to informe him of the Assemblie's grounds, but he replyed he would no wayes agree to it; whereupon, the Assemblie concludes, that such commissioners should be censured by the Generall Assemblie till further ordour to be taken. Where ever the King maks residence, his ministers shall adjoyne themselves to the Presbyterie of that place.

A process of excommunication being led on aganis Mr Patrik

Adamson, Bishop of St Androes, he appealled from them to the Generall Assemblie, and, at the King's desyre, the Assemblie laboured to take a mids in the mater. 1°. If the Bishop will disclame all supremacie over his brethren, other pastors, or to be their judge, and confess a fault if ever he had so done. 2°. Confess his fault in usurping the moderation in the Synod of Fyffe, and his imperious cariage there, and contempt of his brethren. 3°. If he will promise to acclame no more nor God's word allowes and Paull's Bishop should have. 4°. If he will submitt his doctrine and life to be censured by the Generall Assemblie, without reclamation or appellation, we shall (not condemning the process) hold the process as unled and the sentence as unpronounced, and shall repone the said Bishop, so far as may be by the word of God and Acts of the Kirk, to his office.

ARTICLES TO BE CRAVED OF HIS MAJESTIE.

1. To take ordour with Jesuits in the north.

2. Ministers in the north to be better provyded in stipends.

3. Judges to be appoynted in all the parts of the kingdom for punishing of crymes, Sabbath-breaking, adulterie, &c.

4. That everie chief burgh have four tymes doctrine in the week, and, for that effect, tuo ministers.

5. That colledge kirks be served and provyded.

6. That abbay kirks may have manses and gliebs, and that all gliebs be with freedome of pasturage, fewell, foggage, faill, and divott, loaning, free ish and entrie.[1]

7. Benefices given to such as serves not the cure to be declared null, and to be assigned to able qualified men serving the cure. The nullitie of the former gift to be discussed als well by way of exception as action.

1 That is, to have freedom of pasturage, fuel, *foggage*, the stubble on the ground after the harvest; *fail*, a square piece of turf, differing from *divot* or thin flat turf, the one used for forming walls, the other for thatching the roofs of houses; *loaning*, might be a communication from one pasture ground to another; and *free ish and entrie*, is liberty of going out or in.

8. All other presentations of laick patrons of that nature to be so annulled also.

9. Collations granted by such as had no power to be declared null.

10. Ministers benefices, under Prelacies, to be free of payment of first fruits and fyft pennie; and that, haveing the King's subscription, they get their signature free; and the poore men to be reimbursed who hes debursed, and their cautioners to be discharged.

11. The Kirk to be purged, that both worthles or wicked ministers may be deposed; also non-residents and many others admitted by Bishops and careless commissioners; also such as who are deposed but obeyes not the sentence: and that all this be done without feare or boasting.

12. Many poore ministers have decayed benefices, parsonages, and viccarages, without many emoluments payed in tyme of Poperie, yit payes als much out of it as if the benefice were in integritie, without any releef; whereas prelats and other greatter beneficed persons have releeff of their vassalls: That remedie be provyded for this evill.

13. That ministers be provyded out of the prelatts rents, whilk are vaiked since the Act 1581, without whilk, out of the readiest of the fruits, the provision to be null.

14. The Bishops of Argyle and Isles to be subject to attend on the Assemblie, otherwise they are as in another dominion, whilk is prejudiciall both to the King and Kirk.

15. Wise men to try the estate of all prelacies and benefices how they are hurt or dilapidat, and to see how they may be helped againe.

16. That the Lords of Session discuss and declare whether the King or the Earle of Orknay is patron to the benefices of Orknay and Zetland, that ministers there may get their stipends, and not be suspended.

17. That the finall decision of causses concerning ministers deprivation fra benefices belong to the Generall Assemblie, and not to the Lords of Session, be way of reduction.

Mr Andro Huntar,[1] minister, gave in a written protestation, protesting before God, his angells and saints, that he could not assent to the deed of the Assemblie in absolveing Mr Patrik Adamson fra the most just sentence of excommunication pronunced by the Synod of Fyffe aganis him, for manifest crymes and open contumacie, at St Androes, Aprile 12, 1586; becaus the said excommunicat persone had given no signe of repentance, yea, was not supplicating to be absolved; because the process wes not examined nor publictly red: To this protestation adhered Mr Andro Melvill and Mr Thomas Buchanan.

Mr Patrik Adamson did subscryve the conditions proponed by the Assemblie, for whilk cause the Generall Assemblie absolved him.

The King agreed to the most part of the Articles: these he disassented from he marked with his awin hand.

(1.) There shall be one Generall Assemblie everie yeare, and oftener *pro re nata*.

(2.) Provinciall Assemblies are appoynted, for weightie maters to be intreated by mutuall consent of brethren within that province. 2. They may rectifie things done amisse in, or whilk cannot be done by, presbyteries. 3. They have power, for just causses, to depose any member within the province: (here the King excepted Bishops and Commissioners.) 4. They have the wholl power of all the elderships and presbyteries whereof they are collected.

(3.) The power and use of Presbyteries is to see that the kirks within their bounds be keept in good ordour. 2. To inquyre after naughtie and leud persons that they may be reclamed. 3. To see that the Word be uncorruptlie preached, the sacraments duelie administred, discipline impartiallie exercised, and the Kirk's goods

[1] Hunter at the time was alleged to be a servant of Andro Melville's; but this Calderwood (p. 203) controverts, and shews that he was for two years a student of divinity under Melville at St Andrews, and that four years afterwards he became minister of Carnbie. He was settled there, 9th February 1586–7, and translated to Newburn in 1589, but was suspended from his ministry, 25th April 1594.—(Records of the Synod of Fife, pp. 203, 210.)

faithfullie distributed. 4. To see Acts of Generall and Provinciall Assemblies putt in execution. 5. They should make constitutiones whilk concerns τό πρεπον, decorum; that decent ordour be keept in kirks, provyding they be not repugnant to Acts of superiour judicatories, and provyding those constitutions be notified to the Provinciall Synods; yea, they may make constitutions, abolishing any thing whilk hurts good ordour. 6. They have power to excommunicat the obstinat: The King added, formall process being led, and dew intervalls of tyme allowed. 7. Faults to be censured in Presbyteries: heresie, errour, papistrie, idolatrie, witchcraft, consulting with witches and charmers, contempt of the word in not resorting to it, continuance in blasphemie aganis God and sweareing, blasphemie aganis his trueth, perjurie, incest, adulterie, fornication, drunkennes, Sabbath-breaking, &c.

(4.) Congregations have power within themselves to handle maters ecclesiasticall, bringing the greatter and harder maters to the Presbyterie; and appealls may be made to the Presbyterie fra the Session.

(5.) The King consented that some grave and wise brethren, delegat in everie province, should try any slander in the lives and conversations of the Bishops or Commissioners, but that the finall decision and sentence should belong onlie to the Generall Assemblie: So brethren were presentlie nominat who should report to the nixt Assemblie.

(6.) That Bishops or Commissioners shall be Moderators in the places where they have their residence; but Mr Robert Wilkie is continued Moderator in St Androes till the nixt Assemblie of the Province of Fyffe. The King's commissioners agree that the Kirk (as formerlie they had) shall have tuo dayes in the week in the Session for calling of their actions and suits of law; and James Mowat shalbe their Solicitor.

The Kirks in Scotland were found to be 954: bounds of Presbyteries and Provincialls were sett doune with the advise of the Clerk-Register.

This comelie ordour and happie estate of this Kirk continued

not long in integritie, for about this tyme Mr Patrik Adamson, minister at St Androes, a learned man and eloquent preacher, haveing long before this tyme obtained a gift of the Bishoprick of St Androes, from the Regent for the tyme, did hold the Kirk in a great trouble, offering to prove the lawfulnes of that office; but that not succeeding with him, (for what ever he taught publictlie in the pulpit concerning that subject, not being warranted by God's word, Mr Andro Melville, then Doctor of Theologie in the New Colledge, publictlie in his lessons refuted him, and the Presbyterie also wes censureing him,) he was forced to keep himself quyet whill he fand his awin opportunitie: viz. the King and the Court to favour his purpose, yit durst he not at first openlie shew himself for feare of the censures of the Kirk; yea, at that tyme also the name and office of Bishop wes odious and detestable almost to all men: It pleased the King to send for the foresaid Mr Patrik to Edinburgh, that he might teach publictlie there that the people might heare him, supposeing that they would be well pleased with his doctrine; but the ordinare minister of Edinburgh, Mr John Cowper, being in the pulpit, the King commanded him to come doun out of the pulpitt, and lett (said he) the Bishop of St Androes come up and preach, who, when the King went to his seat, was conveyed by the King's guard to the doore of the pulpitt: The minister answered to the King, that he was prepared to preach that day as being his ordinarie day, and if it were your Majestie's will I would faine (said he) doe God's work presentlie: But the King replyed, I will not heare yow this day; I command yow come doun and let Mr Patrik Adamson come up and preach, (belyke the King remembred he should not have called him Bishop of St Androes, seing the Acts of the Kirk were strict in the contrare.) At this word the minister of Edinburgh obeyed, and went doun out of the pulpit, and then the Bishop of St Androes went up; and (after the Inglish forme) began to beck in a low courtesie to the King, whereas the custome of this Kirk was, first to salute God, to doe God's work, and then, after sermon and divine worship closed, to give reverence, and make curtesie particularlie to

the King; but soone after that the Bishop was entered into the pulpit, all the people in the great kirk of Edinburgh gave a showt and lowd cry, so as nothing could be heard, (just as on the 23d of Julie 1637, when at the preassing to read and act the Service Book in the same kirk, the women gave a showt, and stoolls were throwen at the Bishop and Dean his face,) and all almost ran out of the kirk, especiallie the women; none almost remained but they who were with the King, and some of the nobilitie and gentrie in the Lords loft;[1] also, the Provest and Councill of Edinburgh satt still in their loft. This cariage of the people made the King rise up and cry out, What divill aills the people that they may not tarie to heare a man preach? He taught indeed that day, (the writter being an eye and eare witnes of all this,) but with great feare, and then was putt among the King's guard, that none should doe him harme, and, thus guarded, was taken doune to the Abbay. Not long after this, when he was returned to St Androes, the Provinciall Assemblie of Fyffe meeting there, entered in process aganis him, upon sundrie sure grounds whilk the Presbyterie of St Androes had laid doun aganis him; also, now finding that he had taken on him that office of a Bishop, declared unlawfull in this Kirk, and aganis the Acts of Generall Assemblie, they did excommunicat him; albeit, at the King's earnest desire, his excommunication wes not openlie published and intimated in all pulpitts, but rather in a part retraited upon certaine conditions propounded to be performed by him, whilk conditions he never reallie would performe. Afterward the notice of his excommunication comeing to men's ears, and he being in great debt, was oft registrat at the King's horne; then creditors came and took out all the insight and plenishing of his houss: He about this tyme also fell in a pitifull disease, called by physicians *Bulimia*, or *Bulimos* rather, (*ex Bu particula intensiva, ut "tumidis Bumaste racemis," et* λίμος, *fames: bos bubus est magnum animal; ergo, Bulimus est magna fames*, differing so from *caninus appetitus*, that this snatches up all with a ravenous appetite, and presentlie vomits it up againe,) for he was continual-

[1] The *loft* or portion of the gallery appropriated to the Lords of Session.

lie insatiablie hungrie, yet be reasone now of his extream povertie, and haveing lost all credit, so that in all St Androes he could not get a loaf of bread upon his trust, he could not have any thing almost to satisfie his intollerable hunger; (his Diotrephes like hungering and thirsting after preheminence and preferment, out of his ambitious humor, being thus punished with a judgment suitable to the sin;) but that the man whom he hated most in former tymes (Mr Andro Melvill) was now his best friend, pitied his deplorable condition, furnished him daylie meat and drink, and other necessars also.

Then, in the yeare of the Christian era, or Epocha 1591, after he had been long under sicknes, and was now become verie weak, his conscience wakening upon him, the Provinciall Assemblie being mett in St Androes in the moneth of Aprile, he sent some brethren to the Assemblie, desyreing earnestlie to be receeved in favour with them; for by certaine Articles whilk he gave in, written in Latin, he acknowledged that he had highlie offended God in sundrie things: whilk Articles he subscryved with his awin hand, viz. "Quod ecclesiæ regendæ rationem Monarchicam constituerim et regnis terrenis similem, me peccasse agnosco:—Quod inde Episcopatum et imperium uni, in co-episcopos qui æquales jure erant et esse debebant intulerim, in eo etiam peccatum agnosco:—Quod viros ecclesiasticos Regis subjecerim mandato, etiam in rebus ecclesiasticis, peccasse me agnosco:—Quod Presbyterium delirium humanum putaverim, et ab omnibus ita haberi voluerim veniam peto." Whilk articles, after the Assemblie had read and considered them, they sent some of their brethren to him, desyreing him to declare his mynde more fullie; and that in Inglish, that all might know his true repentance for runing so far in evill courses as he had done; that the Assemblie also might be the more moved to pitie him, and relaxe him fra that dreadfull sentence of excommunication under which he did lye; which counsell he willinglie followed. And, therefore, because Mr Patrik Adamson's Recantation, whilk he sett doune himself, was afterwards printed, and the knowledge thereof, through the Lord's blessing,

may doe much good to those that well observe the Lord's dealling aganis his enemies for the well of his Kirk. I will first sett doune the Printer's epistle, and then the Recantation itself, with such things as followed thereupon: The printer calls this following Recantation *Pseudo-Episcopomastix.*

THE RECANTATION OF MAISTER PATRIK ADAMSONE, sometime Archbishop of *SAINT-ANdrowes* in Scotlande, 1598.[1]

Pseudoepiscopomastix.

THE PRINTER TO THE READER.

After that the just copie of this Recantation, good Reader, came sundrie times to my handes in writt, I wes moved at last, for the great benefite of many, to put it in print, as a worthie monument of God's mercie towarde his Church, in justifying the righteous cause thereof, and in condamning the crooked course of all sortes of adversaries, and that so plainelie and mightilie, that it can not be denied bot to be done by the verie fingar of God himselfe, and not by the witte or policie of man. For howsoever some evill affected persones, adversaries to Christian Discipline, surmise this Recantation to have bene craftelie procured, or rather violentlie

[1] The Recantation is here given from the original printed copy. It is in small 8vo, twelve leaves, in roman letter, dated 1598, without the name of either the printer or place; but probably at London. Bishop Keith, in his account of Archbishop Adamson, has this remark:—"He died in the year 1591, having, as is said, in his last sickness, made a kind of recantation, whereby he condemned Episcopacy as unlawful; *but for this there is no direct voucher, and we know well how easy it is to palm things upon dying persons.*" More than one gross attempt to fabricate such recantations was made, at least, by the Episcopal party in Scotland during the 17th century; and it only displays Keith's sectarian spirit to throw any doubt on the genuineness of a document so well attested as this confession of Adamson. He died 19th February, 1591–2.

inforced by the policie of the contrarie partie, (as they speake,) yit the credite of the worshipfull and faithfull witnesses, yet alive, that testifie the trueth hereof by their hande-writtes and subscriptions, according as the thing with the haill circumstances thereof wes done in their sight and hearing, as hereafter truely is set downe, plainlie proveth the work to be of God, and not of man. Which thing, as it ought to moove the godlie to an earnest thankesgiving for so rare and great a benefite: so it should worthilie terrifie the adversareis of all sortes, from further striving against the trueth of Christian Discipline, no lesse justified here by their owne mouth, as it were, then wes David's innocencie by the mouth of Saul, when he saide, Is this thy voyce, my sonne David? thou art more righteous then I: whiche more cleared David, and condemned Saul, then if either David himselfe or any of his friendes or fellowes, by worde or writt had taken upon them to make his Apologie. For this recanter wes no meane adversary to true Discipline, or one of the common sorte, but a chiefe ringleader, and one that as in style mounted to the hiest Antichristian (if not heathenish, after the maner of Flamine and Archiflamine) digniteis in Scotlande; so in will, diligence, and all industrie, negotiating against trew reformation, none either did, or wes able to matche him: whose extorted and constrained confession by the hand of God, though voluntare in regard of men, as wrasted out of the mouth of one of the chiefest in name of all the rest, should worthily move all of his coate and complices, to kicke no more against prickes, least otherwise continuing with Saul in persecuting David, against their owne consciences, they be brought (in God's righteous judgment) at last to some tragicall and miserable end in this life, and to eternall torments in the world to come: which is spoken, not so much in regard of such grave and learned fathers, as not of ambition, but through the injurie of the time, for holding out evill persons from those dignities, who would make havoke of the Church, and for staying the furie of the storme of persecution of the brethren, which otherwise no doubt would ensewe, are contented (being called) for the quietnes of

the Church, to accept for an interim and time, till God send further reformation, that unpure and monstruously mangled Ministrie of thinges that otherwise are meere *asustata*, as we say, and not competent in one person; to witt, a contemptible ministeriall service, makeing men to be compted the ofscourings of the world, and a lordlie pompeous governement like to that of the nations, plainlie forbidden by Christ in these words, *Vos autem non sic*, but ye shall not be so. To these men, I say, who wilbe readie uppon all occasions to farder reformation, the former threatnings apperteineth not so much as to the malitious persecutours of the true Ministrie, under the name of fathers of the Church, for maintenance of their ambition.

[Followes Mr Patrik Adamson his Recantation, as he sett it doun himself, and subscryvit the samyn, and sent it to the Provinciall Synod of Fyffe, then mett at St Androes in the moneth of Aprile 1591.[1]]

8 Aprilis 1591.

BRETHREN, understanding the proceedings of the Assemblie in my contraire, and beeing nowe withholden, by seiknes, from presenting my selfe before you, that I might give confession of that doctrine quhairin I howp that God sall call me, and that at his pleasure I might depairt in ane unitie of Christian faithe, I thought gud, by wreitt, to utter the samyne to your wisdomes: And lykewayes to crave your godlie wisdomes assistance, nott for the restitution of any warldlie pompe or preeminence, quhilk I little respect, but to remoove from me the slanderis quhilkes are raised in this countrie concerning the variance of doctrine, speciallie on my pairt, quhairin I protest, befoir God, that I haif onlie a single respect to his glorie, and by his graice I sall abyde heirin unto my lyves end.

First, I confes the trew doctrine of Christian religioun to be publiklie tawght and rightlie annuncied within this Realme, and deteistis all papistrie and superstition, like as (blissed be God) I

[1] This title is not contained in the old printed copy.

haif detested the samine in my heart, the spaice of thirty yeiris, sen it pleasit God to give me the knowledge of the treuth, quhairin I haif walkit uprightlie, alsweill heire as in uther countreis, as the Lorde beires me record, untill theise last dayes, quhairin, partlie for ambition and vaine glorie, to be preferred before my brethren, and partlie for covetousnes, I haif possessed the pelf of the Kirk: I did undertake this office of Archbishoprike, quhairwith justlie the syncerest professors of the worde haif funde fault, and haif condemned the samine, as impertinent to the office of a sincere pastor of Godis word. And albeit men wold colloure the samen, and the imperfections thairof by divers clokes, yit the samine can noth be conceiled from the spirituall eyes of the faithfull: Neither zit can the men of God, quhen they ar putt to their conscience, dissemble the samine.

Nixt, I confes, that I was in ane erronious opinioun, that I belived the gouvernment of the Kirk to be like unto the kingdomes of the earth, plaine contrairy to the commaundement of our Maister Christ, and the monarchie quhairby the Kirk is governed, not to be onely in the persoun of our Saviour Christ, (as it is,) bot in the ministeris, quho are nothing bot vassales vnder him, in an equalitie among themselfis.

Thirdlie, That I married the Earle of Huntle contrair to the command of the Kirk, without the confession of his faith, and profession of the sincere doctrine of the word, I repent and craves God pardon. That I traveled both by reasoning and uther ways to subject the kirk-men unto the King's ordinance, in things that aperteine to ecclesiasticall matters, and things of conscience, I aske God mercie, quhairupon grait enormiteis haif fallen furth in this countrie.

That I belived and so tawght, the Presbytireis to be a foolishe inventioune, and wold haif it so estemed of all men, quhilk is ane ordinance of Christ, I crave God mercie.

Forder, I submit myself to the mercie of God and judgement of the Assemblie, not measuring my offences by my owne self, nor

infirmiteis of my owne ingyne, bot unto the gud judgement of the Kirk, to the quhilk alwayes I subject my selfe, and beseekis zou to make intercessioune to God for me, and to the King, that I may haif sum moyene to live, and consume the rest of this my wretched tyme, for winning of quhois favors (whilk foolishlie I thoucht thereby to obteine) I committed all theis errours.

As quhair I am burdened, to haif bene the settair furth of the buke called *The King's Declaration*, quhairin the whol ordor of the Kirk is condemned and traduced, I protest before God, that so I was commandit to wreitt the same by the Chancellair for the time, bot chieflie by N., (an uther grait courteour,) quho himself penned, in the second Act of Parliament, concerning the powar and authoritie of Judicator, to be absolutelie in the Kinges powar; and that it suld not be lawfull to any subject to reclame fra the samin, under the penaltie of the Act, whilk I suppose was treasoun.

Item, quhair it is alleagit that I suld haif condemned the doctrine annunced and taught by the Ministrie of Edinburgh, and to have allowed onely concerning obedience to the Prince, I confes and protestis before God that I never understud nor zit knew any thing bot sinceritie and uprightnes in the doctrine of the Ministeris of Edinburgh in that poynt, nor in any uther.

Forder, I confes I was the authour of the Act dischargeing the Ministers stipends that did not subscribe those Actes of Parliament, quhairwith God hath justlie recompensed myself.

As for any violent course, it is knawen wel ynough quho was the author thairof, and my pairt was tryed at the imprisonment of Master Nicol Dalglische, Master Patrik Malvill, Master Thomas Jak, and uthers.

Moreover, I graunt I was moir bussie with sum Bishops of Englande, in preiudice of the discipline of our Kirk, partlie quhen I was thair, and partlie by our mutuall intelligence sensyn then became a gud Christian, mikle lesse a faithfull Pastor.

Neither is thair any thing that moir eshameth me then my often disceauing and abusing of the Kirk heirtofoir, by confessionnes,

subscriptionnes, protestationnes, &c., quhilk be far from me now and evir hereafter. Amen.

Sic subscribitur, Zour Brother in the Lord,
M. PATRIK ADAMSONNE.

[Thir Articles being subscryved and sent in to the Assemblie, the Assemblie desyred to be resolved of other things; to the quhilks he answered after this maner:—[1]]

As quhair zour Wisdomes desires to haif mine own opinion concerning the buke of the Declaratioun of the Kinges intention, the samen is at moir length declared in the confession, quhilk I haif exhibit alreadie, quhairin I haif condemned all the hole artikles thairin contained, likeas be theis presentes I condemne thame.

As quhair ze require quhat became of the bukes of the Assemblie, all quhilkis I had preserved hole, unto the returning of the Lords and Ministrie out of England; and if I had noth preserued thame, my Lord of Arrane intendit to haif maid thame be cast into the fire; and upon a certane day in Falkland, befoir they wer delivered to the King's Majestie, the Bischope of N., accumpanied with Mr Henry Hamiltoune, rent owt sum leafes, and destroyed sic things as maid agains our estaite, and that not withowt my awne speciall allowance.

As for the bukes quhilk I haif set furth, I haif sett furth no thing except a commentarie upon the first chapter of Paule to Timothie, quhilk I did direct to the King's Majestie, and kept no examplar beside me; and understandes that Mr Johnne Geddie gat the samyn from the King, and lent it to Mr Robert Hepburne.

Farther I wrote nothing, but onelie maid mention in my preface upon the Apocalypse, that I suld write a buke called Psillus,[2] quhilk (being prevented by disease) God would not suffer me to finishe, and the litle thing that wes done, I caused to destroy it.

And likewayes, I haif set furth the buke of Job, with the Apocalypse, and the Lamentationnes of Jeremie, all in verse, to be

[1] Not contained in the old printed copy.

[2] "Psillus Psilli in Lybia populi."—Note in MS.

prented in Englande: As for my intention I am not disposed or in abilitie to writte any thing at this tyme, and if it pleased God I were restored to my health, I wald change my style, as Cajetanus did at the Councill of Trent.

As for Sutclivius buke agains the forme and ordour of the Presbitreis, so farr am I from being partenar in that warke, that as I knowe noth the man, nor hath never any intelligence of the warke befoir it was done; so, if it please God to give me dayes, I will writ in his contrarie to the mantenance of the contrarie confessioun.[1]

Prayes the Brethren to be reconciled and to be at unitie and peax with me; and in token of thair forgivenes, becaus health sufferis me noth to goe ouer to the College quhair ze ar presentlie assembled, (quhilk I wold gladlie doe to aske God and zou forgivenes,) that it wold please yow to repair hither that I may doe it heir. [Further, it will please yow to interceed to the King's Majestie, that if it shall please the Lord a litle while to spare my wretched dayes, I may have some litle quyet moyen quhairon to live, for it is not as some men reports.[2]]

Moreover, I condemne by this my subscription quhatsoeuer is contaned in the Epistle Dedicatorie to the K. Majestie, befoir my buke on the Revelation, that is either slanderous or offensive to the Brethren: Also I promise to satisfie the brithren of Edinburgh, or any uther kirk of this realme, according to a gud conscience, in quhatsoever they finde thamselfes justlie offended, and contrarie to the word of God in any of my speeches, actions, or proceedings quhilk haif passed from me.

And concerning the commentarie upon the First Epistle of Paule to Timothie, becaus ther are divers things thairin conteined offen-

[1] In the MS. this paragraph runs thus:—"As where ye requyre concerning a book latelie sett furth in England called Sutclivius, agains the forme and ordour of the Presbitreis, if I was partaker with it, or had knowledge who sett it forth? verilie I am ignorant but by the title of the book, and knowes not the man, nor hes any intelligence thereof; if it please God to give me dayes, I [will] writ in his contrarie to the mantenance of the contrarie confession."

[2] This sentence is not contained in the printed copy.

sive, and that tendis to allowe of the estait of Bishops, utherways than God's Word can suffer, I condemne the samen.

The pages befoir written, dytted by me Maister PATRIKE ADAMSONE, and written at my command, by my servitor Maister Samuel Cunninghame, and by his hande drawin in the blankes, I subscribe with my awne hande, as acknawlegeit by me in sinceritie of conscience in the presence of God, befoir these witnesses direct to me from the Synodal Assemblie, becaus of my inhabilitie of bodie to repaire towards thame;—James Monipenny, zonnegar of Pitmillie, Andro Wood of Stravithie, David Murray, portioner of Ardeit, Maister David Russell, Maister William Murray, minister at Disart, Maister Robert Wilkie, David Fargusonne, with uthers diversse.

Sic subscribitur, Mr PATRIK ADAMSONE.

David Fargusoun, witnes.
Maister Nicol Dalgleische.
James Monipenny of Pitmillie, witnes.
Andro Wood of Stravithie, witnes.
Maister Robert Wilkie, witnes.
David Murray with my hande, witnes.
Maister David Russell.
Maister David Spenss.
Maister Johnne Caldclewch.
Maister William Murray, minister of Dysart.

8. April. 1591.

[The Assemblie seeing and considdering this his Recantation, and knowing what greef that pamphlet, called The King's Declaration,[1] was to the godlie, and how the enemies of the discipline of the Kirk rejoyced at it, as if it had been his Majestie's awin propper resolution and will, whereof the contrair was well knowen;

[1] The tract referred to is entitled "A Declaration of the King's Maiestie's Intentioun and Meaning toward the lait Actis of Parliament [in May 1584.] Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Thomas Vautroullier, 1585. *Cum Privilegio Regali.*" 4to, 12 leaves.

concluds, that it was expedient that Mr Patrik Adamson should take that book, and, with his awin hand, writ and subscribe in the margent thereof his awin judgment to everie head and article thereof, condemning the samyn, quhilk was worthie to be condemned; and therefore sent some Brethren to him, who gave him the said book, quhilk he receaved with promise to doe the samyne, with the help of the Brethren that should peruse it with him, because of his present infirmitie:—Followes Mr Patrik Adamson his awin answere and refutation of the book falslie called The King's Declaration.[1]]

MAISTER PATRIKE ADAMSONE'S OWEN ANSWERE AND REFUTATION OF THE BUKE FALSLIE CALLED THE KING'S DECLARATION.

I haif interprised of mere remorse of conscience to wreitt against a buke called "The Declaration of The King's Majestie's Intention;" albeit it containeth litle or nothing of the King's awin intention, bot my awin at the tyme of the writting theirof; and the corrupt intentionnes of sic as for the tyme wer about the King, and abused his minoritie: of the quhilk buke and contents thairof, compyled by me at the command of sum chiefe courteours for the time, (as is befoir wrettin,) I sall shortlie declair my opinioun, as the infirmitie of sicknes and weaknes of memorie will permitt.

First, In the hole buke is no thing contained but assertionnes of lies, ascribing to the King's Majestie that quhairof he was not culpable; for albeit, as the tyme went, his Majestie could haif suffered theis things to haif bene published in his Realme, zit his Majestie wes nevir of that nature to haif revealed [revylled] ony man's persoun, or to upbraid any man with calumneis, quhairof thair is a number contained in that buke.

Secundlie, In the Declaration of the second acte of Parliament, thair is mention made of Maister Andro Melvill, and his preachinges most wrangfullie condemned in speciall, as factious and seditious; albeit his Majestie heth had a livelie triall of that man's

[1] This paragraph is not contained in the old printed copy.

fidelitie and trewth in all his proceedings from tyme to tyme. Trew it is, he is earnest and zealous, quho can abyde no corruption, (quhilk most unadvisedlie I attributed to a fyrie and salt humor,) quhilk his Majestie findes by experience to be trew, for he alloweth weil of him, and knawith thinges that wer alleaged upon him to have bene fals and contryved treacherie.

Thair ar contained in that second act of Parliament divers utheris fals intentions for to defame the ministrie, and to bring the Kirk of God in hatred and invie with thair Prince and Nobilitie, burdening and accusing the Ministers falselie of sedition, and other crimes quhairof they wer innocent.

As lykwise it is wrettin in the samen Acts and Declaration thairof, that soverane and supreme powar partaineth to the King in maters ecclesiasticall, quhilk is worthie to be condemned, and not to be contained amang Christian actes, quhair the powar of the word is to be extolled above all the powar of princes, and them to be brought under subjection to the samen.

The ferd Acte condemned the Presbiterie as ane judgement not allowed by the King's law, quhilk is a very slender argument; for as concerning the authoritie of the Presbyterie, we haif the samen expressed in the Gospel of Saint Matthew, cap. xviii., quhair Christ commandes "to shewe the Kirk," quhilk authoritie, being commanded by Christ, and the Actes of Parliament forbidding it, we shuld rather "obey God than man." And zit the Presbyterie lackith nevir the King's autoritie for the allowance thairof from the beginning, saue onlie at that houre of darknes, quhen he was abused through evill companie. As for any uther thing that is contained in this Act aganis any order or proceeding of the Presbyterie, it is to be esteemed that no thing was done by the Presbyterie without wisedome, discretion, and judgement, and so hath receaved approbation againe by the Kirk, quhairunto also I understand his Majestie hath given allowance, ratified and approvid the same, quhilk shuld be a sufficient reason to represse all mennes curiositie, that ather have or zit wold finde fault with the samine.

The last article containes the establishing of ane Bishop, quhilk hath no warrand of the word of God, but is grunded upon the policie of the invention of man, quhairupon the primacie of the Pope or Antichrist is risen, quhilk is worthie to be disallowed and forbidden; becaus the nomber of the Eldership that hes jurisdiction and oversight, aswell of visitation as admission, will doe the samyn far mair authenticklie, godlie, and with greater zeale, then a Bishop quhoise cair commonly is not upon God and his dewtie, bot upon the warld, quhairupon his chief attendance is. Consider how that office hes bene used these five hundreth zeiris begone, with quhat crueltie and tyrannie it hath bene exercised; ze sall finde it to haif bene the chief cause that hath in everie cuntrie suppressed the word of God: quhilk salbe evident to all that read the historie of the Kirk. As for my awen opinioun, it seemeth to be nearest the trueth, and fordest from all kinde of ambition, that the Brithren in equall degree assemble thamselfes vnder their head Christ, and thair everie man discharge his office cairfullie, as he is commanded. And becaus weaknes of memorie and seiknes suffer me noth at length to discourse these maters as I wold, I must request the good reader to assure himselfe that I haif written this without compulsion or persuasion of any man, with ane upright heart, and haif deliuered the same with a perfit sinceritie of minde, so far as infirmitie of fleshe and blood doth suffer, as God shal judge me at the latter day; and that the same reader accompt of quhatsomevir thinges are omitted, that they are to be imputed to my imbecilitie of memorie and the present seiknes, and not to my good will, quhilk was, I protest, to haif condemned everie point; yea, evin to the fals narration of the bankit,[1] and all the rest contained in that litle treatise called The King's Majestie's Intention, according as (I acknowledge) they deserue to be condemned by the censure and judgement of the Kirk, to the quhilk always I submit my selfe in whatsumevir things I haif either in word or wreitt at-

[1] According to the Declaration, a banquet was given to the French Ambassador by the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, at the King's command, and the Presbytery appointed a fast to take place on the same day.

tempted, either in that forsaid Declaration or utherwayes: By these presents subscrivit with my hand, At Santandros, the xii. of May 1591, befoir these witnesses, Maister David Black, minister at Sanctandros, Maister Robert Wilkie, principall of Saint Leonardes College, Maister Johnne Aittoun of Eranathe,[1] Maister William Russell.

Sic subscribitur, PATRIK ADAMSONE.

Maister David Black, witnes.
George Ramsay.
M. Johnne Auchinlek.
William Lermonth.
Patrik Guthrie.
Charles Watsonne, scribe.

I Mr Patrik Adamson declaire, that this Confession and Declaration befoir written, is my awen Confession, given with my heart, and subscrivit with my hande, befoir the witnessis underwritten, undersubscriving with inc[ke] at my request and desire, At Sanctandros, the tent day of Junii, the zeir of God I^m. v^c. four score ellewin.

M. P. ADAMSON.

Dauid Carnagie of Colluthie, witnes.
William Scot of Abbotishall, witnes.
Alex^r. Bruce of Earlishall, witnes.
Borthick of Gordonshall.
M. William Russell.
William Lermonth.
Thomas Kingzo.
M. Robert Wilkie.
M. Andro Moncreif.
M. David Black.
M. Andro Huntar, scribe of the Provinciall Assemblie.[2]

[1] Some copies of the Recantation read Aittoun of Enmathe.

[2] The old printed copy of Adamson's Recantation in 1598 ends here.

Now, the Assemblie much moved with the articles given in by Mr Patrik Adamson, and after communication of some of the Brethren with him, concluds, that it is expedient to commit him to God in their privat prayers, and, by his awin advyse, to suit at the King's Majestie for support to him; yit, among many things that were spoken in the Assemblie concerning him, it was affirmed by some of the Brethren, that, in ane Assemblie holden at St Androes, befoire the said Mr Patrik Adamson was excommunicat, whilk sentence of excommunication, suppose it was forgotten of some, yit it remained effectuall in the hearts of manie of the godlie; wherefore, the question was proponed, if it was expedient to absolve him from the said sentence? And, after long reasoning, it was concluded, in respect of his present obedience, that he shall be lowsed fra the said sentence; yit it was thought good to ask himself, if he fand himself bound in conscience by the said sentence, and would earnestlie crave instantly to be lowsed; and to that effect sent divers ministers and elders, gentlemen, unto him, asking him, if he in himself had a feeling that he was delyvered over to Satan? If he acknowledged himself excommunicat from Jesus Christ his kirk and their holie societie, by the Provinciall Assemblie, holden at St Androes? and if, with all his heart, he desyred to be absolved fra the samyn sentence, whilk was so fearfull? This being demanded of him, he said thir words,—"My Brethren, that is more nor I am worthie;" and with many tears, in presence of them all that were directed to him, he said, doubling the words, "For Christ's sake, for Christ's sake, absolve me presentlie:"—Whilk being declared to the Assemblie by them all that were sent to him, the Brethren votes and concluds him to be absolved presently, by the mouth of Mr Andro Moncrief, moderator, who, after incalling on the name of God, absolves the said Mr Patrik Adamson presentlie from the sentence of excommunication pronunced aganis him as said is; ordaining Mr David Black, minister at St Androes, to intimat the samyn the nixt Lord's day from the pulpitt; and it was also thought meet that a good number of Brethren should passe unto him; and in signe that the Kirk

had receaved him unto hir bosome, to imbrace him, and shake hands with him: whilk was done immediatlie thereafter.

This man, albeit he was verie vitious and ungodlie in his life-tyme, as many Poesies both in English and Latin sett out against him declare,[1] yit in charitie we may judge that he died well, seing God gave him that grace to make such a Recantation; also, as it was crediblie reported, he made this notable Confession short while before his death, saying, "I gloried over much in three things, and God hes now justlie punished me in them all: 1°, I gloried in my riches and great liveing, and now I am so poore that I have no means to intertaine my self: 2°. I gloried in my eloquence, and now few can understand what I speak: 3°. I gloried in the favour of my Prince, and now he loves any of the doggs of his kennell better nor me." This should be a great warning to all men this day.

But now we returne to the Assemblies.

At the fifty-first Assemblie, conveened at Edinburgh, the 20th day of June 1587, Mr Andro Melvill, Moderator. My Lords Chancellar and Blantyre, with the King's commissioners, my Lord Secretare and Justice-Clerk, were present.

The Kirk-Register being amissing, and Mr Patrik Adamson (called Bishop of St Androes) haveing said, that if he had the King's command, he should finde the Registers and delyver them; he is summoned within three dayes to delyver them, under paine of the censures of the Kirk.

[1] The most severe attack upon Adamson was one by Robert Semple, a Scotish poet of that time: It is entitled "The Legend of the Bischop of St Androis Lyfe, callit Mr Patrick Adamsone, *alias* Cousteane," and was published from a MS. copy in Dalyell's collection of "Scotish Poems of the Sixteenth Century," Edinb. 1801, 12mo. The editor says, "I almost regret having preserved such a compound of vulgarity, passion, and malevolence." It is in truth a most scurrilous invective. It may also be noticed, that "A. Melvini Musæ," a tract printed in 1620, contains some lines against the Archbishop, attributed to Melville, and there is subjoined a Latin translation of Adamson's Recantation, with a notice of his life, by the anonymous editor. A collection of Adamson's Latin Poems was published at London, 1619, 4to.

Seing the King is now of perfite age, and a Parliament is to be the nixt moneth, it is thought fitt that the King with his Parliament ratifie all the laudable lawes of his Predecessors and Regents for establishing of reformed Religion; for abolishing of Poperie, idolatrie, and superstition; for suppressing of all vyces; and that he abrogat all lawes inacted prejudiciall to any of these ends: and Brethren are sett apart for this purpose to attend the Parliament, and to give in any good overture for further good lawes for establishing the liberties of the Kirk, &c.

That, seing many slanders are lying on Mr Patrik Adamson: also he is suspended by the Provinciall Assemblie; also he is at the King's horn often for non-payment of sundrie ministers stipends, and for tuo gallons of wyne to the Communion; yit contemptuouslie continues in preaching, and few or none resorts to his preaching and administration of Sacraments, whereupon great confusion hes ensued in St Androes, where he was pretended prelat; Brethren are ordained to represent these things to the King's Majestie, and report his Highnes's answer. The King promises, seing it is a civill mater, to putt it to a poynt.

Inacted, That it be reputed no slander for any Christian to absent himself from the preaching of a minister suspended by the Kirk, and at the King's horn. That no Masters of colledges or schoolls receave any schollers cume to perfite age, except they subscryve the Confession of Faith and Covenant, and participat of the Sacraments; and no student to be promoved to any degree quhatsomever except *toties quoties* he subscryve, whilk if he refuise to doe, his promotion to be stayed: This to be observed by the Masters under the paine of the censurs of the Kirk; and Presbyteries to see that this Act be putt in execution, as they will answer, &c. Young men that awaits on Presbyteriall meetings are to studie the knowledge of Scriptures and controverted heads of religion; they are to open up convenient parts of Scriptures, as at certaine tymes they shalbe injoyned; are to be questioned thairupon; and are to sustaine disputs in the controverted heads of religion; and these exercises to continue ay and whill the Pres-

byterie finde them meet and qualified for the ministrie; also ministers who have not attained such perfection as others, are to sustaine disputs, and to be so questioned. All particulare Sessions are subject to their Presbyteries.

Fyve of the Kirk's Registers being presented to the Assemblie, (after much bussines,) they are found mutilated; whairfor a letter is drawen up to the King's Majestie to complaine heavilie that the Kirk's Registers are withholden from them, and are mutilated, and to crave that the Kirk may have the keeping of their awin registers; and, after inquisition, ordour may be taken with them who hes mutilated and manked the Kirk's Registers.

The King presented and nominated Mr Robert Pont Bishop of Catnes: The Assemblie writtis to the King, that they were glad the King had such an estimation of so good a man, but that he wes a Bishop alreadie in the style of Paull the Apostle; and that they could no way yeeld to that corruption to come in againe whilk now wes cast out of the Kirk: Mr Robert Pont might be minister at Dornoch, also be a visitor, as the Kirk should give him charge, but no further; thus, after offering of their humble obedience, wisheth the Spirit of God to his Majestie: From our Generall Assemblie, Junij 28, 1587.

A question being propounded, If the suspension of a minister for a tyme be lawfull? It is found, it is agreeable to Scripture, and so lawfull. All pastors are subjects to Presbyteries, Provinciall Synods, and Generall Assemblies, in the tryell of their lives, conversations, and doctrine; and the refusers to be proceeded aganis by the said Judicatories. Commissioners to attend the Parliament: twenty were chosen, or any thirteen of them. Mr Andro Melvill wes ordained to writ an incouraging letter to the ministrie in Danskine, congratulating their imbraceing of the trueth in the mater of the Sacrament.

THE KING'S MAJESTIE'S FIVE ARTICLES.

1°. If any controversie be concerning the Bishop of St Andrees, that it be disputed in his Majestie's presence.

2°. That the Bishop of Aberdeen be not interest[1] in his jurisdiction and liveing, seing the slander is fullie removed.

3°. That James Gibson and Mr John Cowper acknowledg their offences and slanders aganis his Majestie as he shall think good, or els that they be depryved of all function in the Kirk.

4°. That Mr Robert Montgomrie be receaved, without farther ceremonie, to the favour of the Kirk.

5°. That the Laird of Fintrie his excommunication (quhilk wes somwhat extraordinare) be null.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMISSIONERS THAT ARE TO AWAIT ON THE PARLIAMENT.

1°. As concerning the King's Majestie's two first articles, let the judgment of the Assemblie be followed and notified to his Majestie. As to the Third, to labour to pacifie his Majestie, and if the Kirk's articles be granted in Parliament, to assure his Majestie they will labour to give satisfaction to all, so far as God's glorie and the offence of the godlie will permitt; if he urge the article as it stands, to leave it free to the Generall Assemblie. As to the Fourth, we shall remitt somwhat of the ceremonies outward of Mr Robert Montgomrie's repentance, if the King will relent towards the two brethren. As to the Fifth, brethren are appoynted to conferr with the Laird of Fintrie, if they have promoved, and that he be brought to repentance, the pronunced sentence shalbe annulled.

That they admitt nothing hurtfull or prejudiciall to the Kirk, as it is constitute according to God's word in the Generall Assemblies preceeding the [15]84 yeare of our Lord; but to seek the same to be ratified and allowed, let God be feared, a good conscience keeped, procure the weill of the Kirk, take away all impediments contrare thereto, als far as is possible, &c.

Inacted, That no person be admitted to any parsonage or vicarage but he who is meet to preach the word of God.

[1] In one MS., *interessed*, and in the "Booke of the Kirk," *intrest*; perhaps for *disturbed*: Calderwood renders it *wronged*, and Petrie, *prejudged*. The Bishop here referred to was Mr David Cunningham.

At the fifty-second Assemblie, conveened at Edinburgh, February 6, 1587[-8,] Mr Robert Bruce, Moderator. Many assessors were given to the Moderator. The Assemblie was extraordinarie for quenching the fire of Papistrie, and obviating of great dangers appeareing from Papists. Many commissioners being assembled, they were parted in three, barrons, burrowes, ministers, each of them a part, to give in the names of Papists and Jesuists in their bounds, with their judgments and overtures upon the mater, to be represented to the Assemblie to-morrow.

The noblemen and barons advise being red, it is thought fitt to be advised with the King's Majestie.

THE OVERTURES OF THE NOBLEMEN AND BARONS FOR PURGING OF THE LAND OF PAPISTS, &c.

1°. That the lawes of the countrey be speedilie execut aganis all Jesuits, Seminarie priests, idolaters, and maintainers thereof, and therefore a full catalogue of all such to be given, as they will answer to God thereupon. Sir Robert Melvill, Thesaurer, hes promised to direct summonds aganis them all within forty-eight hours.

2°. That the King's Majestie may be requested to make shorter process aganis such; and, seing they are enemies to his Majestie, religion, and the kingdome, to proceed aganis them as traitours, seing the danger is so imminent.

3°. They offer (if it be the Assemblie's will) to go to the King, and offer their lives, goods, and all they have, to prevent such dangers to the King's Majestie, religion, their consciences, and kingdome, as they stand into both from foraine and intestine enemies.

They were also ordained to speak with the King anent planting of kirks, discipline, and the poore. The King, in generall, gave good answers, and desyred commissioners to be nominat, with whom he might conferre.

Mr Robert Montgomrie may be admitted pastor over a flock where he hes not bene scandalous, provyding he be found qualified in life and doctrine.

The Chancellour being present, desyred the Assemblie to con-

sidder James Gibson[1] his offence in uttering, in his sermon, thir words following,—viz. "That he deemed that James Stuart, Ladie Iesabell, and William Stuart, had been the persecuters of the Kirk; but now he finds by experience that the King himself hes been the persecuter: as Jeroboam, for erecting of idolatrie and permitting thereof, was the last of his posteritie, so he feared if he continued he should conclude his race:" Thir words acknowledged, are voyced offensive. James Gibson promiseing to be present afternoone, yit being called on and not compearand, is found contumax, and suspended fra his ministrie.

THE HUMBLE SUPPLICATION OF THE KIRK TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE.

That seing that Assemblie wes conveened for taking ordour with Jesuits, Priests, Papists, &c., and for useing means, as that in tyme coming they dare not attempt dangerous interpryses. Craveing, 1°. That Jesuits presentlie in the toune, Masters James Gordon and William Crichtoun, may instantlie be apprehended, to be sent out of the kingdome never to return, under the paine of death. 2°. That apostats, excommunicat Papists, such as Fintrie and Glenbervie younger, may be taken ordour with according to the lawes. 3°. That all resetters of Papists, and all traffiquers aganis true religion, be punished according [to] the appoynted penaltie; and if they be guiltie of other crymes, that they be punished accordinglie, and that there be no exception of noble men more nor others.

For planting of kirks, that a Visitation be of the south and north parts of the kingdome where is most need; that tryell be made who are enemies to true religion; that kirks be planted there, and ministers established: that the Thirds disponed in pensions be called in to be imployed on ministers provisions and visitors charges; and that other means be sought out, according to Acts of Parliament; also, let thir commissioners, visitors, have power to depose unworthie ministers, and to visitt schoolls and colledges, and reforme enormities within the same; also, that lawes inacted aganis vyces

[1] Minister of Pencaitland.

may take effect, and the poore that beg up and doune, without either law or religion, may be taken ordour with.

GREEVANCES OF THE KIRK GIVEN IN TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE.

That Jesuits and Seminarie priests are suffered to pollut this land with idolatrie, and such as maintaine them are intertained at Court; thus religion is contemned, the Sacraments polluted, discipline despysed, ministers shamfullie abused, they and their families effamished, the libertie of the Kirk lost, throw not punishing of wicked pestilent men: whereof many instancés were given both south and north; the abbacie of Dumfermline given to Huntlie. The Bishop of St Androes continues to give collation to unworthie persons, he withholds Mr David Spens's stipend fra him, he hes him at the horn, yit can get no payment.

Mr Patrik Adamson is found to have transgressed the act of conference, and therefore is depryved of his office of commissionarie, and Mr Thomas Buchanan placed in his rowme.

A generall Fast to be observed the first tuo Sabbaths of Julie; the causses easilie gathered out of the premisses, with other emergents and notorieties, as God shall furnish.

At the fifty-third Assemblie, conveened at Edinburgh, August 6, 1588, Mr Thomas Buchanan, Moderator. It is thought fit that the most necessarie things be first handled concerning the present danger of this Kirk by the arryvall of the Spaniards, as also of the decay of religion by the raretie and povertie of ministers. It is thought fitt a Fast be keeped this wholl week in Edinburgh.

Poore beggars live in all atheisme and wickednes, wherefore let them not have alms (whilk should be imployed on the houshold of faith) except they show a testimoniall of their baptisme and marriage, and of the baptizeing of their children.

Mr Patrick Adamson is found to have married the Earl of Huntley without proclamation of bands; an excuse of his sicknes wes produced under a doctor's hand, but the testimoniall wes not found sufficient.

Buriall in kirks againe prohibit; the transgressors to be debarred fra the Sacrament till they make their repentance, &c.

Seing the King hes given divers patronages away to noblemen and gentlemen, and that to the great hurt of the Kirk, the King would be pleased to recall these gifts. That Presbyteries be not troubled as they have been, for giving admission upon their awin collations, whilk they have of right. Inhibiting all Presbyteries, till the nixt Generall Assemblie, that they give no admission upon any of these new patrons presentations.

James Gibson purges himself of contumacie, and declares, that his not compeareing wes, lest if he compeared and had not been punished, the wholl Kirk should receave detriment thereby; he desyres to be reponit to his ministrie: The Assemblie accepts of his purgation.

Commissioners are sent to his Majestie, to inquyre by what means he thought Religion should be maintained within this realme, and transmitted to posteritie.

Seing the Visitation of the kirks of the north hes not taken effect, be reassone that the visitors should have had their charges fra Mr Patrik Adamson, and that that man contemnes all the admonitions of the Kirk, and so the visitation (so necessare a work) is deserted: That the Lords of Exchequer would finde out a more solid way of provyding charges that the visitation intended may be prosecuted.

Commissioners appoynted to attend the King, thirteen, or any seven of them, to appear before his Majestie and his Councill, to lament the appearand decay of Religion for fault of intertainment to ministers, and decay of schooles and colledges.

The Presbyterie of Edinburgh hes power given to them to call before them all Apostats, Papists, or other enemies whatsomever, who shall happen to resort to Court, or abyde in the said toune, and to take ordour with them; as, namelie, the Lords Huntley and Seatoun, &c.

Inacted, That, in all tyme comeing, the first day of the Assemblie shalbe a day of fasting and humiliation to the wholl Assemblie

and inhabitants of the toune, and that there shalbe doctrine before and afternoone. *Quæritur*, If a man that hes fallen in adulterie six years agoe, and hes confessed his sin publictlie, and is absolved, be presented to serve in the ministrie, should he be admitted thereto: Answered, negative.

The nixt Assemblie appoynted to be keeped at Edinburgh, the 17 of June 1589; yit no Assemblie was keeped, throw his Majestie going to Denmark to his mariage, at least there is no mention of an Assemblie in the ordinar Assemblie book.[1]

At the fifty-fourth Assemblie, conveened at Edinburgh, August 4, 1590, Mr Patrik Galloway, Moderator. Ministers were tryed upon all was committed to them, if they had done diligence. That the Sabbath day be not profaned by mercatts, ganging of mylns, salt-pans, fishing, sheareing, and leading of corns, carieing of victuall and other things to touns; the contraveeners to be punished according to lawes alreadie made. That Presbyteries travell with gentlemen within their bounds, to give a week day to poore men for sheareing and winning of their corns. Mr Patrik Simson was transported fra Cramund to Stirlin.

The King being present with the Assemblie, they humblie craved three things at his Majestie's hands: 1°. Ratification of the liberties of the Kirk: 2°. Purging of the land of Papists and Poperie: 3°. Kirks to be provyded with pastors and provision. To these his Majestie consented and said, all knew his mynd in these maters, but desired Commissioners to be sent to propone them to the Councill and Nobilitie, who had interest in that mater alswell as he. This wes done accordinglie.

HUMBLE PETITIONS OF THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE CRAVED AT HIS MAJESTIE AND HONORABILL COUNCILL.

1°. Seing many promises hes been made, yit no performance, that now once at last means of performance may be shawen and prosecuted.

[1] It was held notwithstanding; James Melville was chosen moderator, the King himself being present.—See Petrie's History of the Church, pp. 479-480.

2°. Ratification of all the liberties of the Kirk, namelie of Presbyteries and Assemblies provinciall and nationall, with their discipline, and abolishing all contrare lawes whill a Parliament be keept.

3°. That the countrey be purged of all Papists.

4°. That ministers be placed in their manses and gleebs peacablie.

5°. An ordour to be taken with them that were at the road of the Bridge of Dee.

6°. A law aganis Sabbath-breakers.

7°. Aganis such as troubles or injures ministers in their callings.

8°. A strait law to repress bloodshed.

9°. Sufficient provision for ministers serveing the cure out of the teinds and others mortified to the Kirk, and the rest to be imployed on schoolls and colledges, the poore, the fabrick of the Kirk, and other commone effairs, and pious uses.

Forsamekle as holie doctrine cannot long be preserved without holie discipline, that every minister subscryve the Book of Discipline and Policie of the Kirk, and every one who is to be admitted els not to be admitted; that each Presbyterie upon their charges receave a coppie, and cause all subscryve: Presbyteries negligent to be openlie rebuked before the Generall Assemblie.

It is thought meet, and concluded, that where Presbyteries are established and well constitut, the office and ordour of Commissioners of countreyes or Superintendents shall ceass; and everie Presbyterie shall designe so many of their number to exped the platt for their kirks, admitt persons presented to benefices, and designe manses and gleebs, &c. John Lawrence to make a publict confession of his rashnes in excommunicating the Earle of Angus, and a brother appoynted to be present and intimate the reduction of the said process. That all presentation of benefices shalbe to Presbyteries, none to Superintendents; and the Moderator shall be countable to the Presbyterie for whatever he doeth; and the Presbyteries of Aberdeen, Buchan, Garioch, and Marre, sall keep correspondence, and doe things with advise of the nixt adjacent Pres-

byterie. All who have dilapidat benefices, and sett taks to the prejudice of the Kirk, their names to be given by Presbyteries to the Provinciall Synods, and they to report to the Generall Assemblie. Because murderers, adulterers, &c., labours to elude discipline by fleeing from place to place, it is inacted, that such, according to God's word, upon the notorietie of the fact, be summarlie excommunicat. Great dealling with the Toun Councill of Edinburgh to stay the profanation of the Lord's day by their Moondayes mercatt, occasioning necessarlie the carieing of loads on the Lord's day; *Item*, Selling of flours and fructuages that day: the Councill promises so to carie as to labour that no other burgh should take any scandall by them. (*Nota*, This great evill was never remeedied till this late happie reformation, begun 1638.)

A book come out aganis the discipline of this Kirk, it is ordained to be answered by Masters John Craig and Davidson.[1]

The Assemblie devolves their power on the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, with brethren joyned in commission with them, to call before them all accessorie to that dangerous insurrection at the Bridge of Dee; and, if they refuis to satisfie the Kirk, to excommunicat them.

At the fifty-fifth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, Julie 2, 1591, Mr Nicoll Dalgliesh, Moderator.

The King's Majestie, desyreing (for weightie causes) the place of the Assemblie to be altered, the Brethren needs not doubt of the autoritie of the Assemblie; and who desyres to know the same, the Brethren on the privie conference is to resolve this.

Recommendation to King and Councill to take ordour with culloured Egyptians, who defyll the land with all maner abominations.

A committie appoynted for bills to see what are pertinent for the Assemblie, and to give answers to impertinent bills.

[1] The Assembly, Sess. 16, 12th August,—"Ordaines the brether of the Presbyterie of Edinburgh to peruse the answer sett outt be Mr Craig, against a pernicious wryting put out against the Confession of Faith, together with the preface made be Mr Johne Davidsone; and, if they find meitt the samin be published, that they may be committit to print."—(Booke of the Kirk, p. 777.)

Bishops who serve not the cure, yit hes the benefice, and will not pay ministers stipends, to be censured; and, if they prove contumacious, to be excommunicat.

My Lord Haliroodhouss, a Lord of Session, had called Mr Patrick Simson, a suborner, the Assemblie had charged my Lord Haliroodhouss before them to purge out the slander, my Lord Blantyre and Culrosse, Lords of Session, appears in name of the Colledge of Justice, protesting aganis the Assemblie as medling with that whilk wes civill; but the Assemblie judged the purging out of a slander to be a cause ecclesiastick.

The Lords of Exchequer haveing made a laudable act aganis dilapidators of benefices, in wholl or part, ay and whill they should redintegrat the same, the Generall Assemblie approves the same act.

The Kirk revokes all things done be them, or any pretending to have their power, whilk hes been to their prejudice and hurt. This revocation to be drawen up in forme, everie Presbyterie to have a coppie of it, and intimation to be made in every pulpit thereof.

Mr John Craig his Catechisme is ordained to be imprinted.

HUMBLE PETITIONS OF THE KIRK TO THE KING AND HIS COUNCILL.

1°. That Acts of Parliament be put to execution aganis Jesuits, Seminarie priests, excommunicats, profaners of the sacraments, idolaters, sayers and hearers of mass, pilgrimagers, papisticall magistrats, publict mercats on the Lord's day, violent invaders of ministers, profaners of the Lord's day by Robin Hood's playes, murderers, &c.

2°. That the ministrie planted may be better provyded, and kirks implanted may be provyded with pastors.

3°. That the act of annexation be dissolved, and the new erectiones be discharged.

4°. The act of dissolution of prelacies, consisting of more kirks than one, be established.

5°. That manses and gleebs be designed of all kirk lands whatsumever, and have freedome of foggage, fewell, and pasturage.

Commission given to certaine Brethren to present thir Articles, to reasson and conferr anent them with his Majestie and Councill, and to report their diligence.

At the fifty-sixth Assemblie, conveened at Edinburgh, Maie 22, 1592, Mr Robert Bruce, Moderator. First, it was thought meet that

ARTICLES BE HUMBLIE SUITED OF THE KING AND HIS COUNCILL.

1°. That the Acts of Parliament made anno 1584, in prejudice of the Kirk libertie, be annulled, and the discipline presentlie in practise ratified.

2°. The abolition of the act of annexation and restitution of the patrimonie of the Kirk.

3°. That Abbots, Prelats, Priors, and such as votts in the Kirk's name without their power, be not suffered so to doe in tyme comeing.

4°. That the countrey polluted with idolatrie and blood may be purged.

Anent ministers voyceing in Parliament, it is referred to consultation, that everie one weigh that mater seriouslie, that he may be readie to reassone in it.

Poperie and sin of all sorts growing daylie, and nothing done for restraining of either, notwithstanding of so many and frequent representings of the same to the King and his Councill, a good number of grave and prudent brethren are chosen to go to the King, and to remonstrat to him the danger wherein religion is, chargeing him, as he will answer to the King of Kings, to put to his hand in tyme, who should be *custos utriusque tabulæ*, to see the often foresaid enormities redressed; and to report his Majestie's answer.

Mr Craig's Catechisme, now imprinted,[1] is injoyned to be made use of in all families and schoolls.

[1] The Short Catechism here mentioned, or "Ane Forme of Examination before the Communion," was first printed at Edinburgh, by Robert Waldegrave, 1592, and

The Earle of Murray being cruellie murdered by Huntlie and his complices, the Assemblie gives power to the Presbyterie of Brechin, with the concurrance of the Presbyteries of Angus and Mearns, by their Commissioners, to proceed aganis Huntley for that cruell fact, according to the acts of the Kirk.

That it be declared in Parliament that tacks sett by deposed ministers be null.

Now to return back a litle to the Historie: About thir tymes, the Papists in Scotland being verie insolent, both in the north and south, the King being in Denmark at his mariage, and bringing home his Queen with him, great braggs were made, and blasphemous speeches uttered, that they would compell all Protestants to be content of libertie of conscience, or els all behoved to turn to their religion ere long, &c. The ministrie and zealous professors, therefore, (the Bishops being now fullie removed,) meeting in their Assemblies, were exceeding carefull to search out all dangers whilk were imminent to God's Kirk, the King's Majestie, and the wholl countrey, finding the malicious deallings of the Papists daylie to increass; for, after the King and Queen were come home to Scotland, ministers were misused, and some cruellie murdered. James Earle of Moray wes cruelly murdered by George Earle of Huntley, a professed papist; and some few dayes after the murther, Mr Patrick Simson, preaching before the King, upon Gen. iv. 9, "The Lord said to Cain, Where is Abel, thy brother?" said to the King, before the congregation, "Sir, I assure you, in God's name, the Lord will ask at you where is the Earle of Moray your brother?" The King replyed, before all the congregation, "Mr Patrik, my chalmer doore wes never steeked upon you; ye might have told me any thing ye thought in secret." He replyed, "Sir, the scandall is pub-

republished in the Collection of Confessions of Faith, vol. ii. p. 363. It is to be distinguished from another Catechism by Craig, which had previously appeared under this title,—"A Shorte Summe of the whole Catechisme, &c., Gathered by M. Iohne Craig, Minister of God's Worde to the Kings M. Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Henrie Charteris, Anno M.D.LXXXI.," and republished at London, 1589, both editions in small 8vo.

liet:" And after sermon, being sent for to the castell, went up with his Bible under his ockster,[1] affirming that would plead for him.

About this tyme, letters going to the King of Spain from the three papist Earles, Huntlie, Angus, and Arrol, and their complices, (by God's good providence, and godlie men's diligent attendance, blessed from heaven with successe,) were intercepted, wherein thir unnaturall (let be irreligious) Earles, and their adherents, contrare to the oath of alleagiance, the oath of patriots, and duetie of subjects, offered their service so to the King of Spaine, that if he would send into Scotland but some few men of warre and money, they should delyver him up the kingdome, bragging and boasting that they had moyen eneugh to doe the same: Thir letters, after they were deciphered and translated into Inglish, were putt in print, at the King's Majestie's command, by the earnest solistation of the Generall Assemblie, conveened in Edinburgh 1592. To reprint them now were not without purpose, onlie I shall give a touch and a tast of them.

"A DISCOUERIE OF THE VNNATVRALL AND TRAITOROVS Conspiracie of Scottisch Papists, against God, his Kirk, their natiue Cuntrie, the Kingis Majesties persone and estate. Sett downe, as it was confessed and subscriuit be M. George Ker, yet remaining in prisone, and David Grahame of Fentrie, iustly executed for his treason in Edinburgh, the 15. of Februarie. 1592. Whereunto are annexed, certaine intercepted Letters, written by sundrie of that factioun to the same purpose. Printed and publisched at the spe ciall commaund of the Kingis Maiestie. At Edinbvrgh, Printed by Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the Kingis Maiestie. *Cum Priuilegio Regali.*"[2]

The epistle to the reader declares the trueth of the depositions

[1] Usually written *oxter*, or *arm-pit*, but here simply *under his arm*.

[2] The original edition of this tract, with the above title, has no date. It is in 4to, 16 leaves, printed in black letter. There is another edition with a similar title and imprint, but apparently from the press of John Wreittoun, at Edinburgh, in 1626 or 1627. It was reprinted at London in 1593, and again in 1603; and is also contained in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. part 2, pp. 317–335, but evidently not from the original edition, as the Editor seems to imagine.

given up by Mr George Ker and David Grahame of Fentrie, and the faithfullness of the translation of what needed to be translated; exhorting all to bewar of such men so counterfit, that they had subscryved to the true religion, heard the word, receaved the sacraments, professed the trueth, was bound by bands of consanguinitie, affinitie, oaths, attestations, and all lawes sacred and humane, yit can be bound with nothing.

Imprimis, It is discovered that, in March 1591, Mr William Crichtoun (who hes remained in Spaine these two yeares bygone) sent Mr William Gordon, son to Aberzeldie, with letters to Mr James Gordon, Jesuit, father-brother to George, now Earle of Huntley, to let papists here know what travell the said Mr William Crichtoun had taken with the King of Spaine since his comeing thither; and that the King of Spaine wes both to invade Ingland, and alter religion in Scotland by the counsell of the said Mr William; wherefore he, the said Mr William, craved, be this gentleman, so many blanks and procurations to be sent to him as could be had of the noblemen here, for the assurance of his traffect. Upon the receipt of whilk blanks, with such and such conditions, it was concluded, that, about the latter end of the spring 1592, an airmie of 30,000 men should be sent to have landed either in Kirkcudbright or the mouth of Clyde, as wind should serve.

And, first of all, money should be sent to the Papists here to supplie the said airmie, at the arryvall of which they should all alter their profession, and avow poperie, or at least obtaine libertie of conscience, and the erecting of poperie, and then the rest of the airmie should march in to Ingland.

It wes thought fittest Mr George Kerr (because both his goodddames were Crichtouns) should go to Spaine with the commission, and be intrusted with the letters: the said Mr George wes apprehended in the Yle of Cumray, going to make saill out of the Fairley road on the west sea bank, and with him wes sundrie letters and blanks apprehended, subscryed, *De vostre Majestie tres humble et tres obesant serviteur, Guiliame Compte de Angus, de vostre Majestie tres humble et tres obesant serviteur, Francoys Compte de Erroll, Guili-*

elmus Angusiæ Comes, Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Franciscus Errolliæ Comes, Patricius Gordoun de Auchindoun Miles; sealls of the airms of thir three Earles upon waxe wes also intercepted: sundrie other letters also wes intercepted with fained names, one from John Cecilio, blank on the back, it speaks of the house of Seaton; another subscryvit, "Yours ever at power, Angus," blank on the back, declared to be to Mr William Crichtoune; another from Mr James Gordon, who subscryves, J. Christesoun, directed on the back to his assured friend George Crawfurd, deponed to be Mr William Crichtoune; another from Mr Robert Abircrumby, (to whom the letters were first given, and who did shew them to Fintrie at Abernathie,) who subscryves Robert Sandesoun, directed on the back "To his traist friend, George Craufurd," deponed to be Mr William Crichtoun; another directed to the King of Spaine, subscryved, "Your Majestie's maist humble and affectionat servitours, George Earle of Huntlie," and subscryvit by other two noblemen, (who hes by oath and subscription returned since to be professors of the trueth, wherefore their names are suppressed,) in name of the others, L.L. Catholicks of Scotland, it was intercepted in January 1589, lately before the tyme of the road of the Bridge of Dee: It was written in French, and translated in Scots, wherein they regrait and condole the defeat of the navall airmie whilk the King of Spaine called blasphemouslie the Invincible Armado, whilk they call his Majestie's preparations, affirming that with 6000 Spaniards, and money to levy forces here, the turn may be done, shewing that we have here great winds in harvest, and so the navie took not the right opportunitie, (forgetting closs, that the Lord of Hosts, who commands winds and seas, did avowedlie fight aganis him, proveing his Invincible Armado verie easilie vincible;) regraiting also the want of pilots skilled upon our coast, whereas they could have furnished him with pilotts: They advise him not to fight with the Inglish by sea, but to divide his forces, sending a part hither before the rest, that the Inglish disgarnishing their forces in assisting Scotland, the rest may land upon Ingland the more securelie: they remitt much to William Sempill, colonell, and advyses sent by

Mr Robert Bruce to the Duke of Parme, to whom your Majestie remitted us. Thus mast humblie kissing your Majestie's hand, we will for the present end, praying God, with all our affection, to grant you full accomplishment of all your holie interprises. Dated from Edinburgh, the 24 of January 1589.

Another of that same date fra Huntley to the Duke of Parme, mentioning the recept of 10,000 crounes for the advancement of the Catholick cause here; shewing that he hes such credit at Court that the King hes broken his former guards, and hes planted of his men about him; so that now he can be master of the King's persone at his pleasure, so that his autoritie shall no more fortifie the hereticks: subscryved, "Your Highness maist humble and affectionat servitour, George Earle of Huntley."

Another of that same date from the Earle of Erroll to the Duke of Parme, shewing his sincere affection to the Catholick cause since his conversion to the Catholick faith, desyreing him to shew the King of Spaine his Catholick Majestie, that he hes none more affectionat servant here nor he: subscryved, "Your Highness maist humble and most affectionat serviteur, Francis Earle of Erroll."

Another from Mr Robert Bruce to Monsieur Francis Aguir Espaigniol, desyreing him to land neare Seaton, where he may enter privilie, and keep closse till he come. Another from Mr Robert Bruce to the Duke of Parme, shewing that Huntley, in Dunfermline, had receaved his letters of date October 13. In this letter (a large one) were fifteen particulars. 1°. That Bruce had receaved fra the Duke of Parme 10,000 crounes for the advanceing of the King of Spain's service in Scotland. 2°. This money is to be distributed among the Catholick Nobilitie in Scotland. 3°. Huntley would be at the third of it, but Bruce is aganis that. 4°. That Huntley dissembled his religion of purpose, and of policie to work his maters the better. 5°. The money is partlie in my Lord Livingstoun's chief houss, partlie in Edinburgh to serve the Catholick Nobilitie, who is to meet there shortlie. 6°. That more wes promised by the Duke of Parme to follow that sowme. 7°. That the Spaniard is purposed to land in this Yle. 8°. That they esteem our King an heretick. 9°. That

Mr Robert Bruce, servant to the King of Spaine and Duke of Parme, hes 40 crounes monethlie for his intertainment, and 500 crounes of fie, for which he promises thankfulnes, diligence, fidelitie. 10. That Bruce is a negotiator in Spaine with the King, and in the Low Countreys with the Duke of Parme. 11. That these have interpryses to be execute in Scotland. 12. That Jesuits and Seminarie priests come good speed in Scotland. 13. That Poperie is conjoyned with defection fra our native King's obedience, and with allegiance to the service of the King of Spaine and Duke of Parme. 14. That the Popish lords did send (by Crichtoun) to move the Spanish fleet to land in Scotland. 15. That in Scotland Bruce hes erected a councill for the execution of Catholick interpryses, viz. for everie Catholick lord one: subscryved, "Your Highness maist humble and most affectionat serviteur, Robert Bruce."

Notwithstanding of all this treason wonderfullie discovered, yit there was but verie small pains taken to search out the fearfull dangers might possiblie and probablie ensue upon this horrible unparalelled treason; and far les wes there any civill punishment inflicted; but that the Kirk of God did their part, for thir three Popish Earles, after long disputation what should be the Kirk's part in censureing and punishing thir ungodlie and unnaturall traitours to their King and countrey, fand them to be apostats fra the true religion whilk they had once professed, and now blasphemous enemies to God's glorie, and unnaturall traitours to their King and all the professors of God's blessed word. And, therefore, they were first excommunicat, and delyvered over to Satan, in that Provinciall Assemblie, holden at St Androes in September 1593; and then their excommunication was ratified and approven by the Generall Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh in Maie 1594, as being pronunced aganis them upon good grounds and solid reasons; whilk excommunication wes ordained to be intimat in all the kirks of Scotland, *ad futuram rei memoriam*. The Kirk of God being thus carefull, thir Earls and their adherents, and consequentlie all Scottish papists getting such a dash, they laboured by all means possi-

ble, with others of the nobilitie, and those who were great guyders about the King and Queen for the time, (some of them being also suspected of papistrie,) to get the King's favour, and offered to satisfie the Kirk for their great offences, that they might be relaxed fra excommunication; all whilk they obtained by long and earnest dealing.

At the fifty-seventh Assemblie, conveened at Dundee, Aprile 24, 1593, Mr David Lindesay, Moderator.

ARTICLES PRESENTED TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE AND COUNCILL.

1°. That Papists greatumlie increassing may be punished according to the lawes.

2°. That the Act of Parliament *ex ipso facto*, made to strike upon beneficed persons, may strike upon all.

3°. That Jesuits and Seminarie priests may be declared traitours, guiltie of treasone and lese-majestie, and so the recepters of them punished accordinglie; and the Act not to be extended to the number of three dayes together, but to be made absolute, if they receave them any way, for any time.

4°. That no persone declared to be a Papist by the Kirk (albeit not excommunicat) be suffered to injoy any publict office in the realme, or to get access to his Majestie's companie, and to have any benefit of the lawes; and that, upon that declaratour, letters of horning be given out alswell as if they were excommunicat, and an Act of Councill to pas hereupon till the Parliament sitt.

5°. That his Majestie will be pleased to considder what great prejudice the Kirk sustains by the erecting of the tithes of diverss prelacies into temporalities, so that these kirks cannot be planted; and to provyde some good remedie thereto.

The names, designations, and places of all the Presbyteries were given up, that they might be knowen;—viz. In Zetland, 1; called Tingwall. In Orknay, 1; Kirkwall. In Catnes, 1; Thurso. In Suderland, 1; Dorno. In Rosse, 2; Taine and Channonrie. In Moray, 4; Invernes, Forresse, Elgin, and Ruthven. In Aberdene-

shyre, 5; Bamff, Deere, Inverurie, Aberdeen, Kintardin. In Mearns, 1; Cowie. In Angus, 4; Brechin, Arbroth, Megle, Dundie. In Dunkell, 1; there. In Perth, 2; St Johnstone, Dunblane. In Fyffe, 4; St Androes, Cowper, Kirkcaldie, Dunfermline. In Stirlin, 1. In Linlithgow, 1.. In Lowthian, 4; Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Hadintoune, Dumbar. In Tweedale, 1; Peebles. In Merse, 2; Chirnsyde, Duns. In Teviotdale, 2; Jedburgh and Melros. In Nithsdale, 1; Dumfries. In Galloway, 2; Kirkcudbright and Wigtoune. In the sherifdome of Air, 2; Air and Irvin. In Ranfrow, 1; Paisley. In Lennoxshyre, 1; Dunbartan. In Cliddisdale, 3; Glasgow, Hamiltoun, and Lanerk.

Forsamekle as the visitation of Presbyteries is verie needfull, the Assemblie nominats commissioners to visit all the Presbyteries, that they may try all the pastors in the fidelitie they performe in their offices, in doctrine, life, and conversation; who are non-residents; if any hes dilapidat their benefice, or hurt it since their entrie; if any be scandalous, giveing to them full power of tryell and censure as they shall see their offences deserved; and ordains the Brethren of each Presbyterie to give up to the commissioners what scandalls and offences they knew to be among them, and would have corrected; and ordains the Brethren of each Presbyterie, out of whilk the commissioners comes, to supplie their places in the tyme of their absence from their flockes, that their places vake not till they return from the visitations to their awin charges.

ARTICLES PROPONED TO THE ASSEMBLIE, IN HIS MAJESTIE'S NAME, BY SIR JAMES MELVILL OF HALHILL, HIS MAJESTIE'S COMMISSIONER.

1°. Seing of honour his Majestie could not see the priviledge of his croune hurt, therefore, according to the Act of the last Parliament, it is his Majestie's part to appoynt tyme and place of the Assemblie, willing them for that effect to direct two or three of their number to him to desyre him to appoint tyme and place of their nixt meeting.

2°. That they will make an Act prohibiting all and everie one

of the ministrie, under paine of deprivation, to declame in pulpit aganis his Majestie or Councill's proceedings, not onlie in respect of his Majestie's knowen good intention for the setting fordward of pietie and justice, but also becaus his Majestie gives at all times readie access and a loveing eare to sundrie of the ministrie to informe, complaine, or delate, either in their awin name, or in the name of any other brother.

3°. In respect of Mr Craig his decrepit age, that they would put on the leet five or six of the discreetest of the ministrie, that his Majestie may make choise of two of them to be ministers in his houss.

4°. Seing the King's Majestie's standing is conjoyned with the standing of religion, that some of the discreetest of everie Presbyterie be appoynted to learn what they can know of the plotts and practises of papists and the Spanish faction, and of Bothwell's attempts, and their intertainers, and to make the same knowen to his Majestie with all diligence; and, for the better effectuating hereof, that they will deall with the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, who can best informe them.

5°. That Brethren be appoynted to deall with the burghes through all the land whair there are any landing places, to try who shall come or passe fra this countrey, and what their earand and traffict is; and, if they finde any mater of importance, to let his Majestie know hereof, and his Majestie promises to hold hand to all the Krik's good effairs, provyding he see them further thir things whilk so greatlie tends to the well, peace, and maintenance of religion and the communewealth.

HUMBLE ANSWERS OF THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE TO THE ARTICLES PROPONED IN HIS MAJESTIE'S NAME.

To the first article the Assemblie consents, according to the tenor of the Act.

As to the secund, it is ordaned that no minister utter any rash or unreverend speech aganis his Majestie or Councill, but that all the publict admonitions proceed upon just and necessare causses, in all due reverence, under the paine of deposition.

Concerning the third, agrees to it; and his Majestie's ministers to be admitted by the Presbyterie whair he resides.

As to the fourth and fifth, they are condescended unto.

That abbay and cathedrall kirks have gleebs alswell as other kirks, and whair thair is none, that a gleeb of four aikers of land be designed off the most ewest[1] and commodious land.

The rents and liveings of colledges in no part shall be sett out in tacks or any other title without the advyse of the Generall Assemblie, under the paine of deposing the contraveeners fra their office.

That everie parish build, repair, and make free a manse to the minister, whairby he may be a residentare, and the refuisers to be blamed as the cause of their pastor's non-residence with his flock; and if the minister build a manse in wholl or in part, his charges to be registrat in the Presbyterie book, to be refounded by his successor, the parishioners refuiseing to make it free, provyding alwayes his debursements exceed not 400 merks, whilkis still are to be exacted from the successor and intrant ay and whill the pariosh make it free.

The books of Provinciall Assemblies shall, in all tyme comeing, be tryed and visited by the Generall Assemblie, likeas the Presbyterie books are censured by the Provinciall Synods.

It is inacted, when any controversie falls out among brethren, even though the mater be civill, that if they be both in one Presbyterie, they shall out of that Presbyterie choise each of them so many brethren with an oversman; and, if they be in sundrie Presbyteries, each shall choose so many out of his awin Presbyterie with an oversman, and those judges arbitrators shall have the mater submitted to them *simpliciter;* and they shall decreet in the mater, and fra their sentence shalbe no appellation; and he who refuises to submit shall be holden contumax, and be depryved.

The founding and erecting of a Colledge[2] in New Aberdeen by

[1] *Ewest,* near, contiguous.

[2] Marischal College was founded by George fifth Earl Marischal, by a charter dated 2d April 1593, which, as here stated, was sanctioned by the Assembly, and ratified by Parliament, 21st July 1593.

my Lord Earle of Marshall is ratified and approven cheerfullie by the Assemblie.

Mr David Black is appoynted to be minister at St Androes, and the Presbyterie to admitt a fellow helper, with consent of the Toune, Colledges and pariosh, or the major part thereof.

The Generall Assemblie recommends to the King to inhibit all his people to repair to the King of Spain's dominions, because of the knowen hurt of their consciences, untill the King's Majestie obtaine free libertie to his subjects.

At the fifty-eighth Assemblie, conveened at Edinburgh, Maie 7, 1594, Mr Andro Melvill, Moderator. Who departs fra the Assemblie before the full dissolution thairof, without leave asked and given, shalbe suspended so long as the Kirk shall think fitt.

The magistrats of Perth acknowledges their offence in, and sorrow for, the receaveing of the excommunicat Apostat lords; for whilk being rebuked, and their excuse considdered, they are absolved, and further process prohibited.

Anent the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the Synod of Fyffe aganis the Apostat lords, the Assemblie approves and ratifies the same, ordaining it to be intimat (that none pretend ignorance) by everie pastor in this land, except the excommunication of my Lord Hoome.

Inquisition wes made of all Presbyteries what had been their diligence in relation to Jesuits, priests, papists, &c. The King's proceedings also were sett doune; for at the road of Aberdeen, the King, noblemen, and barrons, made a band for the defence of religion; 2°. Took the Apostats housses and putt men into them; 3°. Sent the Papists to Edinburgh to satisfie; 4°. A commission of lieutenantrie wes given to Marshall for repressing of papists and traffecters; 5°. Diverss Barons called in to cognosce upon the subscription of the blanks, who affirmed it to be the Apostat Lords hand writ; 6°. After the King's return, an Act of Councill, that none should deall with his Majestie for grace or favour to them, with a charge to the King's ministers to take oaths of all his domestick

servants that they should no wayes interceed for them, or any of them, at his Majestie's hands; whilk wes done accordinglie.

And as for the Kirk's part, they were not negligent in craveing remedie, for they proponed overtures to the Parliament for the forfeiture of the Apostats. They directed their petitions to Jedburgh, from thence new articles to Linlithgow; of all whilk small success hes been seen, so that the danger is nothing diminished.

The tenor of the above mentionat Band was to defend religion, the King, countrey, and libertie, aganis intestine and forraine enemies and invasion, and each one of the banders to defend another in the defence of the cause forsaid, and the quarrell of one to be the quarrell of all; particularlie, they band aganis Huntley, Angus, Erroll, with their complices and abetters, papists, Jesuists, priests, &c., the treasonable raiseing of fyre at Dunebirsell, and the cruell murther of umquhill James Earle of Moray, that they shall not resett nor supplie them, nor have any correspondence with them: that they shall not conceall, but disclose the harme of any of the banders; and if any controversie shall fall in among themselves, they shall submitt, and be thir presents does submit, the samyne to two or three of the principall subscryvers hereof, without reclamation; and the barrons of the north, who are commanded to stay in the south, shall remaine there, and no favour shalbe shawen to any of them but by commune consent; and all this sworn by the great God, Creator, Redeemer, Sanctifier, and Judge, under the paine of infamie and perjurie, and losse of credit and honour perpetuallie, besyde the ordinarie paines of laws to be execut upon us, in signe and memorie of our unnaturall defection from God, religion, his Majestie, and our dutie. Subscryved at Aberdeen, the day of March 1592, (*sic subscribitur*,) JAMES R., LENNOX, ATHOLE, MARRE, MARSHALL, JAMES L. LINDESAY, JOHN L. INVERNES, JOHN MASTER OF FORBES, &c.[1]

At Haliroodhous, the 5th of January 1592. A proclamation fra the King's Majestie, declaring aganis papists, Jesuits, priests, &c.; declaring the resett of them, or correspondence with them,

[1] The names of the other subscribers are contained in Calderwood's MS. History.

to be treason, seing the Lord in his providence hes discovered their treasonable attempt (even when the ship was fullie readie to make saill) aganis Religion, King, countrey, and libertie, and to make themselves and us slaves to the King of Spaine, who (as experience hes taught) will deall no better with the traitours and their friends, after he hes once possessed himself, nor with any others in this kingdome; yit the blinded slaves will not see this. The proclamation to be intimat att all the mercatt crosses of the head burghs in the Kingdome. *Sic subscribitur*, JAMES R.

THE DANGERS WHEREINTO THIS KIRK STANDETH THROW THE IMPUNITIE OF PAPISTS AND EXCOMMUNICATS, REPRESENTED TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE BY COMMISSIONERS FROM THE ASSEMBLIE; SHEWING ALSO THE DANGER OF HIS AWIN PERSON, CROWN, AND LIBERTIES OF THIS OUR NATIVE COUNTREY.

The Dangers discovered before by the treasonable plotts and practises of Huntlie, Angus, and Erroll, with their complices, labouring to surrender this kingdome to the mercilcs Spaniard, is now greatter then when first discovered, and are much hightened, as is evident and apparent.

1°. Because the Spaniard is still upon that same resolution he wes on in anno 1588 to conques this Yle, as is clear by their still since keeping of correspondence and intelligence with the excommunicat Apostats, ever since the dissipation of his navie.

2°. The manifest defections and rebellions of the Apostats, after so evident appearances of their ruine, for their treasonable attempts at the bridge of Dee, at Falkland, &c., joyned with the prooff of his Majestie's clemencie in pardoning their treasons, declares that their malicious ingyns in conspyreing aganis Kirk, King, and countrey is restles, and will be so long as justice is not executed upon them.

3°. The enemies are put in great securitie to plott and practise, becaus notwithstanding that the Kirk hes from time to time showen thir dangers, yit never any thing hes been done effectuallie by the King or his Councill aganis them.

4°. Notwithstanding it wes expreslie provyded by Act of Councill that none should traffect or speak in favours of the Apostats, under the paine of lossing their offices; yit their favourers are advanced daylie in greatter credit, and ceasses not to procure to them all the favour they can at his Majestie's hands.

5°. Masse openlie avowed and erected in many and diverss parts of this land, whairby it is evident they assure themselves of help of strangers, or els they durst not be so avowed and open in their idolatrie.

6°. The refuisall of the act of abolition offered to them by his Majestie (to the great greef of his good subjects) proves sufficientlie the same.

7°. Their refuisall to enter in ward, notwithstanding his Majestie's great indignation.

8°. The arrivall of this bark at Montros showes the present execution of some plott.

9°. The excommunicatts open keeping of conventions since the arryveing of the bark.

10°. Their putting of their wholl forces in airms.

11°. At the first discoverie of their plotts there seemed a great deall of diligence to be taken aganis them; now there is none, whairby it seems either there is a complyance with them, or ells men are judicially blinded, and their hearts hardned, so that they grope in the midday, and cannot see, or winke and will not see, be reasone of a purpose to cover or extenuat an evill cause. This not laying of the danger to heart is the greatest danger of all, and a most certaine argument of God's wrath and his heavie judgment hingand over the land.

REMEDIES FOR THE SAME.

1°. That the saids excommunicats be forefeited without favour, and to that effect that the Parliament, appointed to the 27th of this instant, be holden preciselie without any delay, and that the Advocat be well instructed in everie poynt, that the summonds be found relevant, and sufficient probation provyded. *Answer,*—

There shall nothing of the turn be undone on my part, as I have at length declared to the bearers.

2°. That none suspect of religion be chosen upon the articles. *Answer*,—Great reason; and, farder, as I have shawen the bearers.

3°. That after the forefaultrie they be pursued by way of deed with all extreamitie, and their lands and rents be annexed to the crowne *in perpetuum*, and that no part thairof be disponed to any in favour of the persons forfeited. *Answer*,—Great reasone; the forefeiture alwayes first being ended.

4°. That in the mean tyme the King's guard be imployed to apprehend Jesuits and others, traffecters given up by name. *Answer*,—How willing I am to apprehend any practiseing papist, I remit me to the bearers declaration.

5°. That the rebells housses be taken and manned, and their liveings uplifted to his Majestie's use; and that no part thairof be disponed to their friends or any others for their benefit. *Answer*, —Great reassone how soone they are forefeited; and I thank them for their counsell.

6°. That all be prohibited, under paine of treason, and losse of life, lands, and goods, to resett, supplie, rise with, or concurre, give intelligence to, or have correspondence with, the foresaids Earles, under whatsumever pretence. *Answer*,—Great reassone; their forefeiture alwayes preceding.

7°. That the wholl subjects be charged to be in readines in airms to defend or pursue as they shall be certified by his Majestie, or otherwise findand the occasion urgent. *Answer*,—To be readie at my charge it is verie meet; but I understand not the last clause of urgent occasion.

8°. That the bark arryved at Montrose be apprehended, and all the persons within hir; and all who hes had any dealling with any of them, be all examined diligentlie for the discoverie of their present practises. *Answer*,—I shall omitt no diligence in that whilk can be requyred at my hands, as I shall answere to God.

9°. Seing the Lord Hoome hes contraveened sundrie poynts whairin he wes obliged to the kirk of Edinburgh at the receaveing

of his subscription, that after tryell your Majestie would remove him from your companie, and discharge him of all public office and commandement. *Answer,—Distingue tempora et conciliabis Scripturas;* the meaning of this the bearers will expone unto you.

Lastlie, That the guard presentlie taken up be tryed, together with their captains, in respect of many complaints given in against them to the Assembly. *Answer,*—The complaints belongs not to their office; alwayes I have satisfied the bearers herein.

Sic subscribitur, JAMES R.

The bearers were Masters Patrik Galloway, Robert Rollok, Patrik Simson, James Melvill, James Nicolson.

Seing in Garioch and other parts there is an horrible superstition of dedicating a parcell of land to the divill,[1] whilk they will not labour, that an Act of Parliament be made injoyning the possessors to manure that peece ground betuix and such a day; and in case of disobedience, the lands to fall in the King's hand, to be disponit by his Majestie to such persons as will undertake to labour it.

Allowes the judgment of the Provinciall of Fyffe, establishing the new builded kirk of Bruntiland to be the pariosh kirk, as most capacious and most commodious.

The King haveing conceaved an offence aganis a brother, John Rosse, a committie of grave and prudent brethren are set apart to consider the mater and prepare it for the Assemblie.

A fast appoynted to be keeped the 26th of this instant whair it may be keeped, being the Sabbath before the Parliament.

That the Parliament begin and close with a sermon, prayer, and thanksgiveing.

That a fast be keeped over the wholl realme the two last Sabbaths of June, with exhortations and prayers in the interjacent week dayes; brethren are sett apart to draw up the causses of it.

The Assemblie relaxes Lord Hoome fra the sentence of excom-

[1] This superstition prevailed in different parts of the country, by leaving a piece of ground untilled and uncropped, which was dedicated to the Devil, and known as "The Goodman's Croft;" *goodman* here being used as denoting a proprietor who cultivated his own land or farm.

munication, upon his repentance and confession, and promise upon oath *de futuro*, subscryveing ten articles for his sinceritie and constancie, and abandoning all Popish and profane companie; making his houshold and tennants subject to discipline; being a haunter of word and sacrament; provyding an honest minister for his awin houss, and to provyde stipends to all he hes to doe with; and to repair all ruinous kirks; that he neither reasson for Poperie, nor suffer it to be done in his companie; that he be active in apprehending Jesuits, &c. *Sic subscribitur*, ALEX. LORD HOOME.

And all this consenting he shalbe summarlie excommunicat if he transgress; whilk if he shall be found to doe, commission is given to the Presbyterie of Edinburgh to excommunicat him.

Mr Andro Huntar, minister, deserter of his flock, fugitive, reported to have joyned himself with the rebells, is deposed fra his office.

The tyme and place of the nixt Assemblie is appoynted by the Assemblie, with advise of his Highness commissioners, to be the last Tuesday of Junij, at Montros, 1595, except the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, *pro re nata*, finde it expedient to preveen that tyme: in that case they are to advertise.

My Lord Hoome his absolution to be intimat in all kirks.

John Rosse, a young man of the ministrie, spoke some unseemlie words of the King relating to the houss of Gwise *de futuro;* he professed he meaned nothing but good to the King, and spak out of no passion. He is gravelie admonished by the Moderator.

INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR ROBERT MELVILL OF MORDECARNIE, AND ALEXANDER HOOME OF NORTH-BERWICK, THE KING'S MAJESTIE'S COMMISSIONARS.

1°. To protest that his Majestie's royall priviledge, newly sett forth by Act of Parliament, be not prejudged in the convcening of the nixt Generall Assemblie, in relation to tyme and place.

2°. Concerning unreverent speeches, in publict sermons, of the King's Majestie, or his Councill, or estate; and, particularlie, to

question upon oath the Provinciall of Perth what John Rosse spoke in their audience; but that all such rebooking of the King or estate may be transacted in privat conference, under the paine of deprivation to the contraveener.

3°. That Mr Andro Huntar, being the first minister who in Scotland hes proven a traitour and rebell aganis a christian King, may be excommunicat.

4°. That all ministers dissuade their people from concurring with any traitours, particularlie Bothwell, and that they rise not in airms with any except they see the King's commission.

5°. That wise and discreet men be appoynted to attend the King and Parliament when the excommunicat Earls are to be taken ordour with; these brethren shall informe the haill ministrie of the King's good mynd fra tyme to tyme.

Sic subscribitur, JAMES R.

THE ASSEMBLIES HUMBLE ANSWERES TO THESE ARTICLES.

1°. The tyme and place of the nixt Assemblie is appoynted, according to the Act of Parliament, with advise of the King's commissioners.

2°. The Act at Dundie is ratified *de novo,* and the particulare anent John Rosse is put to a poynt, as the commissioners shall informe the King fullie.

3°. Mr Andro Huntar[1] is deposed ay and whill he satisfie the King's Majestie and the Kirk.

4°. Everie minister is charged to performe the tenor of the fourth article in all poynts.

5°. The last is obeyit.

Now at this tyme there was great unitie in the Kirk in suppressing Poperie and all other publict sins; but this sweet harmonie

[1] Hunter was minister of Carnbie; see note *supra,* p. 113. He was deposed for joining the Earl of Bothwell, for, according to Calderwood; "Master Andrew Huntar had deserted his flock, and followed Bothuel, allured with his pretences, and therefore was deposed from the ministrie; and, being forced to leave the countrey, went to Holland, where he became minister to a regiment."—(History, p. 305.)

continued not long, (*divide et regna* is an old Matchiavilian maxime and trick,) for the King agreed with some of the ministrie to desire of new againe, that Ministers, as being the third Estate of Parliament, might have vote in Parliament: As also, the King proponed that it wes needfull that he had the advise of some of the wisest and discreetest of the ministrie in sundrie particulars, whilk concerned the full establishing of Religion, (what ever be intended, that must be pretended,) and repairing such greevances and great wrongs as ministers frequentlie gave in to him, and for punishing of fearfull sins committed, and taking away of deadlie feads, and many other such things, whilk could not be so commodiouslie treeted of in an open Assemblie; as also, because he would stand in need of their advise frequentlie when a Generall Assemblie could not be conveened. Whilk desire of the King's wes thought meet and expedient; and so there were nominat in the Generall Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh 1594, about the number of twenty-four ministers, called the Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, giveing to them, or any nine of them, a verie ample power and commission to advise the King's Majestie in any of his godlie and good intensions for the well of the Kirk and kingdome. This wes the first evident and seen wrack of our Kirk, and it was the thing that the King aimed at and would faine have been at long before; for now, if he could make thir Commissioners, or the greatest part of them, yea, or any nine of them, or any five of these nine, or four of seven, when that wes the quorum, to agree with him in any thing, the mater wes ended, for he had not now the Generall Assemblie to deall with, but a few number, as the effect and event following hereafter declared. The King's Majestie after this sent for some of thir commissioners as he thought good, and imployed them at his pleasure in some particular adoes; as in the visitation of the Universitie of St Androes, in planting and transplanting of some ministers. This commission was ratified and amplified in severall ensueing Assemblies; and albeit there were many heavie complaints and greevous given in aganis thir commissioners, yit the King gott them ay continued, whereby great distractions among

the ministers, and much miserie ensued; for the King agreed with thir commissioners that there should be a generall Convention both of the nobilitie, barrons, burgesses, and ministers sent for to conveen in St Johnstoun in the yeare 1596, that he might there propound some Questions whilk the King caused to be putt in print,[1] that the ministers might have some tyme to advise upon them. This Convention mett in Februarie 1596[-7,] and resolved the King's questions in a great part, albeit not to the King's full contentment; yit other dyetts were appoynted that his Majestie might get greater satisfaction.

The ministers, therefore, perceaveing that the commone enemie was overlooked, and that the King was propounding questions and doubts to be resolved of at such an impertinent tyme, when the Papists were useing all moyen with his Majestie to get libertie and immunitie, it wes thought both expedient, and also necessarie, for many good causses, that the Kirk of Scotland, now fast falling back from their former zeall and sinceritie, should renew their Covenant with God, that all estats in this land might be better wakened up to stick fast to the sinceritie of their true religion, and to the amendement of their lives and conversations; and, therefore, in that Generall Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, March 24, 1595[-6,] wherein the King himself was present, there was a day appoynted wherein that good work should be begun, and Mr John Davidson was appointed to preach, onlie the members of the Assemblie being present at sermon; and, after doctrine, the purpose of that meeting being gravely laid out to them, the wholl Generall Assemblie there mett renewed their Covenant with God, and an ordinance was made, that becaus the wholl kingdome was bound to renew that Covenant, it should be renewed in the yeare following, 1596, in all the Provinciall Assemblies of Scotland, and then in all

[1] "The Questions to be Resolvit at the Convention of the Estaits and Generall Assemblie, appointed to be at the Burgh of Perth, the last day of Februarie nixt to come. Edinburgh, Printed be Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the King's Majestie. Anno Dom. 1597." 4to. Calderwood has inserted these Questions, along with the Answers by the Synod of Fife, Hist. pp. 381-390. See also Spottiswood's Hist. p. 434, &c.

the Presbyteries; and, last of all, in everie particulare congregation, and that upon some Sabbath day, when also the communion should be celebrated: whilk Act of the Generall Assemblie wes obeyed, and this Covenant solemnlie and holilie renewed in all thir meetings with great zeall and gladnes of heart in diverss places, becaus it had such a relation to the Confession of Faith, and so tended greatlie to the continuance of the sinceritie of religion, whilk ever hath an holie life conjoyned therewith. Whilk doeing of God's Kirk in this land, as it greatumlie comforted the godlie, so it astonished the wicked, and all the enemies of the trueth, albeit none uttered their discontentment, the purpose wes so good and laudable, and the tyme so convenient; yea, the King himself, in the Generall Assemblie conveened at Bruntiland, afterward spak largelie to the commendation of that good purpose in the renewing of the Covenant betuix God and his Kirk within his kingdome, and regraited the great defection of many in this land from the true and sincere religion therein professed; yea, and confessed his awin manifold sins in tolerating papists, in giving remissions for murders, and not advancing God's trueth as his place and calling requyred, promiseing solemnlie, with God's grace, to amend his awin misses, and to reforme abuses in his Court and familie, and to see God's glorie promoved, and justice ministred better than it had been: whereat the Assemblie was exceeding glad. Yit verie short while after this there wes an intention to have had four of the ministers of Edinburgh transported to other places; albeit, in God's mercie to this Kirk, it was stayed at that tyme: but the two ministers of St Androes wes indeed transported, Mr David Black (a verie worthie man) to Arbirlot, in Angus, and Mr George Glaidstans brought from Arbirlot, and, by the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, placed minister in St Androes: what was aimed at in this, Tyme (*filia veritatis*) did speak out aloud; for this Glaidstans, a temporizing Court minister, wes afterward (O, perjured covenant-breaker!) Archbishop of St Androes, Primat of Scotland. Also Mr Robert Wallace was transported from St Androes to Northberwick. Thir transportations, and other things done by the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, made great trouble and

alteration to fall out in this Kirk. This made some of the Commissioners, who regraited the mater, to deall earnestlie with the King, at many dyetts, to remove from the Court and managing of his effairs all such as were suspect of Poperie; for at this tyme there were eight lords chosen, (commonelie for that called the King's Octavians,) all almost either papists knowen, or inclyning to Poperie or malignancie, who had the wholl governement of the estate, and all the King's liveing in their hands; but by their dealling, they being so malignantlie set, the Kirk came no speed, the King in the mean tyme, both privatelie and publictlie in the Assemblie of the Kirk, vowing and promiseing, with many solemne protestations, that he would mantaine the true Reformed religion and the professors thereof, and, in speciall, the ministers of the gospell, with all his power and wholl authoritie whilk God had given to him. The Octavians names are these:—The Lord Thirlstane, Chancellar; the Lord Fyvie, President of the Session, afterwards Chancellar Seatoune, Earle of Dumfermling; Mr James Elphinstoune, parson of Invernoughtie, thereafter Lord Balmerino; Mr John Lindesay, parson of Menmuir, Lord Secretarie; Mr Thomas Hamiltoune of Drumcairnie, the King's Advocat, thereafter Earle of Hadintoune; Walter Stuart, Prior, thereafter Lord of Blantyre, Thesaurer; Carnagie of Kinnaird and Leuchars, thereafter his successor, Earle of Southesk, Lord Carnagie; Mr John Prestoun of Fentounbarnes, Lord Collector, and one of the Lords of Session.

The particulare miscariages of thir commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, desyred by the King to be chosen for such things as he intended, cannot rub any thing upon the new commission of the Kirk since the late Reformation 1638, no more nor the miscariages of a man byassed can rub justlie upon an honest man walking straightlie: Those of old were led on, and sett on, by a wittie politick Prince, whose far-fetched drifts and politick plotts the more simple did not espy, but the more corrupt commissioners did comply with them. The commissioners now[1] have not had hithertills

[1] Or members of the Commission of the General Assembly.

any such tentation, but being onlie for the peace of the Kirk, the union of the Kingdoms, the promoveing of the blessed work of Reformation, the foreseeing of dangers, propounding of remedies, the warning of God's people both of dangers and dueties, being alwayes countable to, and censurable by, the Generall Assemblie; haveing a great quorum of seventeen or nineteen, not being still one and the self-same persons, (whilk quicklie might degener into corruption and tyrannie,) but a new election being out of everie Generall Assemblie, and being limited by a commission to such and such things; have, by the rich blessing of God, proven the greatest barre aganis enemies, corruptions, oppositions, and the greatest furtherance of the blessed work of reformation and uniformitie nixt unto the Generall Assemblie, for they meet quarterly in November, Februar, and Maie, and *pro re nata* at any other tyme. They have proven a most great terrour to all the enemies of the cause of God, and a most great refreshment and uphold to all the lovers of Zion in thir quarters.

At the fifty-ninth Assemblie, conveened at Monros, June 24, 1595, Mr James Nicolson, Moderator.

It belongs to the Generall Assemblie to declare, according to God's word, what mariages are lawfull, what not.

That all Presbyteries proceed aganis all papists with excommunication, and such as *verbo tenus* hes abjured Poperie, yit abstains fra the sacrament, to be proceeded aganis as papists. That all resetters and intertainers of excommunicat persons be processed with excommunication. That persons who, under pretext of deadlie fead, doe abstaine fra the Lord's Table, after information contemned, and the sin continued in, be proceeded aganis as the contemners of a glorious benefite.

The King desyres other ministers instead of Mr John Craig and Mr John Duncanson.

Seing many have dilapidat their benefices, (and so hurt the Kirk,) either by setting tacks, with diminution of the rents, or conversion of victuall to money, a commission is given out to brethren

to visit all Presbyteries, and to try who hes dilapidat any since 1578, and to depose thes that are found guiltie, ay and whill they putt their benefice in als good case as they found it. The brethren are sworn to be diligent and faithfull.

With dilapidation of benefices, want of provision, and changing of provisions from yeare to yeare, is a great hinder of the work of God, an occasion of not planting of kirks, and of withdrawing ministers fra their charges, whairfore an overture is made of a constant Platt, till ministers get provisions, and till their provisions be setled; and everie Presbyterie is to choise one fittest to attend the Platt, with a full information of all that concerns that Presbyterie, and all the kirks therein contained.

Sir James Chisholme of Cromlicks, upon his humble repentance, is relaxed fra his excommunication for his apostasie to Poperie.

ARTICLES PRESENTED BY THE KING'S COMMISSIONERS.

1°. That any found guiltie of treasone be excommunicat, that so there may be an inseparable union between the two swords.

2°. That excommunication in tyme comeing be rectified in three things. 1°. That it be not at the appetit of two or three particulare men; and that it be not proceeded in whill first a convenient number of the Kirk be gravelie assembled. 2°. That it be not for civill causses or smaller crymes; and, especiallie, that it be not for the ministers awin particulare, lest, if they imitat the Pope's curseing, they incurre the like contempt. 3°. That the forme of summare excommunication, without any citation, be utterlie abolished in all tyme comeing.

3°. Seing Mr John Craig is at the poynt of death, and the King intends to place Mr John Duncanson with the Prince, he desyres an ordinance to grant him any two ministers he shall choise, to be joyned with Mr Patrik Galloway in the service.

HUMBLE ANSWERS OF THE KIRK TO THESE ARTICLES.

1°. The Generall Assemblie of the Kirk agrees to the tenor of the first article, *legitima cognitione ecclesiastica præeunte.*

2°. As to the ordour craved in excommunication, the first condition is granted: also the secund is thought reasonable; as to the third, seing it craves a greatter consideration, and is of great importance, the Assemblie superseeds to conclude therein at this tyme; and ordains in mean tyme, whill the nixt Assemblie, that no minister proceed to excommunication without citation præceeding, *Nisi periclitetur Ecclesia* [*et*] *Respublica.*

3°. As touching his Majestie's ministers, it is thought meet that he have two of his awin choiseing, with the advise of grave brethren sent in commission to him for that effect.

The Assemblie declares, that if a minister die after Michaelmas, *Quia jam fruges separatæ sunt a solo*, that his executors shall fall that year's rent and the half of the nixt, and the Lords to be requested to putt that in execution.

The Assemblie declares two sort of mariages unlawfull; 1°. When a person maries one whom by adulterie they have formerlie defylled; 2. When the innocent persone is content to remaine with the nocent and guiltie, and yit the guiltie maries another. A mariage made by a Popish priest, a deposed minister, or any other privat persone, is hereby declared null, and the commissars are desyred to decyde according to thos conclusions.

Presbyteries are to visit grammar schoolls in tounes, and there reforme abuses; also, magistrats are to have a care of schoolls, and to assist ministers in discipline. A commission ordoured for visiting of colledges.

At the sixtieth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, March 24, 1595[-6,] Mr Robert Pont, Moderator.

(Let none stumble at this Assemblie, cited in that solemne Assemblie 1638, at Glasgow, page 33,[1] it is said to be 1596; because, before the yeare 1600, the first day of the yeare was March 25, and the old Romans, deduceing their originall fra Mars, had March for their first moneth, and the Jewes also about that tyme of yeare

[1] That is, at page 33 of the Acts of the General Assembly, 1638, printed at Edinburgh, 1639, folio.

comeing out of Egypt, were commanded to reckon that the beginning of the yeare, also March 25 in the Romane Calendare, is *Annunciatio Mariæ*. But this wes altered in Scotland, anno 1600, by an act and proclamation proceeding from the King and his Councill. Now, this Assemblie satt downe March 24, 1595, but the secund day of the Assemblie, March 25, wes the first day of 1596. In Ingland, even to this day, they begin their yeare at March 25.)

At this Assemblie the King wes personallie present. The Moderator declared the two chief things they had to treat was, the opposeing of the enemie, and the purgeing of the Kirk.

OVERTURES FOR RESISTING THE ENEMIES OF RELIGION AND THE ESTATE OF THE COUNTREY.

1°. That such as hes kythed favourers of the forefeited rebells be charged to enter their persons in ward, and their to remaine till they finde sufficient cautioun of their good behaviour in tyme comeing, and also give their eldest sons as pledges for the more securitie.

2°. That the rebells liveings be whollie taken up for his Majestie's use, and for beareing of other publict charges necessare in the defence and promoveing of the good cause: This will greatlie incourage all his Majestie's well-affected subjects.

3°. That the subjects be put in airms, mustered, and drilled, that they may the better doe service to his Majestie and to their countrey; and that a way be found effectuall for the bringing home of airms.

4°. That these who became caution for the good behaviour of the rebells may be called and convicted, the fynes inacted may be exacted, and imployed in the promoveing of the good cause.

The Towne of Edinburgh is desyred to divyde their Great Kirk by a partition wall, seing they have many people, and few kirks.

That tacks sett by a minister, without consent of the Assemblie, be null.

Seing the corruptions and enormities in ministers lives and callings, and the remedies thereof, is a mater of most great import-

ance, Mr John Davidson is ordained, Tuesday nixt, at nyne in the morning, to have sermon to the ministers and members of the Assemblie onlie, to that verie purpose, that the mater may be done gravelie and zealouslie, that all may be humbled before God for their former miscariages, commissions, and omissions, and may make solemne promise, and renew a covenant with God for a more tender walk, and a more faithfull discharge of their ministrie in tyme comeing.

The particulare Corruptions and Remedies being *verbatim* printed in the [Acts of the] Generall Assemblie at Glasgow 1638, pages 33, 34, 35, 36, needs not to be sett doune here.

INSTRUCTIONS TO MASTERS JOHN PRESTOUN AND EDWARD BRUCE, COMMENDATOR OF KINLOSSE, HIS MAJESTIE'S COMMISSIONERS TO THIS ASSEMBLIE.

1°. Ye shall shaw the King's good will to have all the kirks of Scotland well planted and provyded; and becaus the Kirk hes but a part of the Thirds, and it is noture the wholl Thirds will not doe that turn;—

2°. That a solid cours be laid doune, with the advise of such as the Assemblie shall appoint, that the work may be prosecuted according to the tenor of our Act of Parliament in the yeare 1592.

3°. Shew them that some speeches of ministers uttered unadvysedlie does lett this work, for they would make the countrey beleive that we and our Councill hes no such intention as to plant or provyde kirks: Take ordour with those ministers, that in tyme comeing the like be not done.

4°. These instructions to be voted in open Assemblie, and not referred to the privie conference; and that they be registrat in the Assemblie books, as a perpetuall testimonie of our good will; and to report the extract of everie article, with the answer thereof, and to report to us againe. *Sic subscribitur*, JAMES R.

Forasmuch as the brethren present in this Assemblie have renewed a covenant with God, and ingaged themselves for tyme to

come, and many ministers are not present, that the lyke be done in every Provinciall Assemblie, with a solemne humiliation and protestation at their nixt meeting; and who bees absent fra the Provinciall Synod, that they doe it in the Presbyterie.

ARTICLES PROPONED BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE CONSTANT PLATT, TO BE ADVYSED AND PAST IN ACTS.

1°. That when patrons presents not when the kirk and benefice vaiks, the moderator of the Presbyterie, *jure devoluto*, shall present after six moneths vacancie.

2°. That all beneficed persons here present doe presentlie interdyte themselves publictlie from setting of any tacks without the advise of the Assemblie, and their speciall allowance: their interdyting to be presentlie subscryvit by such as are here, and the rest not here to be urged by their Presbyteries to doe just so.

That for the furnishing of more qualified men for the ministrie, everie Provinciall Assemblie intertaine a bursar, a student of theologie, at the New Colledge of St Androes, and to present another still as the place vaiks; and ministers sons within the province, *cæteris paribus*, to be preferred to others; and that the bursar, after his course, imploy his gift within that province where he wes intertained, except the Kirk give licence otherwise.

Commissioners are nominat to attend the King, seing the necessitie of publict effairs and the dangers of the tymes calls for it.

To the first two articles agrees; to the third, ordanis it first to be moved in the provinces; to the last, appoynts some select brethren thereto.

OFFENCES IN THE KING'S HOUSE.

1°. The reading of the Word, and thanksgiveing before and after meat, oft omitted.

2°. Week sermons often neglected, and he would be admonished not to talk with any in tyme of divyne service.

3°. To recommend to him privat meditation with God in spirit, and in his awin conscience.

4°. Banning and sweareing is too commone in the King's houss and Court, occasioned by his example.

5°. He would have good companie about him; Robertland, papists, murderers, profane persons, would be removed from him.

6°. The Queen's ministrie would be reformed. She hirself neglects word and sacrament, is to be admonished for night-waking, balling, &c. also touching hir companie, &c.; and so of hir gentlewomen.

Upon the return of the rebells wifes, and provisions made in their housses, there arose great feare of a new invasion from the enemies. The remedie proponed that the King would cause bring south their ladies, and let them be keeped in St Androes; also my Lord Gordon and their sons to be brought up at schoolls in the south, and that their friends who are in the south be warded.

THE COMMONE CORRUPTIONS OF ALL ESTATES WITHIN THIS LAND.

An universall coldnes, want of zeall, ignorance, contempt of the word, ministrie, and sacraments, and where knowledge is, yit no sense nor feelling, evidenced by the want of familie exercises, prayer, and the word, and singing of psalms; and if they be, they are profaned and abused, by calling on the cook, stewart, or jackman, to performe that religious duetie, the masters of families ashamed so to honour God in their awin persons; at tables no conference, but either profane, wicked, or wantone, worldlie at the best: no religious conference.

Superstition and idolatrie intertained, evidenced in keeping of festivall dayes, fires, pilgrimages, singing of carrolls at Yoole, &c.

Blaspheming of God's name, sweareing, banning and curseing.

Profanation of the Sabbath, especiallie by working in seed-time and harvest, journeying, trysting, gameing, danceing, drinking, fishing, killing, and milling, &c.

Inferiours not doeing duetie to superiours, children haveing pleyes of law aganis their parents, marieing without their consent; superiours not doeing duetie to inferiours, as not training up their

children at schoolls in virtue and godlines, great and frequent breaches of dueties betwix maried persons.

Great bloodshed, deadlie feads ariseing thence, and assisting of blood-shedders for eluding of laws.

Fornications, adulteries, incests, unlawfull mariages and divorcements, allowed by lawes and judges; children so begotten declared lawfull; excessive drinking and waughting, gluttonie, (no doubt the cause of this dearth and famine,) gorgeous and vaine apparrell, filthie and bawdie speeches and songs.

Sacriledge in all estats growing daylie, without any conference, to the utter undoeing of the Kirk, and letting the planting of the gospell.

Cruell oppression of the poore tenants; evidenced, 1°. By deare setting of rowms; 2°. By the wrack of the corns throw untymous tithing; 3°. Extream thraldom in services, oppression by usurie, under pretext of law and contracts aganis law, forestalling and regraiting, whilk wonderfullie hightens the dearth; not thrashing victuall in due tyme, girnalling of it when it is threshen, and not bringing of it to the mercat.

Idle persons haveing no lawfull callings, as pypers, fidlers, songsters, sorners, pleasants, strong sturdie beggers liveing in harlotrie, altogether contemning word and sacraments. Lying, finallie, is a ryff and commone sin.

OFFENCES IN THE COURT AND JUDGMENT-SEAT.

Universall neglect of justice, both in civill and criminall causses, granting of remissions, good lawes not executed aganis sin and in favors of the Kirk, delay of justice, judges either ignorant or profane, or both, and when a place vaiks the worst men are advanced; no execution of justice aganis the detected enemies or their adherents, their rents not made use of for the resisting of the enemies, so that they are rather benefited nor hurt or hated; the odious murther at Dunibirsell is unpunished; in Parliament sacrilegious persons, such as abbots, priors, dumb bishops, &c., voteing in name of the Kirk, contrarie to the lawes of the countrey, whereby the

cause of God and the Kirk is much damnified; the Session charged with buying of pleyes, delaying of justice and bryberie, evidenced by extraordinarie and sudden conquests.

GREEVANCES TO BE HUMBLIE MEANED TO HIS MAJESTIE BY THE COMMISSIONERS.

1°. The declared rebells, to their great advantage, injoys all their liveings peacablie; their adherents charged to enter their persons in ward disobeying, not punished, have never sett caution for the peace of the kingdome, nor given pledges, it seems, by their preparations and leagues of confederacies, that the enemies are to return with redoubled revenge and force; Jesuits and priests increassing, detaining those in errour whom they have seduced, daylie seduceing others, and traffecting to draw the people to rebellion; yit no course taken with them, albeit they be putting the people in hope of the return of the Popish lords and Spaniards.

2°. Forby the kirks of Argyle and Yles, there are above 400 kirks wanting ministers, whereby the people perish in ignorance, atheisme, and profanitie.

3°. Through the abuseing, delaying, perverting, neglecting of justice, murther, oppression, adulterie, incest, all horribill crymes abound.

4°. The ministers that gott their last assignations to the yeare [15]95 are delayed and frustrated of justice; for the Lords of Session refuises to discuss their suspensions, according to the Act of February 1587.

ARTICLES FOR REMEDIE OF THESE GREEVANCES.

1°. That the lands of the rebells be disponed to those that are best affected and meetest to resist the rebells; that the King's awin officers tak up the liveings, and that they be imployed on the publict for takeing up of men; that their ladies be charged to come south and dwell in St Androes; that they be no more a recept to enemies, and a terrour to others whom they force to yeeld to their courses; that my Lord Gordon be brought south to be

trained up at schoolls in letters and religion; that their adherents and freinds enter their persons in waird till they finde sufficient suretie not to joyne with the enemies of the kirk and kingdome, and that they give their eldest sons and nearest friends as pledges. And as for Jesuits, &c., his Majestie would give commission to men of knowen affection and abilitie, to search, seek, and apprehend such as are now nominat, or to be nominat, and to prosecute that work till it be finished.

As to the planting of kirks, that the King would prosecute his purpose (promised alreadie to the Generall Assemblie) till it be finished.

That judicatories, especiallie the highest, may be purged of unqualified and corrupt persons, and may be filled with good and able men.

That his Majestie would command the Lords of Session to minister justice to the ministers who got their augmentations the last yeare, according to the Act in February 1587, as they are bound by their solemne oath and promise; seing the extraordinare dearth urges them with so great necessitie, unles his Majestie have a serious consideration of their estate, they and their families will be driven to extream povertie and want.

At the sixty-first Assemblie, holden at Perth, March 1, 1596[-7,] Mr Robert Pont, Moderator. This Assemblie being conveened by the King's missive letters, the King sends to the Assemblie two commissioners, Sir Johne Cockburn of Ormestoun, Justice-Clerk, and Mr Edward Bruce, commendator of Kinlosse, to inquyre whither they were a lawfull Generall Assemblie; and so had power to answere such things as he wes to propound, yea, or not; and to report their answer in writ.

It is answered, That notwithstanding they were convocat by the King's missives, yit they were a lawfull extraordinare Generall Assemblie, seing they had their written commissions from Presbyteries and Synods.

ARTICLES PROPOUNDED BY HIS MAJESTIE'S COMMISSIONERS TO BE RESOLVED IN THIS ASSEMBLIE.

The King hes many Questions to propound; several of them he thinks not meet to propound to the Assemblie, but shall propound them to Commissioners delegat for that effect; onlie now such as the present necessitie calls for, as—

1°. That it be not thought wrong either for Prince or Pastor to propound doubts concerning the externall governement, policie, and discipline of the Kirk, whilk does not essentiallie concern salvation, and is not expreslie in Scripture *affirmative* or *negative*, provyding it be done *decenter* in right tyme and place, *animo ædificandi non tentandi.*

2°. That seing the Civill estate belongs to the King his Councill and Parliament, that Ministers meddle not therewith in pulpit; but if any conceaves any thing to be amiss or hurtfull to religion, that in a privat way they complaine thereof to the King and his Councill.

3°. That it be not lawfull for any minister hereafter to name any man's name in pulpit, or so vively to describe him that it shall be equivalent to the verie nameing of him, except upon the notorietie of a publict cryme; whilk notorietie is to be evidenced, either by flight, or being convict by an assyze, or excommunicat for it.

4°. That everie minister in his particulare application shall have respect to the edification of his awin flock, and present auditorie, without expatiating upon discourses not for that congregation.

5°. That Presbyteries be injoyned to see that everie pastor keep himself within the bounds of the premisses.

6°. That summar excommunication be altogether discharged, and that at least three lawfull citations, with eight days intervall betuix each of them, preceed the sentence.

7°. That no Session, Presbyterie, or Provinciall Synod, use their censures aganis any but such as resides within their bounds, otherwise the decreets to be null.

8°. That the summonds containe a speciall cause and cryme;

and no man to be summoned *super inquirendis, quod est mere tyrannicum.*

9°. That no meetings be among the pastors without his Majestie's consent, exceptand alwayes their ordinarie Sessions, Presbyteries, and Assemblies.

10°. That in all principall townes no minister be chosen without the consent of the people and of the King; and that ordour to begin presentlie in the planting of Edinburgh.

11°. That none meddle with any thing that concerns the rest of his Majestie's Questions in the pulpit publictlie, till they be fullie decyded; and, in particulare, that they meddle not with slander, (whereby his Majestie's authoritie royall is highlie prejudged,) but onlie in causses meerlie ecclesiastick.

12°. That seven or eight discreet wise Brethren be nominat to reassone upon the rest of the Questions as opportunitie of tyme shall serve.

13°. That they give commission to the ministrie in the North to be at a poynt with Huntlie, and, if he satisfie them, to absolve him.

A committie is sett apart to prepare answers for thir Articles, and to report the same to the Assemblie. That committie wes desyred, by the King's commissioners, to repair to the place where the King and the Estates were conveened, there to reasone upon these Articles. The Ministers came, and protested that that practise should not be prejudiciall to the Kirk's libertie; but that in all maters ecclesiastick, they behoved in their awin Assemblie treat, reasone, voyce, and conclude. This protestation was admitted and ratified.

ANSWERS TO THE KING'S ARTICLES.

1°. Questions may be proponed of things alterable with the provision mentionat.

2°. Ministers shall first advise with their Presbyteries and Provinciall Synods, and Generall Assemblies, and their complaine and

seek remedie, that by them his Majestie and Councill may be first informed before any farther proceeding.

3°. The third is granted; but the notorietie may be defyned also, if the persone be contumax after citation and lawfull admonition; and no men ought to be thus vivelie descryved by circumstances, except in publict scandalous vyces, alwayes damnable.

4°. Agrees to the fourth.

5°. Agrees to the fyft.

6°. The Assemblie superseeds to answere the sixt till the nixt Assemblie, and in mean while suspends all summar excommunication whill then.

7°. The seventh is also referred to the nixt Assemblie.

8°. The eighth agreed unto.

9°. No conventions should be among pastors without his Majestie's knowledge, except their ordinare meetings, as said is; and in visitation of kirks, admission or deprivation of ministers, takeing up of feads, and such other as have never been found fault with by his Majestie.

10°. The tenth agreed unto.

11°. The eleventh also thought reassonable.

12°. The brethren are nominat: in all fourteen.

13°. As to the last, the Assemblie gives commission to the Presbyteries of Moray and Aberdeen to insist in conference with the Earle of Huntlie, and to that effect appoynts commissioners to joyne with them; and ordains them to report the answers they receave fra the said Earle to the articles given them in commission: As that he the said Huntlie shall abyde in Aberdeen dureing the tyme of the conference, where he may heare the word; that he abjure Poperie, and give a reasone for each article; that he acknowledge this Kirk and reformation, heare the word, receave the sacrament, sweare and subscryve the confession, obey the discipline; that he remove Jesuits, &c., out of all his bounds; that he most humblie make his repentance in the kirk of Aberdeen for his apostasie, slaughter of the Earle of Moray, and burning of Dunebirsell; that he be content to be at peace with all who hes risen in airms

aganis him at command of authoritie; that he provyde all his kirks with stipends and ministers; that he acknowledge the causes of his excommunication to be just; that he shall make asythment to the pairtie wronged; and, finallie, shall have a minister constantlie in his houss.

Supplication being given in by Dame Elizabeth Oliphant, Countess of Angus, that hir husband may have conference, that thereby he may be brought to the true religion; the brethren of Angus and Mearns are appoynted to conferr with him upon those same Articles appoynted for Huntlie, exceptand that whilk Huntlie is guiltie of anent the Earle of Moray and Dunebirsell.

THE OFFERS GIVEN IN TO THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE BY THE EARLE OF ERROLL.

1°. I offer to abyde any just tryell of the alledged traffecting aganis the religion presentlie professed within this countrey, indureing my absence off the countrey, and to make all sufficient purgation to your Wisdomes for the same.

2°. I offer all possible securitie for my behaviour in all tyme comeing.

3°. I earnestlie intreat some to conferr with me for the end I may be rightlie instructed, and I promise, indureing the conference, not to countenance any enemies to that religion; and if I shall be satisfied in poynt of controversie, I shall sweare and subscryve unfainedlie fra my heart, and shall make my repentance for my apostasie, where and as your Wisdomes shall injoyne.

4°. That dureing the tyme of the conference I be (if not absolved yit) suspended fra the sentence of excommunication, that my friends who may be comfortable unto me may, without church censure, repare unto me; [likeas] I have receaved licence fra his Majestie, and a charge to your Wisdomes to admit me to conference; whilk it may please you herewith receave, and doe in it as ye would give me argument of your intention towards my conversion, and for performing of the præmisses I shall finde caution.

The Assemblie ordains these same that conferrs with Huntlie to conferr also with Erroll, exceptand as said is.

Further, this commission is declared to extend to all Presbyteries and provinces where the saids Earles shall reside, or to whilk they shall resort, and they to report to the nixt Assemblie what they doe effectuat.

PETITIONS GIVEN IN BY THE ASSEMBLIE TO THE KING.

1°. That the King would sett out a proclamation of the good and peacable success of this Convention, together with a declaration that he will maintaine the doctrine of this reformed Kirk, and discipline, and ministrie, and declare any lawes or acts prejudiciall to any of those now to be null and of no force; and that your Majestie hes taken the protection of the ministrie, and that contraveeners of this present declaration, or who on any pretext would trouble ministers, shalbe reputed troublers of the Estate, and punished accordinglie.

2°. That all Papists, Priests, Jesuits, excommunicats, be commanded to go off the countrey betwix and the first day of Maie nixt to come, except ere then they report testimoniall that they have satisfied the Kirk; whilk if they doe not, that sheriffs and magistrats in burghs be carefull to apprehend them, and to present them before the King and his Councill, wherein if they be neglective, that the King imploy honest and active men who will go about it to purpose.

3°. That the ministers of Edinburgh be relaxed fra the horne, and suffered to return and remaine within this kingdome: As also to sett at freedome the gentlemen and professors of the trueth who are under challenge, seing your Majestie knowes it wes the love of religion moved them to those things wherewith they are burdened.

4°. Seing Edinburgh is your Majestie's chief burgh, and at this tyme they both want their ministers, and are charged frequentlie before your Majestie, whilk is no small grief of heart to them, your Majestie knowes their love to religion and reformation, and their zeall from the beginning, and how willing they are to serve your Majestie; therefore, according to your wonted clemencie, it may

please your Majestie deall with them favourablie, that it may be evident your Majestie will shew more favour to men meaning honestlie, nor to Papists, and that all your subjects may see the generall agreement.

5°. That your Majestie may be pleased to suffer Mr David Black, Mr John Welsh, and Mr John Howison, to return to their flocks.

6°. That hurters and mutilaters of ministers may once at last be taken ordour with substantiallie.

7°. That provision be made for planting of kirks, and that the augmentations and planting of new kirks, made in anno 1595, be allowed.

HIS MAJESTIE'S ANSWERS TO THE PETITIONS.

The first and secund granted in substance. As to the third, the ministers of Edinburgh are ordained to be relaxed, upon caution to be found by them that they shall underly the law. The gentlemen by their friends should be suiters for themselves. As to the Towne of Edinburgh, his Majestie will not trouble any but guiltie men; and mynds also shortlie to be at a point with them. Touching the invasion of the ministers, a commission is ordained to be directed for calling and punishing the offenders. Concerning the last, the King's Majestie ordains the Thesaurer, Mr James Elphinstoun, the Clerk-Register, Mr John Prestoun, and Mr Edward Bruce, to take ordour als well for the planting of kirks, as with the augmentations whilk were granted in anno 1595.

At the sixty-second Assemblie, holden at Dundie, Maie 10, 1597, Mr Robert Rollock, Moderator. Mr James Richie being dead, Mr Thomas Nicolson sworn and admitted clerk to the Generall Assemblie.

Mr Dowgall Campbell, moderator of the Presbyterie of Brechin, is suspended by the Presbyterie, becaus he disobeyed the Presbyterie in not excommunicating Patrik Butter: this sentence the Assemblie ratifies and approves. The brethren appoynted to deall

with Huntlie, Erroll, and Angus, are ordained to give an account of their diligence; whilk they did by producing the articles whilk they had subscryved, withall adding that they were fullie satisfied.

THE EARLE OF HUNTLEY HIS ANSWERS TO THE ARTICLES.

He abode at Aberdeen; heard the word and conference; agrees to the Confession of Faith; is readie to sweare and subscryve it; to participat the sacrament; will abandone all the forbidden companie; is greeved for the slaughter of the Earle of Moray; hes given the King a blank for assythment of the pairtie; will satisfie the Kirk in what maner soever they will; will provyde all his kirks, and have a minister in his houss; and, in a word, gave a satisfactorie answer to all demanded.

Sic subscribitur, HUNTLIE.

THE EARLE OF ERROLL HIS ANSWERS TO THE ARTICLES.

He did also give full satisfactorie answers to all demanded, as did Huntley, acknowledging his excommunication, (just as did he,) begging absolution, promiseing to intertaine no rancor aganis any, speciallie ministers, (as did he,) &c., *omnia ut supra,* excepting that anent the Earle of Moray, &c.

Sic subscribitur, ERROLL.

THE EARLE OF ANGUS HIS ANSWERS TO THE ARTICLES.

He did also in all the demands (*ut supra* in Huntley and Erroll's *respective*) gave satisfactorie answeres.

Sic subscribitur, ANGUS.

The Assemblie ratifies and approves what is done; ordaining the commissioners to proceed in putting them to performe their promises; in professing to be members of this reformed Kirk of Scotland; to detest all contrarie religion; that they sweare and subscryve the Confession of Faith, &c.; particularlie, that Huntley shall make his repentance for the slaughter of the Earle of Moray, with power to the commissioners (all requyred being done) to absolve the said Earls, and receave them again in to the bosome of the Kirk.

Anent severall of the King's articles referred to this Assemblie, that Assemblie at Perth is declared lawfull; the Assemblie yeelded the more to that concerning the King's lawes, in regard he solemnlie declared his intention alwayes to frame his lawes and wholl governement according to the word of God and work of reformation. Anent the expressing of names, in the poynt of notorietie, it is added, If the cryme be so manifestlie knowen to the world, *ut nulla tergiversatione celari possit.* As for ministers meetings, their assemblies are confirmed by God's word, and ratified by the lawes of the land. And as for ministers to burghes, if the King or the people dissent from the Assemblie's nomination, they shall give a sufficient reasone of the refuisall, either to the haill Assemblie or commissioners.

ANSWERS TO THE REST OF HIS MAJESTIE'S QUESTIONS.

The Kirk desyres the King, either by himself or his commissioners, to heare everie weightie thing concerning the estate agitat, and, being concluded, to put it in execution.

The Assemblie ordains an uniforme way of admission of ministers, to be keeped in all tyme comeing, by imposition of hands.

That all sessions be elected with advise of their awin congregations.

That the superiour judicatorie sicht all the processes of the inferiour, and to see that they be all formall.

That in exercises at Presbyteries no particulare applications be used.

That in maters of great importance, if the difference of the votes shall be by two or three, nothing be concluded therein untill better resolution be had; and that he who sustains the negative with his vote shall give *rationem negandi.*

That Presbyteries meddle with nothing but what is meerlie ecclesiastick.

Anent summar excommunication the Assemblie answers nothing; in mean while, suspends all summar excommunications; alwayes in great and notoure crymes, the Assemblie ordains a publict in-

timation of the same to be made, and the committer thereof to be suspended *a sacris*, and prohibited *a privato convictu*.

The King's Majestie, being present at the Assemblie, had a large discourse concerning the planting of kirks, and other things whilk could not be done at this Assemblie; wherefore, desyred a number of discreet and modest brethren to have commission to attend him, that they might advise with him in all things he should propound to them, and to propound greevances to his Majestie. The brethren were named, and seven a quorum, *Promittendo de rato*, &c.

About this tyme the Commissioners of the Kirk were continuallie attending the King, because they began to perceive that plotts were laid down for the alteration of religion, or the bringing in of libertie of conscience at the least. So that upon the 16th day of December, the King and the commissioners disagreed a long tyme, so that he threatned to remove them off the toune, and that he would be no more troubled with them; yit in end they concluded all maters with full contentment, as appeared, albeit the effects declared the contrare. For upon the morrow airlie about sixe hours, there came letters charging a great number (about an hundred) of the most zealous professors in Edinburgh, to remove off the toune within sixe hours, under the pane of horning: Who being charged, came and told the ministers, whereat they greatlie mervelled, considdering that the King and the commissioners of the Kirk had so peacablie concluded all things the night before; yit for the present thought it meet, that Mr Walter Balcanquall, who wes to preach that day in the Great Kirk, should, after the sermon ended, declare that there wes some thing fallen out, by the expectation of the ministerie tending to the hurt of religion, and, therefore, the brethren of the ministerie of that toune, who had in charge to warn the commissioners of the Kirk to meet at all such necessarie occasions, should conveen themselves presentlie in the Litle Kirk, where he doubted not but noble men, barons, and other ministers well affected, would also meet to give their best advise and concurrence in such a good cause. As, indeed, a great number mett; and after

long and grave deliberation, there were certaine commissioners, both barons and ministers, sent to the King, who then was come up to the session: The rest, both noblemen, gentlemen, and ministers, attending what good ansuer should be returned to them. When they came back, their ansuere gave no contentment to the meeting; and, therefore, because they thought that some commissioners were sent who were not gracious to the King, other commissioners were sent; but before they returned, when all were awaiting the King's ansuere, some man came by the kirk-doore, and cryed with a loud voyce in to the kirk, The Papists are all in armes, and will cutt all your throats. Another cryed, immediatlie after that, Mr Wm. Watson is slaine: and he being one of the commissioners sent to the King that secund tyme, upon thir speeches, all who were in the Litle Kirk ran forth in great feare to see what should be the fray; and within a short tyme the toune was running to their arms, in great disorder and confusion, some crying one thing, some another; some God and the Kirk, some God and the King. But the ministers of Edinburgh did run among the people, and pacified them all that they could. The rascall multitude ran to the Tolbuith, and cryed up to the King, Put away those traitour Lords from yow, or cast them doun to us, and we shall make you quyt of them. The King and the Lords in great feare spake peaceablie doun to the people, and commanded the Provest and Baillies to be brought, who came in all hast, and removed the people, desireing the King to come doune, that they might convoy him in safetie to his awin palace; whilk was done with great reverence. The King in the mean tyme promiseing, that when the commissioners should come doune to him at afternoone, he should give them contentment: But so soon as he came to the Abbay, after he had taken a drink, he rode forthwith to Linlithgow, where, with advise of some of his councill, there was a proclamation made upon the morrow, being the last day of the week, commanding all noblemen, barrons, gentlemen, ministers, and others, who were not induellers in the toune of Edinburgh, to remove themselves off the toune within sixe houres, under the paine of treasone.

Upon the morrow, being the Lord's day, many people flocked to the Kirk to heare the sermons of the ministers, and there were captors appointed to observe what speeches ministers uttered. Moonday, the 20th of that instant December, another proclamation, more ample, was made, declaring what a traiterous and seditious tumult was made on Fryday preceeding, being the 17th day of that moneth; and that the ministers of Edinburgh, especiallie four of them, being the chief authors thereof, and such burgesses as were principall actors in that tumult, being condignly to be punished for their faults. The magistrats of Edinburgh were commanded to apprehend their ministers and some burgesses, and putt them in sure ward, untill his Majestie's will were further known. Whereupon the magistrats, after advisement, withdrew themselves, and remained quyetlie in other partes of the countrey, but some burgesses were warded. But shortly after this, the ministers of Edinburgh wrote their awin apologie to the commissioners of the Kirk; whereupon the commissioners, allowing of their brethren's apologie, wrot an humble supplication to the King in favours of their brethren, (the four ministers of Edinburgh now being removed from their places and charges,) letting his Majestie see the danger that both the Kirk of God, his awin person and estate was in, if he should so pursue the faithfull servants of God, they being innocent, and show such favour to Papists, who indeed were traitours, as presentlie he did. Whereupon the succeeding yeare, the ministers being called home, the King's Majestie appoynting some of his councill to try them exactlie, what was their part that 17th day of December preceeding, they were absolved, and their part knowen to be both godlie and honest. Yit there wer some noblemen, barons, and burgesses of Edinburgh, fyned for putting on airms that day, and kything openlie as they did, who notwithstanding were all knowen to be good Christians, and zealous professores of God's trueth.

The Kirk of God now being in this pitifull case, Papists and their favourers ruleing the King, yea and sundrie of the commissioners of the kirk, desireing to be in favour and credit with his Majestie, there is a Generall Assemblie appoynted to be holden at Dundie, in

the beginning of March following; at the whilk assemblie, (after that the King had dealt earnestlie with the commissioners, at least so many of them as he could persuade, and had made them to deall with all other ministers, who would be persuaded by them, that the King's intention was good and religious, in offering to make the ministers the third estate in Parliament,) began the great change that came upon our kirk; for there it was concluded, (by pluralitie of votes,) That Ministers should have vote in Parliament, as the bishops and abbots had in tyme of Poperie, and so be the third estate in the kingdome, and by this means the King laboured assure the ministers that they should be vindicat from povertie and contempt, wherein for the present they were; and that he meaned no wayes to bring in Bishops againe in this kirk, but all that he was doeing was meerlie for their benefite, and to hold out their enemies from doing of them wrong, showing them what pains he had taken in the preceeding Parliament to get that granted by the estates, that ministers hereafter should be provyded to places, and be the third estate, and have vote in Parliament. So in this Assemblie, after the generall act was concluded, (that Ministers should vote in Parliament as the third estate of the kingdome, in place of bishops, abbots, &c.,) the Assemblie proponed many things concerning them that should vote in Parliament; as, 1°. How many ministers should vote in Parliament; 2°. How they should be chosen; 3°. How they should be called; 4°. How long they should continue; 5°. What rent they should have; and, lastlie, there were sundrie caveats sett doune, whereby they might be keept from corruption, and have no superioritie or jurisdiction over their brethren, but to be answerable for all their doings to the Assemblies of the Kirk, and to their respective presbyteries, as any other brother of the ministerie should doe. But because answers to all these questions could not be agreed upon at this Assemblie, the commissioners of the Kirk were ordained to reassone and advise among themselves concerning answers to the Questions, and to report the samyn to the nixt Generall Assemblie; whilk was appoynted to be holden at Aberdene, with the King's awin consent, in the moneth of Julie the yeare following, 1599:

yit it held not; for the King had found it came within his prerogative royall, to doe with tyme and place as he pleased. At this, some of the commissioners of the Kirk, and others well affected of the ministrie, were greatlie offended, that in so needfull a tyme, the Assemblies of the Kirk should not meet, but be delayed from yeare to yeare.

At the sixty-third Assemblie, holden at Dundie, Marche 7, 1597, [1597–8,] Mr Peter Blackburn, Moderator, the King present. The wholl process, excommunication, and absolution of the three Earles, Huntley, Angus, and Erroll, is ordained to be registrat in the Assemblie books: the Provinciall books are all to be examined by the Generall Assemblie.

Because some Provincialls have not commissioners at the Generall Assemblie, because the men chosen comes not, it is inacted, That he who comes not, being chosen, (haveing health,) shall losse the tenth part of a year's stipend; and if he may not sustaine himself, the rest of the brethren shall contribute for his charges, that he may stay till the end of the Assemblie; and he that refuises to contribut shall losse the tenth part of his stipend; and the man chosen and sustained, who refuises to come, shall be suspended fra his ministrie ay and whill the Assemblie be satisfied.

Because sundrie grievances were given in aganis commissioners appoynted to await on the King, a committie of twenty-five was appoynted to receave all their proceedings in writ, and to examine all, and report to the Assemblie.

GRIEVANCES TO BE PROPONED TO HIS MAJESTIE.

1°. To crave releef to ministers who hes not whereupon they may live.

2°. That the taxemen of the teinds be craved and charged immediatlie, that ministers be not troubled at the law.

3°. Cause make an Act of Parliament aganis buriall in kirks.

4°. To crave redress of adulterous mariages, where nocent persons divorced for adulterie craves to be maried together.

5°. Murderers relaxit fra the horn, not satisfieing the partie, (whilk is no token of repentance,) seeks to be relaxit fra excommunication, obviat that.

6°. Try if the tryell of witches by a confessed witch be lawfull, yea or not.

7°. To regrait that laick patrons mock the Kirk, and yit an Act of Parliament is past in their favours, for it gives to them the wholl benefice if they present a qualified man, and the Kirk admitt him not; now the Kirk cannot admitt him, because the patron before hand takes his oath, that he shall sett him back such tacks for so small a duetie. Now, because of this simoniacall paction, the Kirk cannot admitt him.

THE KING'S MAJESTIE'S ANSWERS.

The 1st and 2d granted, that is, the greevance being given in to the councill, the King will hold hand to it, and promised to stay any execution aganis the ministrie present at the Assemblie, whill the 15th of Aprile nixt.

3°. Give in an overture to the nixt Parliament, that everie nobleman big a buriall place to himself.

4°. That an Act might be made, declareing the mariage null and the children bastards.

5°. The Kirk may proceed still aganis the murderer till they see the partie satisfied, and cleare signs of repentance.

6°. In the last Parliament, that mater of witchcraft is remitted to certaine councellours, ministers, advocats, and physicians, to consult and report.

7°. An Act would be made to redresse that abuse of laick patrons.

Magistrats who setts witches free, being convict of witchcraft, to be severelie proceeded aganis with the highest censurs of the Kirk.

The minister who maries persons not thrice lawfullie proclaimed shalbe depryved, and the persons so maried, for so preposterouslie hasting to their mariage, to make publict repentance.

That no pictures nor images be caried about at burialls, under the paine of censure.

That no beneficed person get transportation whill it be seen what tacks he hes or not, or if he hes meliorat or deteriorat his benefice any way to the prejudice of his successor. If a minister throw povertie be not able to plead his gleeb and manse, that the rest assist him by contributing till he evict it.

An Act of Parliament desyred to be made, that tacksmen augment the dueties of their teinds for sustentation of the ministrie, the King promises so to doe, and the ministrie is desyred to provyde good overtures for planting of his Kirk, and that everie one try the just valor of the teinds within his pariosh, to whom they are sett, and for what duetie, and to whom the duetie is payit.

Greevances given in aganis the commissioners, and their answers were both red; yit, for continuance of peace and quyetnes in the Kirk, it is concluded that all those greevances be obliterat and buried.

Forsameikle as the commissioners of the Kirk, regairding the libertie of the Kirk of God, gave in to the late Parliament sundrie articles tending to that end, and, among the rest, craved that the Kirk, as the third estate, (according to former lawes, ordinances, and practise,) might have vote in Parliament. This their doing, proceeding of a godlie intention, they (how soever) does submitt to the present Assemblie, to be allowed or disallowed as they thought fitt. After mature deliberation, it is caried, be pluralitie of votes, that the Kirk, as the third estate, should sute vote in Parliament.

The King's Majestie, to testifie his good intention to the Kirk, did signifie how he concurred with the commissioners to suit vote in Parliament to the Kirk, as the third estate, whilk in some sort wes granted, but severall circumstances to be determined by this Assemblie, whilk he had assembled before the appoynted tyme for that verie cause; wherefore, ere they came to the circumstances desyred to voyce, whither it were lawfull and expedient that the Kirk, as the third estate, should have vote in Parliament, yea, or

not? The mater, after long debat and dispute, *in utramque partem*, in open Assemblie being referred to voyceing, it is caried affirmativlie that it wes lawfull and expedient. As to the number of voters, that there should be fifty-one, answerable to the number of bishops, abbots, and priors, in tyme of Poperie. Their election of a mixt nature, partlie to belong to the King, partlie to the Kirk. And because the brethren could not be fullie resolved for the present concerning the office of him who should vote in Parliament, of the way of his choiseing, of his rent, of the continuance of his office, of his name and style, of the cautions and caveats requisit to keep him fra corruption; therefore, the Assemblie ordains all the Provinciall Synods to meet the first Tuesday of June nixtocome, and after reassoning and rype advisement upon the former particulars, that each Synod choise three of their wisest and discreetest of their number, who, with the doctors and masters of the universities, shall meet with his Majestie, as he shall appoynt tyme and place, (giveing a moneth's premonition,) and, in case of agreement and uniformitie, that they have power to conclude the haill question concerning vote in Parliament with all its circumstances, otherwise, in case of discrepance, to refer it to the nixt Generall Assemblie.

That Presbyteries meet once a week in full number, at least all within eight myles of the Presbyterie's seat. That everie minister studie the text of exercise. That a commone head be handled once in the moneth, both by discourse and disputation. That everie pastor have a weeklie instruction and examination of a part of his congregation. And all these to be observed, under paine of incurring the censures of the Kirk.

Mr John Davidson protested that this Assemblie was not a free Assemblie, the Moderator asking, If any would adhere to his protestation? none wes found that would adhere to it; yit he desyred it to be insert in the Assemblie books.

That everie Presbyterie send to the Generall Assemblie three brethren and no moe, and that they have a written commission, and that they send a ruleing elder, a man of good qualitie, and that

each burgh send one commissioner; but Edinburgh shall have the priviledge to send two.

Traffecters with Spaine to be proceeded aganis according to former acts.

The Presbyteries of Dundie and Arbroth are ordained to summond before them the Countess of Huntley, Suderland, and Catnes, to sweare and subscryve the Confession of Faith, under the paine of excommunication.

The nixt Generall Assemblie ordained to hold at Aberdeen the first Tuesday of Julie 1599; yit it held at Montrose, March 18, 1600.

The King perceaveing that many of the ministrie were altogether aganis that conclusion made at Dundie, and finding a protestation made aganis it, it so inraged the King, that the giver in thereof behoved to remove off the toune, and go over the water to his awin place and particulare calling; who not the less was soone after that removed fra his ministrie in that part, and placed in another congregation.

Also, at that Assemblie, there were many greevances given in aganis the commissioners by sundrie honest ministers who saw the Kirk falling to a decay, and fearfull division entering in. The King's Majestie took great pains, and keept all the sessions of that Assemblie himself, and in end got all the greevances buried. Promiseing to doe nothing in that mater of vote in Parliament by the ministers, but with great advisement and deliberation of the wisest and discreetest men of the ministrie; inveighing in the meantyme vehementlie aganis such of the ministrie as either out of ignorance, or els malicious evill will aganis his good intentions, would not let the samyn go fordward. And because the number of the ministers who altogether did withstand that ministers should have vote in Parliament, or be provyded to such places, were almost als many as they that voted for it, (and, therefore, according to the Act at Dundie, Maie 10, 1597, page 130[183,] nothing should have been at that tyme concluded,) the King, by earnest dealling, condescended

that there should be a great number of ministers conveened with the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, at Haliroodhouse, the 17 day of November *anno* 1599, who should reasone the questions exactlie, *in utramque partem*, Whether it should be lawfull and expedient that Ministers should be provyded to prelacies, and be the Third Estate of the kingdome, to vote in Parliament, in Conventions, and in the King's Councill, yea, or not.

The day and place wes keeped by the ministers on both sydes, and great reasonings and many arguments were brought, especiallie by them who were aganis vote in Parliament. The sume of all was taken up in this argument:—That whilk is aganis the expresse word of God is unlawfull; but that the ministers of Christ should be involved and intangled with the effairs of this life, namelie, with civill policie, judicatories, and effairs of kingdoms, is aganis the express word of God; *Ergo*, To be thus involved (as by the conclusion of the Assemblie they must be, haveing laid such an office on them) is unlawfull.

The major proposition being unquestionable, the minor is taken out of the verie words of Paull, 2 Tim. ii. 4, "No man that warreth intangleth himself with the affairs of this life," &c. This being the maine thing, was largelie insisted upon, and many sentences of Scripture and testimonies of Fathers brought in to confirme the same, whilk were tedious to recite all of them; yit here take some of them. 1°. Ministers should not be abstracted from the preaching of the word and prayer; no not by imploying them in ecclesiasticall affairs, (Acts vi. 2, 4.) This being true in the Apostles, men eminentlie and extraordinarlie gifted with all the gifts of the Holie Ghost, what may be said of others? nor by imploying them in œconomick and naturall morall dueties, as a man to goe and burie his father, (Luke ix. 59, &c.); *Ergo*, Much less in the effairs of Parliament and state maters. Yea, further, seing ministers are separated and sett apart for the gospell as Paull speaks, Rom. i. 1, Therefore they are sett apart fra civill effairs to the preaching of the gospell, whilk should be done in season and out of season, that is, at all tymes, and to what end, but that they may please their

Captaine and Lord Jesus Christ, and won in als many soulls to his kingdome as possiblie they can, yea, and save their awin soulls, that they, by their negligence, be not guiltie of the blood of the soulls of their people concredit to them, according to that most grave, most worthie, and weightie exhortation given by the Apostle Paull to his scholler and fellow-labourer, 2 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, whilk, no doubt, appertains to all the ministers of the gospell.

2°. An other argument, that ministers should beare supremacie or domination, or be called Lords, is aganis the word of God; but this office given to them imports that; *Ergo*, &c. The proposition is from Christ's awin words, Mat. xx. 25, &c.; Mark x. 42, &c.; Luke xxii. 25, &c.; 1 Pet. v. 1, &c.

3°. Another argument, the confounding and jumbling of jurisdictions distinguished in the word of God, is contrare to the word of God, but the conclusion of the Assemblie in giveing vote in Parliament to ministers imports that; *Ergo*, The proposition is evident, 2 Chron. xix. last verse. The assumption was proven by Christ's practise. He would not be a king nor a judge, nor a divyder, and he commanded to give to Cæsar that whilk is Cæsar's, and to God that whilk was God's.

Yit, what throw shortnes of tyme, what throw unwillingnes to heare so pungent arguments, they were not insisted upon; but a grave and weightie speech and exhortation was given to the King's Majestie, telling him, that by small degrees the Pope of Rome was risen to that pride and preferment, that he inthroned and dethroned kings and emperours at his pleasure, beseeching him to beware to sett up such an hierarchie in this Kirk, because it was contrare to God's word and the Covenant, and he or his posteritie might smart for it, &c. (How truelie this propheticall exhortation is now verefied in his son, King Charles the First, the Bishops haveing been the direct cause of his ruine, is evidentlie cleare to all.)

In the nixt meeting they began againe where they left; and the ministers standing for the Reformed discipline of this Kirk, caused read that Act of Parliament whereby it was ordained that Ministers provyded by the King's Majestie to prelacies should be the third es-

tate of the kingdome, and have vote in Parliament. Against the tenor of the wholl Act they used many arguments; 1°. From testimonies of Scriptures; 2°. From naturall and commone reason, taken from the sayings of great and wise philosophers, and from our awin commone proverbs:—'Many yrons in the fire, part must coole,' and, 'A man of many crafts never uses to thryve;' joyning thereto the saying of good Queen Elizabeth, which commonelie she used when ever she was urged to make a good preacher a bishop: "Alace! for pitie, (said she,) for we have marred a good preacher to-day." And the King himself, at that same time, considdering the trueth of the mater, and how in mirrines, yit in modestie, all things were spoken, besought the Brethren there present that they should not consent to take any of his ministers to make them prelats.

Then also were given in, to corroborat their arguments, sundrie sayings of ancient Fathers, and of Neotoricks and canons of Councills; whereof thir are some:—Tertullian *de Idolatria*, cap. 18:—*Si potestatem nullam ne in suos exercuit Christus*, &c.; that is, If Christ exercised no authoritie or domination above his awin apostles, if he himself refused to be a king, being myndfull of his awin kingdome, then herein hes he given and laid down a platforme to all his disciples to cast them down from all hight, both of dignitie and power; for who should have used such formes rather than the Son of God; and yit who can shew me any tokens of his autoritie, or any gold to shyne upon his head, whereby he hes refuised this worldlie glorie, and hes forbidden it to his ministers, so he hes casten by such things as he would not take upon himself, and hes damned them; and such things as he damned in the pompe of the divill, he hes utterlie casten away.

Damasus *Concione ad Neocæsarienses et Antiochiæ*:—*Episcopi qui sæcularibus intenti curis, greges chorepiscopis vel vicariis commendant*, &c.; that is, Such bishops as are burdened and bussied with the cares of this life, and gives over the cares of their flocks to inferior bishops, or curats, or vicars, appears to me to be like harlotts, who so soone as they have born their bairns, gives them out to nurses to be brought up, that they may get their fowll lust the sooner sa-

tisfied againe: So thir men gives their bairns and flocks to be nurished by others, that they may fulfill their awin pleasures, and cast their care upon worldlie things, and doe that whilk their apetite leads unto, whereby many soulls are neglected, the sheep perisheth, and diseases groweth among them, schisms and heresies springs out. The Lord taught never such things to be done, neither did apostles institute them, &c. And fordward in a large discourse, and makes a comparison betwixt Jacob, who wes so good a sheepheard to his father-in-law Laban, who sustained the heat of the day and the cold of the night, that none of his sheep should be inlaiking, and thir negligent bishops, who cares not how many soulls perish, whilk are God's sheep; beseeching Christ Jesus, who gave his life for his sheep, to teach pastors to doe their duetie.

Primasius 2 *Ep. ad Tim. cap.* ii. 4:—*Comparatione militum utitur, ut ostendat nos a negotiis secularibus multo magis liberos debere esse*, &c., that is, The apostle useth the comparison taken from men of warre, that he might shew us that we ought much more to be freed from worldlie bussiness, that we may please Christ Jesus, seing worldlie souldiours draws themselves from other adoes into the world, that they may please their earthlie king and commander.

Bernardus *de Consider. lib.* ii. *cap.* 4, *ad Eugenium Papam.—Apostulus interdicitur dominatus, ergo, tu usurpare audes*, &c.; that is, All domination (and lordship) is forbidden to the apostles, how dares thou then usurp the same? The Lord gave them an apostleship, but forbade them domination; they are both taken from thee; and if thou would have both, thou shall losse both. And after that he sayeth, no man shall ever let me see where any of the apostles sat as judges to other men, or to sett in marches, or to divyde men's lands. To conclude, I read that they stood to be judged, but to have sitten doune and judged others I read not.

As for the testimonies of Neotericks, there were many brought in from Calvin, and Beza, &c. I will onlie relate one brought out of Peter Martyr his sermons upon the Gospell according to Luke, where he sayeth, *Distingui oportet*, &c.; that is, We must make a

distinction betuix the civill and ecclesiastick functions, because any one of thir requyrs a wholl man; yea, farther, scarcelie shall ye finde any man that can discharge any one of thir functions rightlie, everie one of thir callings haveing such difficulties into them.

As to the canons of Councills, thir are some few of the many that were given in:—1°. The 80 Canon called Apostolicall, and so reputed verie ancient, sayeth, We determine that a bishop or presbyter shall not involve himself in the publict affairs, but he shall attend and shew himself carefull in ecclesiasticall bussines; either doe this heartlie, or ye shall be deposed fra your calling. No man can serve tuo masters.

The fourth Synod, holden at Carthage, Canon 20:—Let not a bishop draw himself back to the cairs of his houshold effairs, but onlie give himself to reading and preaching of the word.

The sixth Generall Councill holden at Constantinople:—Ecclesiastick and politick eminencie are not competent to bishops; therefore, if any bishop, presbyter, or diacone, would have both principalitics, that is, the Roman and priestlie dignitie, let him be deposed; for we should give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.

The adverse partie standing for the Act of Parliament, and determination of the Assemblie following thereupon, granting ministers to be the third estate of the kingdome, and, therefore, thinking it meett that they should vote in Parliament, were desyred to bring forth such reasons as they had for the same. They insisted most upon tuo: 1°. *Evangelium non destruit politiam; atque hæc conclusio est pars politiæ*, that ministers shall have vote in Parliament; *ergo*, Our profession of the evangell destroyes not that part of the policie of the kingdome; but it may be easilie answered, that it is not the destruction of the policie to be simplie managed by politick men and seculare; 2°. *Ministri sunt cives et libera capita Reipublicæ;* Therefore, they should have their vote in making of their lawes to govern the commone wealth. To the whilk reasons it wes ansuered, That if the commone wealth be not governed according to God's word, the gospell is aganis that government; and as to the other

argument, albeit ministers be free citizens in a kingdome, or some part thereof, they need not vote in Parliament, because there are barrons and burgesses that alreadie votes for the bounds where any minister duells. Therefore, the ministers standing for the reformed discipline, asked some argument out of scripture, but there wes none given; onlie the other ministers did bring in great worldlie inconveniences, if this Act sett doune should not goe fordward. And the King's Majestie declared, that his purpose in that mater wes chieflie to releeve the ministers of the povertie and contempt they were into; and finding that there could be no agreement among them, brake up the meeting, and bade them blame themselves if they would not imbrace such a good offer; referring all maters to the nixt Assemblie, which was appoynted by the King absolutelie, (as a part of his prerogative royall,) to be holden at Montrose the 18th day of March 1600, and notified onlie by sound of trumpet at the mercat-crosse of Edinburgh, and other needfull places:—Whilk many good christians wondered at, seing the like was never practised before; and then the law was standing in force, never discharged, but rather confirmed by Act of Parliament, that the Generall Assemblies of the Kirk should be appoynted by the Kirk, and tyme and place nominat by the preceding Assemblie, with the King's Majestie's consent, or, in his absence, with consent of his Majestie's commissioners, when and where the succeeding Assemblie should meet. So when the tyme of this Assemblie came, the great mater herein handled, was to give answers to those Questions proponed at Dundie concerning him that should vote in Parliament in name of the Kirk.

At the sixty-fourth Assemblie, holden at Montrose, March 18, 1600, Mr Robert Wilkie, Moderator: The King present.

Inacted, that he who keeps not the presbytery weeklie, shall be suspended fra his ministrie, if he be a contemner of the ordour.

The erection of the new kirk of Stranrawer is ratified and approven.

The Assemblie recommends as a good and godlie work, the bigg-

ing of new kirks, and the erecting of new congregations, where the pariosh is so vast and large that the people cannot commodiouslie repair to their kirks alreadie builded.

Because many are non-communicants under pretext of deadlie fead and other frivolous excuses; therefore, each minister is to take diligent heed that everie one of his people communicat once a yeare, (who are not debarred,) the recusants to be dilated to his Majestie, that the Act aganis non-communicants may be executed aganis them; and if a pariosh want a minister, the presbyterie shall take ordour with the congregation, and the person charged to communicat shall have three moneths advysement, after which, the act to be execute aganis him. Because ministers were charged with letters of horning, before the Secret Councill, for executing the acts of the kirk aganis malefactors; the King promises no such letters should be directed aganis a minister in all tyme comeing, except the requyerer produce a testimoniall *de negata justitia.*

ARTICLES AGANIS PAPISTS, &c., TO BE GIVEN IN TO THE NIXT CONVENTION.

1°. That all Jesuits, and excommunicat Papists, be apprehended and keept in ward ay and whill they be converted or punished, according to the Acts of Parliament, or be banished the countrey.

2°. That their resetters and friends finde caution, under a pecuniall mulct, according to their abilitie, never to resett them againe.

3°. That they be charged to satisfie the Kirk within three moneths, under the paine of horning, and if they faill, that they be denounced, and after a year's rebellion, that their rents be intromitted with by the King's theasurer, and not disponed to any donator.

4°. That Huntley be charged to exhibit (according to his band) John Gordon of Newtoune, Patrik Butter, and Mr Alex. Leslie, that they may be committed, &c.

Forsamuch as diverse inconveniencies aryses daylie by the untymeous marieing of young and tender persons, before they come to the age meet for mariage, it is ordained, That no minister joyne in matrimonie any persons, except the man be fourteen

years of age, and the woman twelve compleit at the least. This to be desired to be ratified in the Convention.

The Generall Assemblie questions, If a blinde man may be a pastor of a congregation? and so, for this tyme onlie, gives Mr John Boyll, blinde, libertie to preach.

Because the mariage of persons convict of adulterie is a great allurement to the sin, thinking thereby to get divorcement, to crave an act of the Convention aganis it.

The particulars concerning vote in Parliament not yit determined, the commissioners beeing conveened at Falkland, gave their advise:—

1°. Concerning the choyseing of him who shall vote in Parliament, the Kirk shall nominat sixe for everie place vaiking, and the King shall choise one of the sixe, or if there be relevant exceptions aganis all the sixe; the Kirk shall name other sixe, out of which the King shall choise one, and no other but one of that number, and he that shall be thus chosen shall be admitted by the Synods.

2°. The Generall Assemblie shall have the nomination of him who in name of the Kirk shall vote in Parliament; Synods and Presbyteries shall direct their advise in writ thereanent to the Generall Assemblie, and the Synods have libertie to nominat a man alswell without as within the province; yet, *cæteris paribus*, one within the province to be preferred.

3°. As to his rent, that the kirks being provyded, schoolls and colledges not prejudged, the King shall give him all the rest of that benefice whereunto he is preferred.

4°. His name or style shall be commissioner of the Kirk fra such a place; if the Parliament be not content of that name, the Generall Assemblie shall conclude that question.

5°. Concerning his continuance in his office *ad vitam*, or *ad culpam*, or if for a short tyme, the commissioners of Synods being divyded in opinions, it is referred to the Assemblie's further consideration.

6°. As to the Caveats to keep him fra corruption who should

vote in Parliament; 1°. That he presume not to propone in name of the Kirk at Parliament, Councill, or Convention, without an express warrand and direction fra the Kirk, and that it be such a thing as is for the weall of the Kirk, under the paine of deposition; and in any thing that may be prejudiciall to the Kirk, he shall not keep silence, under the same paine. 2°. He shall give an account of all he hes done since the last Assemblie to the succeeding Assemblie, shall submitt himself to their censure without appellation, seekand ratification of his doeings at the Assemblie, under the paine of excommunication and infamie. 3°. He shall content himself with that part of his benefice whilk shall be allotted to him by his Majestie, not wronging or prejudging others, or kirks planted, or to be planted; and this clause to be insert in his provision. 4°. He shall not dilapidate any part of his benefice, nor make any disposition, or sett any tacks, without the consent of the King and Generall Assemblie, and for that effect he shall inhibit himself, and be content that inhibitions be raised to stay him from dilapidation. 5°. He shall attend on his particulare flock, and be subject to the censure of his Presbyterie and Provinciall Synod, alswell as any other minister that bears not any such commission. 6°. He shall usurpe no poynt of jurisdiction or autoritie in administration of discipline or ecclesiasticall governement further nor any other of the rest of his brethren, and that under the paine of deprivation; and after he hes presumed to doe any thing in the ecclesiasticall governement, if any impediment be made by the Presbyterie, Provinciall, or Generall Assemblie, whatsoever he does after that impediment to be null *ipso facto*, without any declarator. 7°. In Presbyteries, Provinciall, or Generall Assemblies, he shall be (as any other minister) subject to censure. 8°. At his admission he shall sweare and subscryve thir Caveats, with the certifications and penalties contained in them, otherwise not to be admitted. 9°. If he be deposed by the Generall Assemblie, Provinciall Assemblie, or Presbyterie, *ipso facto* he shall lose his vote in Parliament, and his benefice shall vaik. 10°. That the Kirk make further caveats from tyme to tyme, as they shall see fitt and finde occasion.

All whilk circumstances the Assemblie allowes, and desyres that they all, especiallie the Caveats, be insert in the bodie of the Act of Parliament that is to be made for confirmation of the Kirk's vote in Parliament, as most necessare and substantiall parts of the same.

Anent a supplication given in by the Presbyterie of Deare, makand mention, that Philorth had erected a colledge in Fraserburgh, and had agreed with Mr Charles Ferme to be both minister of the towne and master of the colledge, whilk Mr Charles refuises to accept, except he be commanded by the Generall Assemblie; wherefore, the Generall Assemblie (considdering the necessitie of the work, and the abilities of the man) ordains the said Mr Charles Ferholme[1] to undertake the said charges, and to await upon them.

The question anent the tyme of the commissioner who is to vote in Parliament: his remaining in his office is determined thus,—That *annuatim* he shall give an account to the Assemblie, and lay down his office at their feet, to be continued or altered as the Assemblie and King's Majestie shall judge most meet for the weal of the Kirk. The commissioner to vote in assembled Parliament is not to vote in the Generall Assemblie be vertue of that commission; but according as he hes a call from, and a commission granted to him by, his awin presbyterie.

It is found by the Assemblie that *crimen ambitus* shall be a sufficient cause of deprivation of him who shall have vote in Parliament.

It is ordained that none speak aganis this Act anent vote in Parliament, and that each intimat it out of pulpit.

Commissioners are appointed to attend the King, nine a quorum.

[1] Ferme, or Fairholme, was educated at the College of Edinburgh, under Rollock, and took his degree of Master of Arts in the year 1587, being the first class that graduated. Two years later he was chosen a Regent in the College, and he held this office till 1599, when he was translated to be minister of the parish, and Principal of the new College erected at Philorth or Fraserburgh, Aberdeenshire. The MS. of his Latin Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans having been recovered long after his decease, it was published at Edinburgh 1651, small 8vo., by Principal Adamson, (then aged 75,) who had been his companion at college, and who prefixed to it a brief notice of the Author.

Promittendo de rato, &c., they are to plant ministers in burghs, as now the south-west kirk in Edinburgh, vakand by the deceass of Mr Robert Rollock;[1] to present the greevances of this Assemblie to the nixt Convention; to receave their answers; to intertaine peace betwix his Majestie and the Kirk; to cognosce of any enormitie whereby the King is greeved; to see to the commone effairs of the Kirk; to advise with his Majestie anent the effectuating of a constant Platt, &c.

Mr Thomas Hope is admitted and sworn solicitor and advocat for the Kirk, in place of James Mowat, who dimitted the same office.

Visitation of Presbyteries is appoynted, giveand them power to plant and transplant, suspend and depose, and doe all that the Assemblie might doe, and to report their diligence; recommending especiallie Presbyteries far south and far north to be carefullie visited.

The nixt Assemblie is appoynted to hold at St Androes, the last Tuesday of Julie 1601.

Thus after the vote at Dundie concerning vote in Parliament, the generall and main question, whither ministers should have vote in Parliament, yea, or not, the King would never suffer to speak of it againe in open Assemblie, but the circumstances wes determined at Monros. Thus the King obtained his grand purpose in getting the ministers to be the third estate in Parliament, to vote in the place of bishops, abbots, and priors, as in tyme of Poperie: it was a prettie devyse to put men in an unlawfull and corrupt office, and then sett downe a number of caveatts (lyke Samson's half-burnt coards) to binde him to honestie, and to hold him from corruption. Here also observe two,—*Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare, et, Divide et regna.*—The King (as has been said) obtained a number of commissioners to attend him, whereof any nine to be a full number to determine any thing, but they behoved alwayes to be countable to, and censurable by, the nixt Generall Assemblie.

[1] This eminent divine died on the 8th of January 1598-9. He was the first Principal of the College of Edinburgh, and, at the same time, one of the eight ministers of the city.

In this meantyme, the King dispones three bishopricks to three of the commissioners: Rosse to Mr David Lindsay, minister at Leeth; Catnes to Mr George Gladstanes, minister at St Androes; and Aberdeen to Mr Peter Blackburn, then minister at Aberdeen; but they keept the mater so quyet, for feare of the censures of the Kirk, that they durst not profess any such purpose. Yit Mr Peter Blackburn, fearing that his mater should be discovered, came to Mr Patrick Simson, minister at Stirlin, and made this narrative to him,—That the King (who at that tyme was in Stirlin) had offered the bishoprick of Aberdeen to him, assureing him if he would not take it for his awin benefite and the benefite of his brethren, to provyde them better, he would dispone it to a courteour; and said, that he had advised with Masters Robert Bruce and Andro Melvill, and others, who were flatlie aganis the raiseing up of bishops in this Kirk, yit did they counsell him to take the benefice, and let the Generall Assemblie provyde kirks therewith, and also give him so much as they thought expedient, rather than put it into the hands of a courteour, who wold never quyt it againe. Mr Patrick Simson answered, My particulare judgment is too too weak to give you counsell in such a weightie bussines; but to-morrow is our Presbyterie day, ye shall doe well to come in to the Presbyterie, and crave the advise of them all; whilk he said he would doe. And comeing to-morrow, and relating this discourse to all the brethren, as is alreadie sett downe, after advisement and good deliberation, they pen an Act with his awin consent, that he shall accept of the benefice under this condition,—That he shall come to the nixt Generall Assemblie, and lay the benefice down at their feet, and be content to take so much thereof as the Assemblie should allow to his awin stipend after that all the kirks within the benefice were well provyded; whilk Act he promised to stand to, and subscryved the same willinglie, as the Presbyterie books may testifie. But the King heareing of this, knowing how obstructive it would prove to his purpose, sent for Bishop Blackburn at the nixt Assemblie, and stayed any resolution of that kynd to be put in execution.

Gowrie's conspiracie was August 5, being Tuesday.

At the sixty-fifth Assemblie, holden at Bruntiland, the 12 of Maie 1601, Mr Johne Hall, Moderator: The King present.

A great defection being sensiblie entered in this Kirk from the puritie, zeall, and practise of religion, the brethren first considdered the causes thereof, whilk are these:—

1°. The unreverent estimation of the gospell, sins of all estats, disgraceing the christian profession, makeing the Lord's name to be blasphemed among the profane world, without any remorse.

2°. The negligence of ministers in not discovering of apostats, and in not executing of lawes, and exerciseing discipline aganis them that are discovered.

3°. Want of pastors, many kirks not planted, many displanted through the diminution of the thirds, where they have been provyded.

4°. Places of chiefest importance not planted with sufficient pastors, chief burghs, the King's houss, disaffected noblemen's housses, and place of residence, Dumfries, &c.

5°. Too sudden admission of young men to the ministrie.

6°. Young men admitted become negligent in reading of the Scriptures and controversies of the times.

7°. Ministers not frameing their lives and conversations in gravitie, as patterns to the people; but at communications at tables, and in relation to intemperancie, and being light and prodigall in their abuilzements, and the garments of those of their families, frames themselves to the humores of men, and not to God's will.

8°. Division and distraction of mynds, whilk is supposed to be among the ministrie.

9°. The distraction of his Majestie's mynd, whilk is supposed to be from some not of the worst of the ministrie.

10°. The advanceing of men suspect in religion, and knowen to be evill affected to the cause of God, unto offices, honores, and credit in Court, Councill, and Session, and other rowms of great concernement.

11°. The desolation of Edinburgh through want of pastors.

12°. The constant residence and intertainment of avowed papists

in hir Majestie's court and companie, such as the Ladie Huntley and Margaret Wood, sister to the laird of Bonytoune, &c.

13°. The education of their Majestie's children in the companie of professed, avowed, and obstinate papists, such as the Ladie Livingstone, &c.

14°. The careles education of the children of noble men, heirs of great housses, the sending them out of the countrey, under the charge of pædagogues suspect in religion, or not well grounded therein, to be brought up in places where poperie is professed.

15°. The impunitie of skippers transporting hither Jesuits, priests, &c., under the name of passengers; bringing hither their coffers and books; and the impunitie of those that conveyes and scatters their books through the countrey.

16°. Decay of schoolls, and so of education of youth, for want of maintenance, especiallie in landwart.

17°. Men challenged of poperie, dureing the verie time of their process, hes accesse to Court.

18°. The late reconcealled popish Lords, Huntley, Angus, Erroll, are not urged to performe the conditions agreed upon at the tyme of their reconciliation with the Kirk.

REMEDIES OF THE FORMER EVILLS.

1°. A generall humiliation over the wholl land, and fast for the sins of the land and contempt of the gospell, to be keeped the two last Sabbaths of June, and all the week interveening, where an auditor may be had, as in towns.

2°. The planting of unplanted kirks can be recommended to none but to his Majestie, who onlie can doe it effectuallie; and that the thirds be keeped inteer.

3°. That the kirks of noble men's residence (especially suspected, disaffected, or popish) be planted with honest and able ministers, particularie Huntley, Angus, Erroll, Hoome, and Herress; and, in mean while, because their kirks cannot be provyded in an instant, nominats some choise brethren by tours to attend them, and the Presbyteries to supplie these brethren's places.

4°. His Majestie would be requested to account them, and let them be accounted, suspect of religion who dealls in favours of proffest traffecting papists, and that none such have the honour to be in his house, of his Court, upon his Councill, or one of the Session.

5°. That none be suffered to resort to Court who wants the Kirk's testimoniall of their obedience.

6°. That the names of all non-communicants through the wholl land be taken up in a roll, subscryvit by the minister respective of each pariosh where they are, and the moderator of the Presbyterie, and so sent to the King's ministers, that ordour may be taken with such enemies to religion.

7°. To try if the late reconcealled Lords hes performed all the conditions and articles subscryvit by them at their receaveing, and, if not, to be urged to performe their promise; and if they refuise, that the King's Majestie may be advertised by his ministers.

8°. That it be inacted by his Majestie and Councill, that noblemen send no pædagogues abroad with their sonns but such as have the Presbyterie's testimoniall of their positive and knowen affection to the cause of God, and who be pious in their life and conversation; that they remaine in places where the trueth is professed, at least where there is no restraint upon it by inquisition; that they finde caution that they shall haunt no idolatrous worship (such as masse) dureing their remaining abroad; that such as have not moyen and abilitie to send pædagogues with their sonns, be ordained to send them onlie to such places where the trew reformed religion is professed; and if their sonns obey not their counsell, that they finde caution not to send intertainment or money to their sonns; and if those youths come home papists, that they be disinherited and debarred from heritages, honours, places, or what ever otherwise they might have expected, and when their breiffs is served, that this shall be a relevant exception; and if parents transgress in any of thir things, that they shall incur such punishment as the King and Councill shall modifie; and such as are presentlie out of the countrey be reclamed and recalled to such a day as the Councill shall designe, or the parents to be lyable *ut supra*.

9°. That all skippers land at open ports, and ere they sett any on land, that all passingers be presented to the magistrats to be sighted and seen who they are, under the paine of escheting the ship, goods and geare, to his Majestie's use.

10°. The King promised to transport his awin daughter fra my Ladie Livingstone before Martinmas nixt.

11°. And because the not planting of kirks is a great cause of all the defection, the work of the constant Platt would be furthered; wherefore commissioners are presentlie named to conveen with some of his Majestie's Councill, and to lay downe grounds of, and overtures for, the furtherance thereof, and to report their diligence to the nixt Assemblie.

In respect of Mr John Craig his death, and Mr John Duncanson his great age, ministers are nominat at his Majestie's desire for his and the Queen's houss, and for the Prince,—Masters Henrie Blyth, John Fairfull, Peter Ewart, Andro Lamb, and Masters James Nicolson, James Law, and Johne Spotiswood.

It being moved by some, That there were some faults in the translation of the Bible, in the Paraphrase of the Psalms, and some Prayers not fitting to thir tymes, it is answered, That the Bible shall be parted among the brethren hes best skill of the originall tongues, and that they be carefull to correct what they can, and report their diligence to the nixt Assemblie; as for the Psalms, they are recommended to Mr Robert Pont; as for the Prayers, they will let them all stand; but any who will add any other prayers, let them offer them to the Assemblie, and being approven by the Assemblie, shall be also taken in.

Ministers of Edinburgh, Masters James Balfour, Walter Balcanquall, and William Watson, ordained to be transported, to be placed as the commissioners think fitt.

The commissioners of Edinburgh protested that the Towne be free of the burden of these ministers fra the tyme of their transportation, and that they may get them back againe when the King's Majestie and the Kirk shall judge it meet; whilk protestation wes admitted, and instruments taken thereupon.

It is appoynted, that the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie their proceedings be all examined in the beginning of the succeeding Assemblie, before any other mater be handled; and their proceedings, after tryell and deliberation, to be allowed or disallowed, as the Assemblie shall see cause and reasone.

Commission given in ample forme to about thirty ministers,[1] whereof nine a quorum, *promittendo de rato*, &c.; provyding the planting of the kirks of Edinburgh be with the advise of the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, according to former acts of the Kirk.

Visitation of all Presbyteries renewed, and the visitors to report their diligence to the nixt Assemblie.

The nixt Assemblie appoynted to be holden at St Androes, the last Tuesday of Julie 1602: But the prerogative royall (a small friend to the croune of Christ and libertie of his Kirk) changed both tyme and place; for the Assemblie wes prorogat fra Julie to November, and translated fra St Androes to Edinburgh: Yea, when they were mett in Edinburgh, the King would needs have the Assemblie sitting in his Palace of Haliroodhouse, where there never satt an Assemblie of the Kirk before.

At the sixty-sixth Assemblie, holden at Haliroodhouse, November 10, 1602, Mr Patrik Galloway, the King's awin minister, Moderator: the King personallie present. Ministers twenty-eight nominat to be on the Privie Conference.

Mr George Gladstanes appoynted to stay three moneths with Huntley, for conference, &c., confesses he stayed but three dayes: in poynt of conference, communion, planting of kirks, repairing to his pariosh kirk, returned no satisfactorie answer at all; as for example, anent the last, he keeped not his pariosh kirk, because the rest of the pariosh were mean folks; and his predecessors used to have a chappell of their awin, within their awin dwelling-place, whilk he wes mynded to repair for that effect.

These appoynted to confer with Erroll, reported, they had gotten full satisfaction in poynt of religion; 2°. Of his awin bene-

[1] See the list of names in Calderwood, p. 455.

volence had planted all his kirks: 3°. Wes readie to communicat at the first meet occasion.

These appoynted to conferr with the Earle of Angus had done nothing; Mr John Spotiswood, because he wes commanded to attend the Duke of Lennox in his ambassage to France; Mr James Law said, he could doe nothing because he wes alone; the brethren also reported much evill of the Earle's cariage and behaviour, and of his intertaining of papists. The Privie Conference is appoynted to advise what remeadie shall be used of this evill.

The brethren appoynted to confer with the Lords Hoome and Hereis excused themselves, that they could doe nothing because of their absence out of the countrey.

Because visitors of Presbyteries had not done diligence, it is ordained, that all who receaves a commission of the Assemblie shall, in face of the Assemblie, give their oath *de fideli administratione*, and return their diligence in writ to the Assemblie to be examined, otherwise to be censured.

That able men be appoynted for planting of kirks vaikand; that meet men be appoynted ministers to the Noblemen latelie receaved; and that the cautioners of such as are suspected in religion be straited, conforme to their band, according as they have broken.

Brethren are appoynted for three months to await on disaffected Noblemen, and the Presbyteries to cause supplie those brethren's places; and these brethren are to deall with these Noblemen according to these instructions.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE BRETHREN APPOINTED TO ATTEND UPON THE NOBLEMEN.

1°. Labour at all tymes by preaching, reading, and expounding of the word and conference, to instruct them in the grounds of true religion and godlines; and especiallie to confirm them in the trueth of poynts controverted.

2°. Catechize their families once or twice each day till they attaine some good reasonable measure of knowledge, and begin and close this exercise with prayer.

3°. Purge their families of prophane and scandalous persons, but especiallie of such as are suspect in religion or bussie traffecters.

4°. That all their kirks be provyded with stipends, and planted with able ministers, and that they hold hand to discipline, that it be well executed in their bounds.

5°. That at their dwelling-houses there be a good provision for honest and able pastors to be resident there.

6°. Extract the conditions they obliged themselves to performe, at their receaveing to the Covenant, and urge the performance of them all.

7°. Informe the King's Majestie from tyme to tyme, how they have profited, and of what disposition their companie is.

Visitors of presbyteries nominat, with an ample commission, ordaining them to doe diligence, as they will be answerable to God, and to report their diligence to the nixt Assemblie.

Overtures of commissioners for the Platt wes given in, and everie Synod got a coppie of them, to advise upon them, and to report their judgment.

GREEVANCES OF THE PROVINCIALL SYNOD OF FYFFE.

1°. Generall Assemblies are not keeped according to the Acts of Generall Assemblies and Parliaments, and necessities of the tyme; but their dyetts and places are altered, without the knowledge of Presbyteries or Synods.

2°. Ministers, *in prima instantia*, are brought before the Councill for doctrine and discipline: A great encouragement to enemies, discouragement to friends.

3°. All applications in presbyteriall exercises are condemned, under pretext of an act; let it therefore be revised and interpreted.

4°. The government of the chief maters of the Kirk continues in the hands of a few, under the name of a commission, to the prejudice of the libertie of Presbyteries and Synods.

5°. Doctors who beare calling in the Kirk are debarred fra our Assemblies by our discipline, at least as it is in use.

6°. No tryell hath been taken as yet anent the cautions sett

downe, for avoyding of corruption in the commissioners votters in Parliament.

7°. That the absence of the pastors of Edinburgh, the chief watch-towre of this Kirk, and the alteration of the ministers thereof, does much prejudge the cause of God, and encourages enemies.

8°. That there is entered in a distraction of opinions, far differing fra that harmonie of hearts whilk hes been in this Kirk before tyme in weightie causes: And there is too little deliberation and reasoning had, whereby conclusions passe, almost the one half of the Assemblie gainsaying.

9°. The land is defyled and the Kirk endamnaged by the French Ambassadour's masse.

10°. Excommunicat persons are suffered to converse with others publictlie and peacablie.

11°. The Noblemen latelie relaxed from excommunication, gives no token of the profession of the trueth, but rather the contrare.

12°. That apprehended papists, their directions and letters, are concealled, and the danger thereby imminent to the Kirk is keept up, and not communicat to the watchmen, whereby they might make faithfull warning, and so prevent the perrill.

13°. The discipline of the Kirk aganis murther, incest, adulterie, is not used with that holie severitie that becometh, notwithstanding of their remissions.

14°. The remedies sett downe at diverss tymes, aganis evills and apprehended dangers, are not prosecuted.

Non-communicants are to be forewarned three moneths before the dyet of the communion, and then if they refuise, their names to be given to the King by his ministers, that the Acts of Parliament may be execut upon them.

The King declared that he would discharge his Secretarie to subscryve any licence to any noble or gentlemen's sons to go out of the countrey, except they fand caution to performe the Act of the former Assemblie.

THE FORME OF THE TRYELL OF PRESBYTERIES, WHILK MAY BE MADE USE OF AT VISITATION OF KIRKS.

Edicts shalbe served in due tyme, that they may be duelie executed, reported, and indorsed, to the visitors at the first dyet of their meeting; it should be done by some other nor the minister of the place, and the Presbyteries would be acquainted at least twenty dayes before the visitation.

THE FORME OF THE EDICT.

The Presbyterie of A. B., to our wel-beloved brother, Mr T. R., minister at C., christian salutation: For so much as we have appoynted a Visitation of the kirk of D., upon Tuesday the day of Maie, for trying of the estate of that kirk, herefore, we requyre yow that ye make due intimation of the said visitation to all the parioshiners conveened on the Lord's day preceding the day foresaid: and that ye charge them all, in the name of God, to be present the said day about the nynt houre in the forenoone, that by them, and especiallie by the session thereof, the estate of that kirk may be made knowen, things amisse may be redressed, and God may be honoured, and the well of the said kirk may be procured: The whilk to doe we committ to you, &c.

Try first the estate of everie minister particularlie, thereafter the estate of the congregations and countrey; and, lastlie, the estate of the Presbyterie in generall.

THE PARTICULAR TRYELL OF PASTORS.

In his graces and abilities to discharge his calling; in his furniture of books and necessarie helps; with what fidelitie, prudence, and impartialitie he discharges himself in doctrine and discipline, and in his life and conversation; and for this effect to inquyre,—

1°. Of the commissioners of his congregation, what testimonie he hes of his awin session and remanent of his flock, and in speciall, if he be resident upon his manse and gleeb; if his life and

governement of his familie gives offence, or edifies the flock; whither everie Sabbath he teaches once or twise; if he hes any week exercise; if he administrats the communion, and how oft in the yeare, and if with due examinations preceding; if he have an established session, consisting of elders and deacons; if he keeps a weeklie convention with his session for the exercise of discipline; if he catechizes weeklie a part of his pariosh; if he keeps an ordinare visitation of some families of his congregation weeklie; if he visits the sick and distrest when occasion requyres; if he be carefull to remove all variances and discords out of the pariosh.

2°. Let him (if need be) be tryed by the opening up of some place of scripture prescryved to him, and by questions propounded to him.

3°. Let it be inquyred of him what helps he hes for the advancement of his studies; if he have the text of scripture in the originall languages; if he be seen in the tongues; if he have Tremellius his translation of the Old Testament, and Beza's of the New, with the vulgar Inglish translation; if he have the Common Places; if he have the Ecclesiasticall historie; what Commentaries on the Scriptures, and what, in particulare, upon his ordinarie text; if he have the Acts of the Councill of Trent, and what writters of the Controversies of religion; if he uses conference with brethren for resolution in the doubts whilk occurs to him in his reading, and with whom; if he hes an ordinare course of reading the Holie Scriptures, Ecclesiasticall historie, and Controversies; if he makes any memoriall of his travells in writ, what is his ordinare text.

4°. If he be provyded in title of the parsonage or vicarage; and if he have sett any tacks thereof, to whom, and on what condition; in whose hands are the rents of his kirk, and what is his best overture that he can give for provision of a stipend thereat in case it be not alreadie sufficientlie provyded.

5°. Sight the session book carefullie.

The Brother visited beand removed, let the wholl Presbyterie be inquyred one by one, and declare, upon their conscience, what they know anent his graces, fidelitie in doctrine and discipline, and

anent his life and conversation; after the whilk tryell, let him be judged, and either allowed, or admonished, or otherwise censured, as the cause requyres.

THE TRYELL OF THE CONGREGATIONS.

Try everie Minister particularlie if there be any jesuits, papists, seminarie priests, traffecters aganis the estate of religion and reformation, and quyetnes of the countrey within their congregation, or any resetters of such; if there be any witches excommunicats, contraveeners of the discipline of the Kirk; if there be any superstitious dayes keept, as by setting out of fyres or otherwise; if there be any superstitious places of pilgrimages, wells, or chappells; if there be any non-communicants; if there be homicides or deadlie feads; if there be any adulterous or incestuous persons; if the Sabbath be profaned by keeping of mercatts, or any sort of labouring, speciallie in harvest and seed tyme. And as the Visitors finds in the premisses to take ordoure for reformation of the poynts foresaid, or any part thereof.

THE TRYELL OF THE PRESBYTERIE.

Let the Moderator be inquyred if they keep their ordinare conventions; if they have their monethlie discourse upon a common controverted head, and disputations; if they did visit the wholl kirks within their bounds since the last generall visitation; if they take weeklie and monethlie account of their brethren's diligence in the discharge of their duetie by catechizing and visiting of families; also, if there be any of their number that be insolent, and will not acquiesce to the determination of his brethren; if there be any discord, variance, or division among the brethren; what unplanted or unprovyded kirks are within their bounds, &c.

Whilk forme of Visitation the Assemblie ratifies and approves, ordaining it to be universallie observed in all tyme comeing in all visitations within this realme, and ordains the power and commission of the visitors to be directed conforme to the Acts of the Generall Assemblie.

ANSWERES TO THE GREEVANCES OF THE SYNOD OF FYFFE.

1°. Finds that the Generall Assemblie should be appoynted and keeped according to the Act of Parliament, holden at Edinburgh, Junij 5, 1592, ratifieing and approveing the Generall Assemblies of this Kirk; and that they meet at least once a year, and oftener, *pro re nata;* and that the Generall Assemblie appoynt tyme and place of the nixt Assemblie, with the advise of the King, and, in his absence, of his commissioners; and if neither the King nor any commissioner of his be present in the Assemblie, the Assemblie hes power to appoint time and place of the nixt Assemblie, as they have been in use thir tymes bypast.

2°. If his Majestie will observe his awin declaration, made and inacted at Dundie, 1597, sess. 10, the desyre of the two articles is satisfied.

3°. Application of the generall uses contained in God's word cannot be forbidden, as this doctrine serves for refutation of such an errour, rebooking of such a vyce, comforting a persone in such a case, &c.; but as for applications, particulare and personall, let it be advised by all presbyteries whither it shall be or not, and how farre, if it shalbe, and their advise, with their reasons, returned to the nixt Assemblie; and in mean time, no innovation to be used in relation to personall applications.

4°. Let no commissions (fra this forth) be given but according to the Acts of Generall Assemblies.

5°. Doctors may voyce in Assemblies, they having a lawfull commission for that effect, as is declared in the fiftieth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, Maie 10, 1586, page 75[109].

6°. Let the Caveatts in all tyme comeing be punctually and preceislie looked to and observed.

7°. Answered in the Assemblie.

8°. Ordains nothing to be concluded in Assemblies, except it be reassoned and deliberated upon sufficientlie.

9°. Acquiesces in his Majestie's declaration, as Mr Walter Balcanquall will declare.

10°. Let their names be given up, and ordour shall be taken with them preciselie.

11°. Concluded in the Assemblie.

12°. Acquiesces in his Majestie's declaration, who hes promised also to acquaint the Presbyteries as occasion shall requyre.

13°. Let greatter diligence be used.

14°. Let all things be amended, on all hands, in all tymes comeing, according to the Acts of Assemblies.

Thir answers are allowed by the Assemblie, and ordained to be insert in the Kirk's Register.

For the publict affairs and weall of the kirk of God; for giveing advise to his Majestie; for holding forth the enemies of the Kirk; for planting kirks in burghs wanting pastors; for cognosceing and judging of any greevance his Majestie hath against any minister; commission and full power is given to about thirty nominat in the Assemblie, or any nine of them, *promittendo de rato*, &c.

Inacted against all sort of profaneing the Lord's day by any sort of work; recommending to the commissioners to sute of the King's Majestie a pecuniall mulct to be exacted of contraveeners.

Seing pensions are daylie given out of the Thirds wherewith kirks should be provyded, that his Majestie would retreat pensions given, and stay all further giveing of pensions in all tyme comeing. This his Majestie most willinglie granted and promised to doe.

The Assemblie nominats a number out of whilk his Majestie should make choise of such as he should present to benefices vakand, adjoyning them to the brethren commissioners of provinces conveened at Haliroodhouse, October 15, 1600 years.

Mr Robert Bruce being banished, and the King haveing conceaved a wrath aganis him, because of his cariage in relation to Gowrie's Conspiracie, August 5, 1600, the Moderator requesting the King, in name of the wholl Assemblie, that he would toward the said Mr Robert relent in his wrath. The King answered, Mr Robert his cariage should effectuat what they would. Mr Robert wrot a letter to the King, wherein he promises to thank God for all the King's Majestie's delyveries from his cradle; and, par-

ticularlie, from Gowrie's Conspiracie, August 5, and promises to stirre up the people to the same duetie, and to divert them so far as in him lyes from uncharitable constructions anent the King's actions in that particulare.

The Assemblie ordains the 5 day of August to be keeped through this wholl kingdome yearlie, both in burgh and landwart, by exhortation to the people, and blessing God for the King's Majestie's delyverance fra the conspiracie of umquhill Johne Earle of Gowrie and his brother; and that when the 5 day of August falls on a week-day, intimation of it shalbe made the Sabbath immediatlie preceeding. His Majestie in mean while promiseing to cause restrain ryotous drunkennes and other wickednes on that day.

The Assemblie ratifies the North pariosh of Leeth, erected by the Presbyterie of Edinburgh and Provinciall Synod of Lothian; also the erection of the pariosh of the Ferrie of Scottiscraig, made by the Presbyterie of St Androes and Provinciall Synod of Fyffe.

Alexander Earle of Linlithgow gave in a supplication, regraiting that his Ladie Dame Helenor Hay had not obeyit what wes injoyned hir at the tyme of hir relaxation from excommunication, so that he saw nothing but that she deserved to be excommunicat againe; and seing he resolved to abyde constantlie with the trueth, and to doe what he could for hir reclameing, he intreated that he might be pitied in spairing of hir, whom he could not forgoe or quyt, being his married wife. The Assemblie resolves to superseed hir excommunication till the nixt Assemblie, provyding the King's daughter be taken out of hir companie; papists haunt not that house; that she be catechized in the true religion; and that his Lordship cause deall with hir at all tymes carefullie for hir conversion.

That the licence granted to beneficed persons to sett tacks be restrained either to a liferent tack, or to a nineteen yeare tack allanerlie.

Brethren being sett apart to considder of dangers appeareing to religion, and the remedies thereof, finds one of the greatest dangers is fra malitious miscontent restles Papists; that perceaveing themselves out of hope to prevaill with the King, and that they are

troubled in their estates, and turned out of honours, and that they now must live under the obedience of lawes otherwise nor they were wont, ceasses not with their associates, men of broken estates, to interpryze the alteration of governement.

For remedie whereof, the King must be informed that thir ungodlie plotts are to be prevented by his care and foresight, and so frustrated. The ministers are to perswade the subjects of the King's true mind to religion, and reformation, and justice, seing he acknowledges his standing and falling to be conjoyned with the standing and falling of religion, and that they mark carefullie men's cariage, especiallie those who, being in necessitie, mislykes the present governement, and inclynes into novation. And when they perceave any extraordinare bussines or stirring by their custome, to acquaint his Majestie's ministers therewith, labouring in mean tyme to bring them to a quyet mynd; and for this effect, in all meetings, sessionall, presbyteriall, provinciall, diligent and privat inquisition be made relating to this point, and when any thing is found, that the King's ministers be advertised with all possible expedition: and that the King's ministers, and such as are about the King, informe the presbyteries of all that is needfull to be revealled for the weal of the cause of God.

The nixt Assemblie is appoynted to be at Aberdeen, the last Tuesday of Julie 1604 years.

At this Assemblie at Haliroodhousse, many meetings were appointed, to reassone over againe severall things alreadie concluded, that they may be more exactlie tryed; yit in end nothing was altered, upon the King's declaration that he aimed at nothing but God's glorie and the weal of this reformed Kirk, and to have the ministers thereof in better case; for he professed he saw no safetie to religion, himself, his estate, and the countrey, but onlie by his sincere profession of the trueth taught in this kingdome, and subverting of all contrarie professions, and by right and impartiale execution of justice, whilk he promised, by God's grace, to doe better in tyme comeing nor he had formerlie done: For this the Assemblie gave thanks to God.

But before the nixt Assemblie, appoynted to be [at] Aberdeen, 1604, Queen Elizabeth, that good Queen of Ingland, died March 24, 1603; and our King was sent for to be King of Ingland, as being hir righteous air, and also she had so ordained in hir latter will, so that the Councill of Ingland proclamed our King openlie James the Sixt, King of Scotland, to be also James the First, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. This I mention to let it be seen how easilie, by the blessing of God, our King, if he had pleased, might have brought the Prelaticall governement of that Kirk of Ingland (whilk was so well and so fullie, and with such irrefragable reasone, abolished and put out of this our Kirk of Scotland) to this our governement, by Sessions, Presbyteries, and Assemblies, considdering that all the well-affected in Ingland both looked and longed for it; as also Doctor Bancroft, then Bishop of London, who had written a book aganis our King, preassing to prove that he had no right to the Crown of Ingland, doubtles for his part would have been content to have altered the governament Prelaticall to Presbyteriall (wherein he knew the King was brought up and well instructed) if the King would have pardoned him the treason, and spared his life; as also the King knew that Mr John Davidson (who was an eager opposit to prelacie) had written an answere to that book, establishing the King's right and title to the Crowne of Ingland: and yit the King both spared his life, and also stood for the maintenance of Prelaticall governement, and all the rabble of Popish ceremonies and rites depending thereon, preassing continuallie to bring this Kirk of Scotland backward to them, (a prelude whereof wes vote in Parliament so eagerlie gone about by the King,) but never endeavouring to bring them in Ingland fordward to us, and to a further reformation, (whereunto he wes counselled by some of the good nobilitie of Ingland, because they heard the King confesse, that in all Scotland there durst not be one professed and avowed papist, by reasone that the discipline of that Kirk took such exact and precise ordour with them;) as ye shall heare, God willing, and know by the course and dealling used aganis the Kirk of Scotland, when now he was (by almost all

men's expectation) peaceablie sett down King of Ingland and Ireland. Yit to the effectuating of that good purpose of reduceing Ingland to Presbyteriall governement, means were essayed, and the sincerest pastors and professors of the trueth of God in both kingdoms, opposit to Prelaticall governement, made all the help they could. And therefore, so soon as some of the sincerest ministers in Ingland perceaved, at his very first comeing into Ingland, how his Majestie inclyned to the bishops, and countenanced them, and how he looked down upon and discountenanced their opposits, they brak their hearts, makeing an heavie regrait that they were so far disappointed of their expectation; yit haveing some hope that the King who was so well educated, and understood so perfitelie the great good that the established discipline of the Kirk of Scotland had wrought, there were sundrie treatises and books sett out aganis prelacie and prelates; which inraged the King, affirmeing that there was none who would owne or durst avow them (for they came out *ἀνονυμοι*, without the authors names,) and, therefore, he said he regarded them not; whilk caused an aged gentleman, called Thomas Whitinhall, Esquier, well versed in Scriptures and in ancient writters, to sett out a treatise in print,[1] putting his name thereto, wherein he proved the unlawfulnes of that hierarchie of bishops in Ingland, who also had, for his opposition to them and maintenance of the trueth, suffered great troubles in the tyme of Queen Marie's reigne. This treatise he put in the King's awin hand, but when the King understood what the subject of the book was, he putt it in the Bishop of Canterburrie's hand, desyreing him to peruse it. But the gentleman, for his reward, was imprisoned, and detained in prison till he fell in great sicknes; and then being both verie old and heavilie diseased, he was upon great moyen and solistation inlarged, but verie shortlie after he departed this life.

But to our Historie againe: The first and principall thing that the

[1] This treatise was probably carefully suppressed. I cannot, at least, find it mentioned in any catalogue or work treating of such subjects. In one MS. the name is Whytehall, in another Wytenhall.

King indeavoured, was to make an Union betuix the two Kingdoms of Scotland and Ingland, alwayes provyded it were without prejudice to either of the two Kingdoms, in kirk or policie. For, at his Majestie's goeing up to Ingland, he openlie protested, in the great kirk of Edinburgh, that now he was leaving the Kirk of Scotland peaceable, and the kingdome in a quyet condition, and was not mynded to make any alteration, either in kirk or policie. And thus in his going towards Berwick, some ministers came out of their housses to salute him by the way, praying for a blessing upon his Majestie's great preferment: He knew the men, and thanked them, recommending to them a care of the peace of the Kirk, assureing them that he was not mynded to make any alteration in the estate of this Kirk, and, therefore, willed them to notifie the samyne to their brethren.

When the King was come to Ingland, and Queen Elizabeth was buried, he caused a proclamation to be made, that a Parliament should be holden in Scotland in Aprile 1604; like as there was a Parliament indicted to Ingland at that same tyme, to treat of the Union of both the kingdoms. And because it had ever been the custome, that the Generall Assemblie of this Kirk did meet either before the Parliament, or at the tyme thereof, the Provinciall Assemblies of the whole realme meeting before that, at their ordinar dyet, nominat their commissioners to await on that Parliament; who comeing to Edinburgh, and meeting with the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, two of the said commissioners being latelie come from court, they earnestlie sought that a Generall Assemblie (according to the laudable and profitable custome) might be holden, wherein the matters of the Kirk might now be looked into, when all other estates and incorporations of both kingdoms, at this necessarie nick of tyme, were looking carefullie into their priviledges and liberties. The commissioners newlie come from his Majestie, with the advise of some others of the commissioners, told the brethren of the ministrie, that his Majestie was petitioned by them, that there might be a Generall Assemblie at so necessarie a tyme: but the King replyed, that it was not needfull, seeing there

would nothing be done in this Parliament, but onlie commissioners chosen to treat of the Union; but when the due tyme came, they should have a Generall Assemblie, if they behaved themselves peaceablie. Whereupon the ministers being once resolved to give in a protestation to the Parliament; yit did it not, hopeing for better afterwards; onlie the commissioners sent from the Provinciall Synods, gave in some articles to the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie there conveened: admonishing, yea and chargeing them, as they should answer to Jesus Christ, the Head and Governor of his Kirk, to considder these articles, and to stand for the libertie of this our Kirk of Scotland in such a needfull time; especiallie to see that no man voted in Parliament in name of our Kirk, but they who had commission and direction for that effect fra the Kirk, that is, from the Generall Assemblie, the representative of the Kirk; or if that could not be had, from their Provinciall Assemblies, certifieing them who should doe in the contrare, they would be accounted enemies to the Gospell of Jesus Christ, and censured before their ordinar judge.

This Parliament rydeing, (as the forme was,) the Earle of Montrose being viceroy, or his Majestie's grand commissioner, two ministers, Mr David Lindesay, minister at Leith, and Mr Johne Spotiswood his son-in-law, minister at Glasgow, did ryde in Parliament as commissioners fra the Kirk, albeit they had no speciall commission given to them. Litle or nothing being done at this Parliament, it wes prorogat and adjourneyed to the moneth of Julie ensueing, and sat in Perth because of the pestilence that was in Edinburgh.

At Perth the Parliament did not ryde, and there was but few of the ancient nobilitie present; yit they who were present, desyred the Parliament, by the mouth of the Earle of Montrose, to make an act, that this intended Union should no wayes prejudge the liberties of the Kirk of Scotland; but that all their liberties should be ratified, both for the true doctrine and discipline thereof, as it was presentlie professed and exercised within the same; whilk, by word, wes condescended into, and a minut thereof putt in writ.

This wes almost all that wes done at that Parliament for our Kirk; and indeed, nothing more could be done, in respect of the great number of new made Earles and Lords, a great wrack to the kingdome and ruine to men's estates, but a way how a King (by his creatures, as they speak) may have many votes in Parliament at his command. And the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, who knew the King's mynd in all thir maters that concerned the Kirk, were also lètts that no more could be gotten done at this tyme for the Kirk.

Now the tyme was approaching when the Generall Assemblie should have mett at Aberdeen, whilk wes appoynted by the King's awin consent to be holden the last Tuesday of Julie, 1604; yit before the day came, the King sent down sundrie articles in writ, both to the Councill and commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, (for now the countrey began to be guyded by directions of articles from Court:) The article concerning this Kirk was, that the Assemblie appoynted to be holden at Aberdene, in this present moneth of Julie, should not be keept, neither any other dyet appoynted, till the Union were concluded, and then his Majestie should declare his will (according to his prerogative royal) when and where the Generall Assemblie should be conveened.

This article being notified to sundrie Presbyteries, the Presbyterie of St Androes, reasoning the mater among themselves, does conclude, that it wes both expedient and also necessare for the right discharge of their consciences, and duetie to God and his Kirk, that they should send their commissioners to keep the said Assemblie; and, therefore, did nominat three of their brethren who went to Aberdeen, and finding verie few ministers there before them, took them and two notars witnesses in forme of an instrument, that they had done their duetie; by this doeing, they convinced the consciences of ministers dwelling neare to Aberdeen, who had not such a regard as they had to keep the Kirk of God in hir ancient and godlie libertie, so well warranted by God's word, by the lawes of the nation, and by a constant uninterrupted practise ever since the Reformation of Religion; especiallie, considdering that the dyet and

place of that Assemblie was sett downe by the last Generall Assemblie holden at Haliroodhouse, with the King's awin consent, then, and there personallie present. The brethren of St Androes presbyterie comeing back againe from Aberdeen, declared on the nixt presbyterie day what they had done, and were commended and approven by the presbyterie in that whilk they did. The brethren of the ministerie in the North, considdering in their severall presbyteries the care that other ministers had to retaine the Kirk in her liberties, agreed to send their commissioners from their Provinciall Synod to be holden at Aberdeen in August nixt, to all the Provinciall Assemblies in the countrey, desireing them to send their commissioners to the Synod of Fyffe, to be holden in St Androes in September following, there to advise in common what wes the way to get a Generall Assemblie keeped, and how to get the insolencie of Papists repressed, &c. Whilk dyet wes solemnlie keeped in St Androes, both by ministers and ruleing elders, commissioners from diverse provinces. There was the Laird of Lawrestoun,[1] being now made his Majestie's commissioner in kirk affaires, reddie with letters fra the Councill to discharge that meeting, if so be they held it as a Generall Assemblie: But when they assured him of the contrare, and declared to him the expediencie and necessitie of that meeting, it being also their ordinarie tyme, he acquiesced. And when they began to speak how a Generall Assemblie might be obtained with his Majestie's license and consent, and reassoned also the warrands that God's Kirk had for hir meetings, albeit (as God forbid) they had had a King contrarie mynded; concluded, that it wes expedient that some new dyet wes to be sett downe for a Generall Assemblie, and the King to be petitioned to consent to the samyne, and all provinces to be warned thereto. Yit Lawrestoun intreated them not to doe so, seeing there was a better way to get their intent, and that wes, that that meeting should writ to all the Presbyteries and Synods, to send their commissioners to Perth the last Tuesday of October following, where the commissioners of the

[1] Sir Alexander Stratoun of Lauriston, Knight.

Generall Assemblie should be present, and he himself also should be there; and after conclusion taken, he promised faithfullie to deall with his Majestie, that a Generall Assemblie might be obtained to their contentment. This meeting was solemnlie keeped at Perth, at the which many and great greevances were given in, especiallie aganis the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, because they took upon them the wholl governement of the Kirk; were letts and stayes that a Generall Assemblie could not be obtained; because that in it they that voted in Parliament without a commission from the Kirk behooved to be censured. The commissioners of the Generall Assemblie inraged at this, (so many of them as fand themselves culpable,) answered verie uncharitablie, and in great pryde and rage said, If ye look to gett a Generall Assemblie without us, essay it. This prelaticall, proud, tyrannicall speech, flowing from ryders and voters in Parliament and their abbettors, does evidence when my Lord Bishop exyled began to return fra his banishment out of this Kirk. The Brethren assembled, perceaving that no good wes liklie to be done, departed homewards with sad hearts, sundrie of them. Then Lawrestoun, his Majestie's commissioner, preassing to pacifie the mater, besought the Brethren to concurre and advyse what petitions they would send up to the King, and he should present them, and promised to deall faithfullie to get them contented; for he wes presentlie to enter to his journey, and he should shortlie bring back his Majestie's good answer to them: So thir four Articles were agreed upon, and sent up to Court at that tyme.

1°. Craveing a Generall Assemblie to be keeped, without his Majestie's offence, according to the Acts of Parliament, and constant custome of this Kirk; 2°. That ordour might be taken with Papists, and contemners of Kirk-discipline; 3°. That godlie and faithfull brethren in England, vexed by the bishops, might finde favour with his Majestie, and be reponed to their offices and liveings; 4°. That brethren unprovyded, and who were impared at the last modification, might be helped at this year's Platt: but no answere was returned from the King that yeare.

Therefore, in the moneth of March 1605, a godlie brother, Mr John Forbes,[1] by the advyse of the Provinciall Synods in the north, and haveing the advise also of some of the Secret Councill, was sent in commission to the King's Majestie; which commission was well accepted of, and answers returned both to the Councill and Ministrie, declareing, that he was no wayes mynded to alter any established ordour in our Kirk; but as he had been born and brought up therin, he would maintaine the liberties thereof; and, therefore, had declared his will to his Commissioner for keeping of a Generall Assemblie; likeas, he had given direction to his Councill, to take strict ordour with all Papists, or others that committs any enormities aganis the lawes, &c.

At Mr John Forbes his back comeing, Lawrestoun, and the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, had written letters to all Presbyteries, that they should send their commissioners to keep a Generall Assemblie at Aberdeen, the 2d day of Julie following in that instant yeare 1605, and in some letters, (the better to conveen the Assemblie!) the 5th day of July was written; whereby it came to pass, that diverse ministers keeped the second day, and many being letted by tempestuous weather, came not; others, as the *leger-du-maine* letters dated it, keeped the fyft day, but fand that, ere they came, the Assemblie was dissolved on the secund day, and that upon this occasion, the Laird of Lawrestoun, the King's Majestie's commissioner, perceaveing a few number of ministers mett together, talked with them, and told them, that he had letters to charge them (be vertue of the King's prerogative royall) not to meet at that tyme. To the whilk Mr John Forbes, in name of the rest, answered, That it would not be well done so to doe, seeing the King's Majestie and Councill, and his Lordship, with advise of the commission of the Kirk, had appoynted that day and dyet for that Generall Assemblie; but seeing there were so few conveened, it should be best for the brethren to meet, and onlie prorogat the Assemblie to a new dyett. To the whilk overture Lawrestoun agreeing, they con-

[1] Minister of Alford, in Aberdeenshire.

veen, and by the votes of the brethren, and the King's Majestie's commissioner his vote, Mr John Forbes is chosen Moderator, and Mr John Sharp scribe. The prayer being ended, (there was no sermon, because Mr Patrik Galloway, Moderator of the last Assemblie, was absent,) they declare to the King's commissioner, that they would handle no affaires, but onlie prorogat the Assemblie with his advise to a new dyet; whilk they thought meet should be in August following. But he considdering that this doeing wes aganis the Councill's charge, sends for an officer of airms, and charges them to desist from keeping that assemblie under the paine of horning; they againe, so soon as they were charged, took instruments in the officer's hand, (who also wes a notare,) that they obeyed, but he would give them no instrument; whereupon they instantlie dissolved, and went to the common clerk's chalmer in Aberdeen, and there took instruments of their obedience, so soon as ever they were charged. This being done, they sent away some brethren with all expedition to inform the Secret Councill of their obedience; yit Lawrestoun had preveened them, and said, that he had charged them openlie at the mercat-cross of Aberdeen, the night before, not to conveen; but he could produce no witnesses of that charge. The Councill, the nixt day, conveened more airlie nor they wont to doe, and, before many of the Lords of the Councill came, they who were present concluded to putt all these ministers who were conveened in Aberdeen to the horne; but after reassoning of the mater that wes stayed. And the Councill hearing that Mr John Forbes and Mr John Welsh were in Edinburgh, sent for them, and after some questions propounded and answered ingeniouslie and plainlie, the Councill ordained them to be detained in the castle of Edinburgh for that night, and upon the morrow were carried to the castle of Blacknes, and there warded till his Majestie's will should be further knowen. After this, all the rest almost that keeped that Assemblie of Aberdeen were summoned before the Councill, October 24, and were all convict of disobedience to his Majestie's charge, haveing declyned the Councill as their judges; and, therefore, were ordained to enter their persons in sundrie castells and ward-houses. Subscryvers of

the Declinature, October 24, 1605, were Mr John Forbes, Mr John Welsche, Mr John Munro, Mr Andro Duncan, Mr Alexander Strachan, Mr James Greig, Mr William Forbes, Mr Robert Youngstoun, Mr Nathanael Inglis, Mr Charles Ferme, Mr James Irving, Mr John Sharp, Mr Robert Durie, John Rosse.

Some of thir were putt in Blacknes, some in the castell of Stirlin, some in the castell of Doun; but the Councill spared some of the ministers who excused their doing, and said, that they were sorie for their doeing. Who being sent home to their awin housses, one of them being at home, and considdering with himself that his brethren who were warded had stood better to the cause of Christ nor he, being troubled in his mynd, past of his awin accord to the Secret Councill againe,[1] and professed, that he wes troubled in his mynde for his answere that he had given their Lordships, and affirmed boldlie that none of them had done any thing for whilk they could have been said justlie to have offended either the King or their Lordships, in keeping of that meeting. Whilk answer made the Lords to send him to the castle of Stirlin to beare his brethren companie, who were there before him: whilk ordinance he willinglie obeyed.

November 5, being Tuesday, wes the revealling of the Gunpowder Plott; hence Tuesday to be an ordinary week preaching day at Court.

At the same tyme, Sir George Hoome, now Earle of Dumbar, came in great favour with the King, and was so highlie preferred that he wes sent downe to Scotland, and imployed in affaires of high concernment both in kirk and countrey, and wes honoured as a great prince and ruler in this kingdome.

Therefore the warded Ministers, yea, and gentlemen of good credit and account, wrote letters, and spak earnestlie to the Earle of Dumbar to interceed for favour at the King's hands to the said ministers, who were so wrongouslie troubled without any just

[1] According to Calderwood, the person who is here alluded to, as having appeared before the Privy Council, and professed his adherence to his former subscription, was Mr Robert Youngson, minister of Clatt.—(Hist. p. 498.)

cause: But neither writting nor speaking availled. But by the contrare, in the moneths of Julie and August 1606, there were proclamations made condemning the ministers that keeped that meeting at Aberdeen, as factious, seditious, and open contemners of the King's Majestie and his Secreit Councill; declareing also, that if any minister or subject of this kingdome should, in privat or publict, speak in the defence of what they had done, they should be counted as guiltie as they, and severelie punished.

In the end of August, the warded Ministers in Blacknes compeared before the Secret Councill, and certaine interrogators being asked at them, to whilk they answered, they were sent back to their ward againe. Their names are, Masters Johne Forbes, John Welsh, Andro Duncan, Robert Durie, Alexander Strachan, and John Sharp, all married except Mr John Sharp. In this tyme, wherein frequent proclamations and summons were used aganis thir warded Ministers in Blacknes, there came out also sundrie apologies in the defence of what they had done, (notwithstanding proclamations and threatnings to the contrare,) and proveing, by many impregnable arguments, that they should rather be honoured and rewarded then imprisoned and punished. Seing it wes expedient, yea, and necessare, that this Kirk, who had injoyed the libertie of hir Assemblies with so great fruit and comfort for the space of forty-five years, should be loth to loss the possession of such a jewell, especiallie seing there was no less intended (as wes manifest) than the utter taking away of that libertie of the Kirk to appoint her Generall Assemblies as they were wont to doe; for the King professed he lyked them not, and if any Assemblies should be, they should onlie be at his appoyntment; and, moreover, the Bishops and commissioners of the Generall Assemblie made all the moyen that they could that there should never be a free Generall Assemblie againe, lest they themselves should have been censured and punished for their faults and foull offences.

Thir things being most notoriouslie knowen, made the Councill sett out a proclamation, wherein they declared the King's Majestie's constant affection to the true religion presentlie professed

within this realme, (for the imprisoning for no just cause of many of the most honest and zealous ministers in the kingdome, to the starveing of them and their families, must be salved and cured by the plaster of a sweet proclamation.) And albeit his Majestie was to take ordour with some few seditious puritannicall ministers, yit would he still (by way of discourse) continue in punishing Papists, and such as would not obey the present ordour of this Kirk. It is to be marked, that, after the King went to Ingland, the Papists fand the heavie dint of proclamations, *verba:* but the most zealous and fordward Protestants, under the name of Puritans, still fand the dint of oppressions and persecutions, *verbera.*

Immediatlie upon the back of this proclamation followed two great efforts, whither to root out Papists or (falselie so called) Puritans, he that runs may read: The one was, the King sent eight missive letters[1] to eight ministers, backed thus:—To our trustie and welbeloved, &c., viz. Masters Andro Melvill, William Scott, James Melvill, John Carmichael, William Watson, Adam Colt, James Balfour, and Robert Wallace, to come to him to Ingland, that he might conferre with them concerning the estate of the Kirk of Scotland, before the 15 day of the nixt moneth September; and, at that tyme, the ministers warded in Blacknes were charged also to compeare before his Majestie's Councill in Linlithgow in the moneth of October, there to give obedience to his Majestie's lawes, or else to underly an assyze, and be punished for their rebellion. These two were a most high incourageing of Papists, and a most great discouragement to all honest hearts. The ministers and servants of Jesus Christ being sent for, albeit by sundries they were dissuaded from going out of the countrey, and were desyred to writ their just excuses to the King; yit, in end, they concluded they would go fordward, and commend themselves and their way to God's protection and direction in all things: so some past by sea, and some of them by land, but all of them came to London in safetie before the appointed day; whilk, when the King under-

[1] The letters were dated from Greenwich, the 21st of May 1606.

stood at the day prefixed, (September 15,) he sent for them, and welcomed them in an homelie and heartie maner, talking but generallie and mirrilie of sundrie purposes, and appoynting unto them particular dyetts, when he was to conferr with them, first speaking to them all joyntlie, they haveing chosen Mr James Melvill to be their mouth; and perceaveing that he came no speed that way, at other dyetts he spak with them severallie, and that some tyme when some of the nobilitie of Ingland and Scotland, and bishops of both kingdoms, were present, and some tymes when onlie bishops were present, and some also of the Scottish Councill was present; but at all tymes their opinions and speeches agreed so, and the Lord so assisted them with wisdome and boldnes, that the auditors admired to heare them speak, for they putt all others, by force of reassone, to silence, who preassed to contradict them; ever insisting on that poynt, that the Kirk of God in Scotland should possess hir auncient and well-warranted liberties to conveen in their Generall Assemblies and other ecclesiasticall meetings, or els God's trueth, and good maners, or holie conversation, could not long remaine, but Papistrie and all sorts of vyces would abound; whilk was beginning evidentlie to be seen alreadie.

The King (notwithstanding of his breeding, Covenant-sweareing, causing it to be sworn by all, many protestations and declarations) not contented with their discourse, and so not with them, caused them to be putt in sundrie places, some with deans, some with doctors of greatest note, to try if that could bring them to another opinion; yit that course was shortlie stayed, onlie Mr Andro Melvill was remitted to the Dean of Paul's;[1] but he so puzzelled the Dean in reassoning, that the Dean was verie desyrous to be quyt of such a guest, for he had keept him in his house as his hostage for a space. Then it was devysed to have some of the most learned and powerfull preachers, either of B.B. (bishops) or D.D. (deans), to make publict sermons before them, to cast and cry downe the doctrine and governement of the Kirk of Scotland; and our ministers

[1] Dr John Overall, Dean of St Paul's, and successively Bishop of Lichfield and Norwich.

were appoynted to sitt altogether on a furme directlie before the pulpit, that they might the better heare them, and be moved with their doctrine: But that course also availled nothing, for the ministers offered to make answer to all these heads of their sermons, but that was not permitted, for so the trueth had been made too too notoure. In end, after many supplications given in by them to the King's Majestie to suffer them to goe home to their charges and callings, no grant was obtained; but Richard Bancroft, then Bishop of Canterburrie, Primat of Ingland, (thus sadlie punished for his treason, page 160,[1]) sent for four of them that he might conferr with them; who, comeing to him, he caused all that were with him to remove out of the rowme, that he might talk with those ministers of Scotland; and, after long conference, sometymes mirrilie, sometymes gravelie, he concluded, That seing the King's Majestie and all the Kirk of Ingland professed that same trueth and gospell which they and the whole Kirk of Scotland did profess, (doubtles the bishop said Church, but Kirk is farr righter, being the verie radicall letters of Κυριακὴ *subi oixia*,) except onlie in the mater of governement, and some few ceremonies, that they would doe well to yeeld to his Majestie; and no doubt his Majestie would be beneficiall to them, and they should finde him also a verie speciall friend to them all according to his power. They answered, That they were debt-bound, in all humilitie, to pleasure his Majestie, and to doe any thing that they might doe with a good conscience; but did let the Bishop see, by many impregnable reasons, that the yeelding to these things in our Kirk (whilk the King and all his subjects of all ranks, pastors and people, had abjured so solemnlie, with their hands lifted up to the Most High God, the searcher of hearts, and revenger of perjurie, in that solemne Confession of Faith and Covenant subscryved publictlie by his Majestie and all his subjects) would prove nothing else but the verie banishing of the gospell, and the drawing down of God's curse and wrath on them all, King and subjects. Also, it is considerable that some men

[1] This is said ironically; the reference corresponds with page 220 of this edition.

are not content onlie to break covenant themselves, except they turn incarnat divills, in being tempters by alluirments, (a calme warme winde,) or terrours, and threats, and persecutions, (a cold rough winde,) to cause others be involved in that same perjurie with themselves. The Bishop, perceaveing that he came no speed, and could not move them to be of his judgment by any means essayed, said mirrilie, Well, then, let us pairt in peace; seing we are all Brethren in Christ together, I will drink to you all, and will doe what I may that you may have libertie to goe home to your callings; and doeing so, dismissed them.

The Ministers, daylie expecting libertie to be sent home to their places and callings, and when they were prepareing themselves to make homeward, the Earle of Salisburrie sent a servant of his to Master Andro Melvill, desyreing him to come to his lodging about twelve a clock. Now, it was the Sabbath day when the Councill of Ingland uses to sitt in the afternoon ordinarlie: Mr Andro Melvill and the rest were then at breakfast, and they all mervelled what the mater could mean; but Mr Andro, after his mirrie maner, said, I warrand you he calls me to dinner, but I would have that tyme of day past before I goe; so he staying, another servant came for him, with whom he went, and be that tyme the Earle had almost dyned. Dinner being ended, and the Earle conferring with Mr Andro, did shew him that the King had gotten knowledge of some verses whilk were alledged to be written by him aganis the comelie ordour whilk was in their Kirk of Ingland, whereat his Majestie was offended; and, therefore, desyred to know if he wes the compiler of them, took a coppie of them out of his pocket that he might see them. The verses were thir:—

Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo, regia in ara,
  Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo?
Num sensum cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausum,
  Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta sua?
Romano et ritu dum regalem instruit aram,
  Purpuream pingit relligiosa lupam.

Inglished thus:—

On Kinglie chappell altar stands, blind candlesticks, closed books,
Dry silver basons, two of each, wherefor, sayes he who looks?
The minde and worship of the Lord doth Ingland so keep closse;
Blind in hir sight, and buried in hir filthines and drosse?
And while with Roman rites sho doth hir kinglie altar dresse,
Relligiously a purpur'd whoore to trim sho doth professe.

When Mr Andro Melvill had seen the verses, he said, that upon the occasion of some who asked what he thought of the altar and ornaments that were in the King's Majestie's chappell royall, he had indeed made these verses with a verie heavie and sad heart, considdering that such superstitious things should be in his Majestie's chappell, who was so religiouslie brought up in the sincere and pure Kirk of Scotland, out of whilk all such superstition and Romish trash was banished, and in the which nothing was allowed but that whilk wes consonant to God's trueth and glorious gospell; but imagined not that any should be therewith justlie offended, seing in the lynes he onlie asks some questions. Then, said the Earle, truelie I mervell how they have come to the King's hands. However, Mr Andro Melvill wes presentlie charged there to appeare before the Councill of Ingland, to answere to such things as should be asked at him. And when he compeared, (the King himself not being present,) he was heavilie accused of sundrie things, which did draw him (as they affirmed) under the compasse of treason. For Dr Barlo,[1] Bishop of Rochester, preaching before the King, and in the audience of the Scottish ministers, after that he had indevoured to prove the lawfulnes of Prelacie, did shew what

[1] William Barlow, D.D., was afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. In 1604, when Dean of Chester, he published "The Summe and Substance of the Conferences at Hampton Court, 14th January 1604;" and also "The First of the Foure Sermons preached before the King's Majestie at Hampton Court in September last. This concerning the Antiquitie and Superioritie of Bishops, September 21, 1606. By the Reverend Father in God, William Lord Bishop of Rochester." London, 1607, 4to.

good they (the Bishops) had done, did, and might doe, in the Church of God; and, for instance, exemplified *in hypothesi*, what he had spoken *in thesi*, by the present Archbishop of Canterburrie, Dr Bancroft, so digressing long into his praises;[1] wherupon Mr Andro Melvill compylled the ensueing epigramme:—

Praxiteles Coæ Veneris dum pingeret ora,
Cratinæ ad vultus pinxerat ora suæ:
Divinum Barlo pastorem ut pingeret, Angli
Præsulis ad vultus pinxerat ora sui.
Praxiteles Venerem pinxit Divamne lupamve?
Pastorem Barlo pinxerat anne lupum?

Inglished thus:—

Praxiteles painter did professe to draw Dame Venus face,
But all his cunning vented was Cratina his whoore to grace:
Barlo he labours for to paint Christ's minister to life,
But how to extoll Bancroft's parts surlie was all his strife:
'Tis asked, did Praxiteles paint a goddesse or an whoore?
Did Barlo paint a pastor or a wolf that does devoure?

Thir lynes were judged by the Councill of Ingland *Scandalum Magnatum*, whilk by the law of Ingland is a capitall cryme and treasone. But Mr Andro Melvill answered boldlie for himself, and laid some points of treason indeed to some of their charges;[2] alledging also, that he should not have been judged by the Councill of Ingland, he being a Scottishman, especiallie seing the King's Ma-

[1] The passage in Barlow's sermon to which Row alludes, as referring to Bancroft, seems to have been omitted in printing. But there is prefixed an address "To the Ministers of Scotland, my Fellow Dispensers of God's Misteries," which begins thus:—"Brethren, (for as I esteeme, so wil I stile you, judge you of us as you please,) some of your sort, being at this Sermon when it was preached, were desirous that it might be printed," &c.

[2] A passage in one of the MSS., marked as omitted in this place, will be afterwards found under the year 1611, in mentioning Bancroft's death.

jestie, his Mr and Lord, was not present; but he should be sent home to Scotland to be judged by the Councill there, seing he was a native born there; also he spoke somewhat to the Scottish Lords, who wer counsellours there in Ingland; bidding them take heed that they made not a preparative of poore Andro Melvill, aganis themselves possiblie or friends, or posteritie and their native cuntrey: But whatever he spak wes taken in an evill part. In end he was removed, and Mr James Melvill called in, to whom the Bishop of Canterburrie spak in an insinuative way, and praising him for his gravitie, learning, modest behaviour, and Christian carriage, adviseing him so to continue, and withall to admonish his brethren that they should behave themselves in like maner; whilk was spoken to condemne his uncle, Mr Andro, for his free speaking, and was used as a mean to insnare Mr Andro, when he should be called before the councill againe, whilk was done shortlie after this: For Mr Alexander Hay, his Majestie's secretarie in Scotland, and imployed in all thir affaires concerning the Scottish ministers, was sent to Mr Andro Melvill, requyreing him to appeare before the Councill at such an houre, promiseing that he should be with him. But none of his brethren might goe with him, for they were all discharged to come within the King's pallace: therefore, they sent a gentleman to attend what should be the event of his going there, they all being verie sad, knowing that he wes so bold and free of speech: But he himself was cheerfull and glad, saying, I am well content that I will gett my mynd declared plainlie and openlie, and will be honoured to give a testimonie to my Lord's trueth before the great ones in the world. And so he had not been but a short space before the Councill, when the gentleman returned to the rest weeping, and told them that Mr Andro was caried by water to the Toure. Mr James Melvill, therefore, went in all hast, to see if he could see him, or speak with him, but there was no possibilitie of that at that time.

Immediatlie after this, Mr James Melvill got a charge to passe out of London, and remaine in the countrey of Northumberland, dureing his Majestie's will. All the rest were charged to be con-

fyned in sundrie parts of Scotland, and some within their awin congregations. Mr Andro Melvill, by great moyen, as a no small favour, obtained leave that a servant should be incarcerated with him in the Toure; and so the rest were prepareing themselves to go to their severall places as they were ordained. Onlie Mr James Melvill and Mr William Scott abode some dayes in London, to see if any releef could be had to Mr Andro Melvill, but all in vaine. So when they were all prepareing for their journey, there were some ministers, and good professors also, who had gathered a contribution of a good sume of moneys whilk they brought to our ministers, and gladlie and cheerfullie offered it unto them, persuading them by many reasons to take it, and distribute the same among them. But they, by better reasons, refuised to take any benefite of that kynd from them, seing it could not be done without dishonour of his Majestie, who had sent for them in a friendlie maner; without the disgrace of their awin nation, who undoubtedlie would supplie any want they had, or losse they sustained, in that voyage; and finallie, without great shame to themselves, seeing they were not in any present necessitie, and praised God that they had eneugh to defray all their charges; but in a verie heartie maner thanked them, and thought it meet that their awin ministers, who were by the bishops persecuted and evill intreated for the gospell's sake, should be supplied by that contribution.

So Mr James Melvill stayed in Ingland, remaining in Newcastle, and the rest went home in the moneth of Maie, anno 1607.

Now, in the tyme of their being in Ingland, there was an Assemblie or meeting holden in Linlithgow, in the moneth of December 1606. And this was the cause why an Assemblie was convocat at this tyme: the godliest, wisest, learnedest, and most zealous men of the ministrie in Scotland, were either banished, warded, or detained in Ingland, of purpose that they might not be a lett to the grand designe in hand; for Mr Robert Bruce, minister of Edinburgh, was now confyned in Inverness, the sixe ministers warded in Blacknes had been brought to Linlithgow, in the moneth of Octo-

ber, and after long deliberation, the Earle of Dumbar, with certaine Lords of the Councill, refuiseing to give the Ministers any tyme to advyse with their presbyteries, that they might give his Majestie satisfaction with a good conscience, were put to an assyze, Mr Thomas Hope, and Mr Thomas Gray, advocats, procureing for them; and the King's advocat, Mr Thomas Hamiltoun, accuseing them. An assyze was called, and the ministers, by pluralitie of votes, (even as their Master and Lord Jesus Christ was, long before them,) was convicted and putt in the King's Majestie's will; and the judges counselled the ministers to submitt themselves to his Majestie's will, and confesse their fault, for that wes all that wes sought and aimed at in all this long tract of bussiness. But the ministers, by Mr John Forbes their mouth, spak so pertinentlie and boldlie, and with so great a deall of reasone, that all who favoured their cause were exceeding glad: particularlie they rehearsed to the Earle of Dumbar, and the Lords there present, the historie of the Gibeonites, and how the violating of that oath of God made to them brought the plague of God upon Saul and his offspring, for destroying of them about four hundred years after the makeing of the covenant with them; adjureing the Earle of Dumbar, as he would be answerable to God the judge of all, to tell the King's Majestie, that the Ministers (condemned for no fault) applyed this historie to him, forewarning him to bewar any more to break the oath of God, whilk was upon him: in whilk oath the Kirk of Scotland was not circumveened by rent bottle or mouldie bread;[1] neither dare any say they did not advise with the Lord's mouth in that covenant, made so deliberatlie, consulting in everie thing with the Lord's oracles; this solemn covevant, the King, and all his subjects, at his command, had renewed with God Almightie, that they should adhere constantlie to the true Reformed Religion, and established discipline of this Kirk, all the dayes of their life, under the paine of endles condemnation in that great day of the Lord; and let the King take to heart what befell the posteritie of King Saul, for his breake[ing] of not such an oath as the covenant of God with Scotland.

[1] See the book of Joshua, ch. ix. v. 13–15; 2 Samuel, ch. xxi. v. 1, 6, 9.

This processe aganis the warded Ministers was not ended till about eleven houres at night. Their wives wer in toune awaiting what should be the event of that great Convention; and when it was told them, that their husbands were convicted of treason by some few more votes nor they that had assoyled them, and that they were putt by the judges in the King's will, they joyfullie, and with masculine mynds, thanked the Lord Jesus, who had given them that strength and courage to stand to their Master's cause, saying, they are even intreated as their Master was before them, judged and condemned under silence of night. And albeit some caused reports to goe, that the King's Majestie was better informed of their doeings then of before, and, therefore, they would be putt to libertie; yit a warrant was sent home to Sir John Arnot, his Majestie's thesaurer, to provyde a ship that they might be banished out of his Majestie's dominions: whilk was accordinglie done in November 1606, for they were brought from Blacknes to Leeth, and there the ship being readie, and many attending their embarking, they fell down upon their knees, on the shoare, and prayed two severall tymes verie ferventlie, moveing all the multitude about to tears in abundance and lamentation; and after they had sung the 23 Psalme joyfullie, takeing their leave of their brethren and acquaintance, past to the ship, and rencountered with a stormie tempest, so that that night they sailed no further but over to the other syde of the water; but then upon the morn, getting a fair winde, were safelie transported and landed in France.

Thus thir gracious men being banished, others being yit in Ingland detained, lest they should be here at such a necessarie tyme to give a testimonie to God's trueth, others being in their severall wards and places of confynment in Scotland; we see where the heavie dint of the proclamations from King and Councill, aganis Papists and vitious villains, does light on.

About this tyme, the King's Majestie writes letters to all the Presbyteries in Scotland, to send such particulare ministers as he had named in these letters to an Assemblie to be holden at Linlithgow; also there were particulare letters written to these nomi-

nat ministers, to come to that meeting, whither their Presbyterie did give them a commission or not. Sundrie of the nobilitie, the Earle of Dumbar being his Majestie's grand commissioner, and some of the barons, mett at Linlithgow with the commissioners sent from Presbyteries upon the 10th of December 1606, where Mr James Law, then Bishop of Orknay, taught for Mr Patrik Galloway, who had been last moderator of that Generall Assemblie at Halirood-house 1602, he not being himself prepared to preach; and contrare to all ordour, Mr James Nicolsoun (intending to be a bishop, as appeared afterwards) was chosen moderator.—(Read sixe irrefragable Reassons why this pretended Assemblie is null, unlawfull, and so of no force: [Acts of the] Generall Assemblie at Glasgow, 1638, December 4, Session 12, page 7 and 8.)

The Moderator being chosen, and the man being wittie and calme, began at the taking of ordour with Papists, (that is the right Court-method,) and would have seemed verie earnest upon that mater, (the better to mask what followed,) declareing that the cause why Papists so increased in this land was, that moderators of Presbyteries were too too often altered, and thus processes aganis Papists and other vitious persons were deserted: And it were a good thing that there were wise, godlie, learned, and zealous men, appoynted moderators of Presbyteries, to be still continued from Synod to Synod, who might be answerable for all processes, and for their diligence, both to the King's Majestie, and also to their Provinciall Synod: Yea, he had a warrand fra his Majestie, that he would bestow yearlie 100 libs. upon everie such moderator, over and above his ordinarie stipend. Aganis this overture some things were spoken, as feareing corruption and superioritie to come in to the Kirk by such doeing as that: for they espyed the constant moderator to be a step to a Diocesian Lord Prelat: But all objections got some answere; and so, by pluralitie of voyces the overture was concluded, and sundrie men presentlie nominat moderators to sundrie Presbyteries; and then some little thing was spoken concerning the distraction that was among the ministers, how that might be helped: A strict ordour (in show) was

taken, that they, who had vote in Parliament, should not in any case presume above their brethren. At this meeting, Mr Adam Bannatine,[1] an eager opposer of hierarchie, (though afterwards he plaid the apostat, being Bishop of Dumblane first, and nixt of Abredene,) was readie with others to protest publictlie aganis this meeting; but he and they were taken off by the bishops and commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, assureing, that if any thing should be minted to be interpryzed, contrare to the liberties of the Kirk, (of whilk they were so tender,) they should hold in their travell, for they would openlie protest aganis it, and they should be their witnesses. So the meeting dissolved with joy, and singing of a psalme, and great thanks to his Majestie that had such a mynd, to take a more strait ordour with Papists then had been done before; for in those dayes, that was still the cloak under whilk was palliat all the wicked plotts aganis the Kirk of God, whilk at first were not espyed, but, it may be, by a verie few, born downe with pluralitie of votes. Some noblemen and gentlemen, well affected, thinking that all things were well done, desyred a coppie of the acts that were made: but that could not be obtained; but a promise was made that they should be instantlie printed.

The moderator of this meeting, Mr James Nicolson, shortlie after wes made Bishop of Dunkell, who falling in a sore disease, and, by the sense of his perjurie and apostasie, his conscience being awakened, he cryes out, Fy on him, he had consented to the renting of his Mother's (meaning the Kirk) bowells: there is no argument for a Bishop but that same is for a Pope, and *contra*. And when some of his friends desyred to send for physicians to cure my Lord Bishop, he answered, No physician but King James could cure his wound, (O atheist! could not Christ cure it better!) he had put a mitre on his head; he behooved to take it off againe.[2] Mr David Lindesay, whose wife was Bishop Nicolson's wife's sister,

[1] In other MSS., the name is Ballandin, or Ballandyne. Adam Bellenden was minister of Falkirk in 1608, was Bishop of Dumblane and Dean of the Chapel-Royal, Edinburgh, in 1615, and was translated to Aberdeen in 1635.

[2] Nicholson died on the 16th or 17th of August 1607.—(Cald. p. 570.)

then minister at Dundie, afterward also (for nothing will be a document to those that are children of perdition) a perjured prælat, Bishop of Brichen, and then of Edinburgh, heareing thir words, did make them in verse:

Solatur frustra conjunx, solantur amici;
Et medicum accersi sedulo quisque jubet:
Sed dare solamen nemo, dare nemo salutem,
Te præter poterit Rex Jacobe mihi.
Quæ corpus gravat atque animam, tantum exime mitræ
Huic caput; hujus onus me premit, et perimit.

Inglished thus:

His wife and friends comforts in vaine, bids bring a doctor hither;
None but King James can give me health, by taking off my mitre;
My bodie doun into the grave, my soule to lowest hell
It presseth doun, O take it off, or ells it will me kill.

Immediatlie after this convention at Linlithgow was dissolved, commissioners were appoynted to see constant moderators setled in all Presbyteries. Beginning at the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, and Mr John Hall nominat constant moderator there; sundrie of the brethren, desyring some space of tyme to think upon the tenor of the act, whilk was so hastilie read over, that none could conceave the substance therein contained; but no space was granted, no not till their meeting at afternoone; albeit in Providence, the text of scripture whereupon he preached who exercised that morning was, "Seest thou a man hastie in his maters, (as in the old translation,) or in his words, (as in the new: רבד is both), there is more hope of a foole than of him." All that could be obtained was, that Mr John Hall should act himself to continue no longer moderator than the nixt Generall Assemblie, and then to dimit the place, if the Generall Assemblie should not confirme that act, and nominat him moderator againe. Commissioners were appoynted by the King's

Councill of some noblemen, with some of the ministrie, to see this ordour established in all Presbyteries; and letters of horning raised for that effect, to charge the brethren of each presbyterie to receive such a Brother by name, to be their constant moderator within 24 hours after the charge, and to charge the Brother nominat to accept the place and office, under the same pane of horning, within 24 hours. Whereby it came to passe, that many ministers being charged with horning, and the persone also nominat being desyreous to accept, all presbyteries almost accepted of their moderators; but with sundrie conditions and caveats, hopeing that either the Provinciall Assemblies, or the Generall Assemblie, should decyde that question. But when the tyme of the Provinciall Assemblies came, there were commissioners appoynted by the King's letters, to be present at the Provinciall Synods, to see such as were nominat of the bishops and commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, sett doune to be constant moderators of these Assemblies; as particularlie, my Lord of Scoone, provest of Perth,[1] was the King's commissioner to that Provinciall Assemblie, whilk held in Perth at that tyme, to see Mr Alexander Lindesay, Bishop of Dunkell, sett doun moderator of that Assemblie. But because the brethren of that meeting could not get a sight of that act, and some brethren also who had been at the convocation of Linlithgow, affirmed that there was never such a purpose once spoken of, far less wes it inacted, that each Provinciall Synod should have a constant Moderator: whereupon all the brethren, *una voce*, voted to keep their former ordour: leets made, Mr William Row, former Moderator, asks the votes, and Mr Harie Livingstone is chosen Moderator. But my Lord Scoone being discontented, would not suffer them to keep an assemblie within the Kirk, but first did throw over the table upon the ministers, even when they were praying to God for his blessing, and then locked the kirk-doores; so that they were forced to keep their assemblie in the kirk-yard. Whereupon Mr William

[1] Sir David Murray of Gospetrie, Comptroller, was created Lord Scone in 1605, and Viscount of Stormont in 1621. He was Provest of Perth from 1601 to 1608, and from 1612 to 1627, without interruption.

Row, and Mr Harie Livingstone, being charged to appeare before the councill, to answere for their doeings, Mr William Row not dareing appeare, knowing his awin danger, was put to the horne, and Mr Harie Livingstone was confyned to live within his awin congregation. Ministers thus putt to great straits and inconveniences for standing to the defence of the old discipline of our Kirk; and the King appoynting that the modification of ministers stipends should be in the hands of Bishops, (a most readie mean to make them followed,) many poore, many corrupt, and ill-principled ministers begouth to acknowledge them and honour them, as now haveing power in their hands either to doe them good or evill. And, therefore, Bishops grew so proud, that they thought no presbyterie should dare to contradict them in any thing; whilk made Mr James Law, minister at Kirklistone, afterward Bishop of Orknay, writ a letter to the Presbyterie of Jedburgh, to meet at such a tyme as he directed them, that he might come and visit them, and see what they had done in such things as were injoyned them by the Generall Assemblie. But the Presbyterie considering that, he now being made a Bishop, would use more authoritie then became him, gave sundrie reassons why they disswaded him to come to that visitation at that tyme; wherewith the Bishop, not being contented, wrot back to them a verie imperious letter, boasting, that he should come aganis them *cum jure et potestate utriusque gladii*, speaking just with the voyce and words of Antichrist, concerning his power of both swords; Boniface VIII., of whom it was written, *Intravit ut vulpes, regnavit ut leo, mortuus ut canis*;—that is, he entered into his Popedome by craft as a foxe, he did reigne by crueltie as a lyon, and he died like a dog. And as Bishop Law (contrare to both law and gospell) boasted, so he caussed summons sundrie of the brethren of that presbyterie, and also of the Presbyterie of Dunce, before the Secret Councill, so that some of them were putt to the horn, and others were warded, as he (the Bishop) himself thought good.

This year [1607] was the great frost.

After this, because the Bishops and their adhærents (now evidentlie covenant-breakers) began to be hated and spoken out

against, they professed they were verie desyrous to enter in a peaceable and amicable way of dealling with all brethren who were of a contrarie judgment unto them; and, after great deliberation, it was thought verie expedient that there should be a free and peaceable consultation, and, if need were, a disputation, to see if any thing was done in our Kirk without a good warrand, that all these things might be amended, and love and amitie remaine among the ministers of Christ and professors of the gospell as it was before. This was condescended unto by both parties, and, with the King's Majestie's advise, a day was appointed, and the meeting to hold at Falkland, Junij 15, *anno* 1608; whereof some of the wisest, and most sincere and most zealous men of the ministrie getting knowledge, were offended that any of their judgment should have putt the established ordour and governament of our Kirk, so well warranted by Scripture, allowed, ratified, and confirmed by Acts of Parliament, and now in a sweet possession thereof for forty-eight years bygone, in any doubt, or subject the same of new againe to cavillation or dispute; seing the Bishops' intention in this meeting could be to no other end but to make the countrey to be persuaded that what they sought was disputable at least, whither it might be granted or not. Alwayes the meeting keept at Falkland the day appoynted: the bishops and commissioners with them mett together in the King's chappell within the Palace; the ministers standing for the old discipline and governement of this Kirk, mett in the pariosh kirk in the toune, and, being frequently[1] conveened, thought it best, for eschewing of disordour, to choise a moderator, so Mr Patrik Simson was by common consent chosen to moderat. And then entering to confer upon the lamentable condition of this Kirk, and what should be done for reparation of the same, they fand a little taste of the sweetness that was wont to be found in their old Generall Assemblies, where the servants of Christ used to speak freelie and sincerelie in the maters of God. And, in end, they resolved upon four Articles, whilk they sent to the Bishops and commissioners with them; whilks, if they should

[1] *Frequently conveened,* assembled in considerable numbers.

agree unto, agreement and harmonie among them would easilie follow:—

1°. That the cautions and caveats of the Generall Assemblie, holden at Montrose, *anno* 1600, in the King's awin presence, should be insert in the bodie of the Acts of Parliament, made in favours of ministers voters in Parliament; and that they who hes transgressed may be censured accordinglie.

2°. That the discipline and governement of this Kirk, established by lawes ecclesiastick and civill, practised so long, and sworn unto so deeplie, and subscryved by all, should continue in vigour, and stand inviolable.

3°. That the Assemblies, generall and provinciall, should be restored to their wonted integritie, as being the most effectuall means, through the Lord's blessing, to beare downe the enemies of religion.

4°. That the banished, warded, and confyned ministers, Christ's faithfull servants, should be restored to their awin places and liberties.

The Bishops and Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie seemed heartilie to consent to thir Articles, yit needfull it is (say they) that the Generall Assemblie consent to them, that they may have the greatter authoritie, and the King may be the better contented. And whill the Assemblie come, we think (sayes the Bishops and commissioners with them) that ye may agree to thir Articles sett doun by us:—

1°. That the mean while there be no publict speaking or preaching on either syde aganis or with the present governement of this Kirk, but that all sermons shall run aganis Papists their doctrine and ungodlie practises.

2°. That the Generall Assemblie hold at the tyme appoynted, viz. the last Tuesday of Julie, and the King's Majestie to be intreated to consent thereto.

3°. That at that Generall Assemblie onlie the publict affaires of the Kirk be handled; and the particular controversies concerning the governement of the Kirk be handled first privatlie by commissioners deputed for that effect.

4°. That earnest solistation be made to the King for the relief of all the ministers that are in any way put from their charges.

To thir Articles the ministers consented, for good causes, (as they thought,) for the tyme, even to be silent, (in that poynt,) and to have a prælimited Assemblie, feareing, that if they had made any opposition, neither should a Generall Assemblie have been obtained, neither the persecuted ministers have gotten releeff: but ducties are ours, events the Lord's, and we cannot expect a good event when we desert our duetie, and so are wanting to ourselves, neither ought any man doe (the least) evill that (the greatest) good may come of it; and ye see how Papists is still the cloak.

At this same tyme, the Earle of Dumbar came doun from Court with a magnifique commission of lieutenandrie for all the North parts of Scotland, and a rumour wes made to go abroad, that if the King got not contentment from the Kirk, he would, by virtue of his prerogative royall, discharge all presbyteries and assemblies. At the same time there came doun with the Earle of Dumbar some Inglish Deans, as the Dean of Winchester, (who not long after was made Archbishop of Canterburie,) and the Dean of Rippon, and some doctors.[1] Their earand was to persuade all who would be persuaded by them, (to gaine proselyts,) that there was no difference betwix their Kirk in Ingland and oures, but onlie some few indifferent things, and chieflie concerning the governement of the Kirk, they being governed by bishops, and we by presbyteries and assemblies, and some ceremonies they used whilk we wanted, all whilk were ἀδιάφορα; yit never talked they

[1] Calderwood says, "About the end of June [1608] the Earle of Dumbar came from Court, and with him two English Doctors, Doctor Abbots and Doctor Higgins. Doctor Maxy, one of the King's chaplains, came by sea. It was reported that no small summes of money were sent down with him to be distribute among the ministers and some others."—(Hist. p. 588.) Sir George Home, one of the King's favourites, in 1605, was created Earl of Dumbar. Of the English divines who accompanied him, the Earl's chaplain, was Dr George Abbot, Dean of Winchester, with whom the King was so greatly pleased, that he advanced him in rapid succession to be Bishop, first of Lichfield and Coventry, then of London, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. The Dean of Rippon was Dr Anthony Higgins. Dr Phineas Hodson, afterwards Chancellor of York, seems also to have been present.

openlie of thir purposes whill they came to St Androes, and heard Mr Robert Howie, who now was Principall of the New Colledge, in Mr Andro Melvill his place; he taught in the schools, and confirmed (als well as he could) the authoritie and jurisdiction of bishops above ministers; for the whilk lesson the presbyterie of St Androes did sharplie censure him, and a plaine and full refutation of that lesson of his came out to his great disgrace, penned by one who had been Mr Andro Melvill's scholler, and at this tyme was an auditor of Mr Howie. Thus the King haveing forgotten his oath of covenant in sending hither deans and doctors to tempt us also to break covenant doubtles was a break-neck to many, and Doctor Howie became infamous amongst honest men for so soone quyting his covenant, and being so opposit to his predecessor, so worthie and so orthodox a man.

The sixty-ninth Assemblie, whilk was granted by the King's Majestie to have holden at Dundee, wes keept at Linlithgow the last Tuesday of Julie *anno* 1608. The godlie and wise brethren who stood for the good old ordour of this Kirk, fearcing that some great evill should be done at this Assemblie, caused pen Instructions to be sent to all presbyteries, whereby the commissioners that should be sent from everie presbyterie might be moved to consent to no innovation in this Kirk, albeit it should be brought on under never so fair a pretext; whilk information did much good, and was well keept by almost all the commissioners from presbyteries. Yit the Assemblie was so made up, (with so many noble men and barons,) who had no commission from any presbyterie, and with bishops and ministers who came not clothed with commissions, (but upon privat advertisements,) that honest brethren feared (not without just cause) some evill was to be done, and therefore spak to Mr Patrik Galloway, who had been the moderator of the last lawfull Generall Assemblie, at Halirоodhouse, 1602, and desyred him not to accept of any commissioners to vote in that Assemblie but these that had their commissions from presbyteries. But he answered in a mirrie sporting way, We may not refuise any noble or gentle man to vote

with us, seing we that are ministers may preach God's trueth, and tell them what is the true religion, but they must fight for the mantenance of it. And Mr James Law (Bishop of Orknay) being nominat moderator by the voyces of his Majestie's commissioners; also all the noblemen and barrons voyced to him; also all the bishops, and all that were their adhærents; but the ministers who stood for the trueth (verie imprudentlie) divyded their votes, some voteing to Mr Patrik Simson, and some to Mr John Hall: by this means the Bishop got the place.

In this Assemblie, any who knew not the Bishops secret plotts and intentions would have thought that they had bene taking severe ordour with the Papists, (for that was the handsomest cloak they could devise.) The Earle of Huntlie was instantlie excommunicat, and the Earls of Angus and Erroll ordained to be excommunicat. A diligent inquisition was made for the names of all papists, whilk were given up; and the Earle of Dumbar assured the Assemblie that his Majestie would not faill to take some severe and strict ordour with them. The Lord Maxwell was ordained to be excommunicat for the murther of the Laird of Johnstoun. The Assemblie also was very inquisitive what were the causses of the incress of papists and papistrie, and to provyde remedies thereof; also the visitors of presbyteries gave in their diligence, and were approven. Then the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie desyred to be tryed in their care and fidelitie in dischargeing of their charge; and because the moderator was one of them, and they were all to be removed, Mr William Cowper, minister at Perth, (afterwards a notorious apostat, Bishop of Galloway,) was chosen to moderat. He asked generallie what any man had to say aganis the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie; and because no man spak, (seing no particular inquisition wes made,) they were called in againe, and approven as faithfull and honest men in their places, and continued in their office to the nixt Generall Assemblie; for the Earle of Dumbar had also declared that that was his Majestie's will, and that it was meet to putt in fitt men to be commissioners in the rowm of those who had deceassed, but that it behoved to be

done with his Majestie's advice. This tacite approveing of these commissioners, men so highlie guiltie, and, particularlie, those who had voted in Parliament without a commission from the Kirk, argues a great decay of zeall, and courage, and care in those who stood for the trueth; for informations, delations with their prooffs, should have been all in readines, that they being proven guiltie, might have been condignly censured; but this their approbation increased their pryde and securitie, and wes a mean to incourage them to go on in their wicked plotts aganis the Kirk of God, over whilk they were sett.

The last thing and chiefest purpose of this Assembly was, to essay if the distraction of mynds, and disagreement that wes among the ministers, might be taken away; and, after great reasoning, the distraction was found to be two-fold: One, a distraction in affection, and that was presentlie remeadied by each man holding up his hand to God, and swearing that, in all tyme comeing, he should lay asyde all rancor and malice, hatred and envie, that he had aganis any other, and that he should live in brotherlie love, peace, concord, and amitie: The other wes a distraction in judgment; the best remeadie they could devise for that was, by appoynting ten brethren who stood for the old discipline and governement, whereunto they were all sworn on the one syde; and ten who stood for the intended governement by bishops, to meet, and calmlie to reason the mater, and to take closse away (if possible) this diversitie of judgment; and also to finde out some good midds and overtures how to pacifie all distractions and controversies in this Kirk. Mr William Cowper wes one for the good old ordour.

There were somewhat also proponed concerning bishops to be visitors of presbyteries at least within their awin diocies; but that wes flatlie refuised for many good reasons. And, because of such a bold and dangerous proposition, all visitation of presbyteries wes discharged till the nixt Generall Assemblie.

And, finallie, there was a petition to be given to his Majestie's commissionar, to intreat his Majestie to sett all the ministers banish-

ed, warded, and confyned, at libertie, that they might come to their awin stations; and some were particularlie named, as Masters Robert Bruce, John Moray, William Row; James Melvill, yit still in Ingland, who died there in banishment, and never came home to Scotland, &c. To the whilk his Majestie's commissionar answered, That he doubted not to gett them all releeved, except these who were banished to France; yea, these also, if they would confesse fault and their offence done to his Majestie, and ask his Majestie's pardon, &c.—(How this corrupt Assemblie is proven null and of no force, see the two undenyable arguments brought forth in the renouned Assemblie at Glasgow, *anno* 1638, sess. 12, page 8.)

And because I have latelie made mention of two ministers, the one warded and confyned, viz. Mr John Moray, minister at Leeth, colleague to Mr David Lindesay, Bishop of Rosse, the other Mr William Cowper, minister at Perth, colleague to Mr John Malcolme, I shall relate truelie what I know of them both, begining at this present yeare 1608, and after that to their dieing day. And, first, as concerning Mr John Moray, he being minister at Leeth, and his colleague, Mr David Lindesay, being now made Bishop of Rosse, haveing Mr John Spotiswood, his son-in-law, Archbishop of Glasgou, often resorting to him, and for their cause other bishops also comeing to Edinburgh for their bussines, remained much in Leeth; and some of them being now and then invited to preach in Leeth for Mr David Lindesay the bishop, (who now was a man of good age,) if any of them had uttered any unsound or unwarrantable doctrine, or if they preassed to confirme the autoritie of bishops above presbyters or pastors, Mr John Moray never failled to confute such corrupt doctrine in his nixt sermon. About this tyme, it fell out that there was a Provinciall Synod of Lothian sitting in Edinburgh, and Mr John Moray haveing been moderator of the preceeding Synod, it behoved him, (as the good and laudable order then was,) at the dimission of his charge, to preach, and so to open up the nixt Assemblie: His text was, Gal. v. 1, "Stand fast," &c., a verie pertinent scripture for the tyme; his sermon

(without his knowledge) wes penned, and then printed,[1] and put in the King's hand, who marked such things in it as he called errours, even all that wes aganis the hierarchie, whereby the libertie wherewith Christ hath made this Kirk (in that respect) free was taken from them. The King wrot to the Councill to call Mr John Moray before them, (doctrine should have been judged by an ecclesiastick judicatorie,) and if he acknowledged that sermon to be his, and would stand to the defence of those errours, to cause ward him till further punishment were inflicted. He appeareing before the Councill, acknowledged he had uttered such a sermon at such a tyme: knew nothing of the penning or printing of it; affirmed, That the alledged errours could not be gathered from his words, much less were they his words, it pleased his Majestie inforce these things upon his words whilk by no good consequence could be gathered from them; wherefore, he appealled to his hearers, who were many and judicious men, noble men, gentlemen, and ministers, &c., if any such thing could be gathered from his words. The Councill rested content with this answere, and wrot to the King what was done; but the King not being content with the Councill's cariage in it, wrot doune a warrand, and caused Mr John Moray first to be warded in the Castle of Edinburgh, after that banished and confyned in New Abbey, on the border besyde Dumfries; where being in great strait throw want of fyre, both his children, that had been tenderlie educated, was taken away by death, and he himself was forced to adventure to come and live at Prestounpanns, where he might have food and fire, neither of whilk he could have at New Abbay. Whill he was at Prestounpanns, destitute of a ministrie some years, he had a call from the toune and parioch of Dunfermline (with consent of the presbyterie) to be their minister, whilk was, after much dealling, obtain-

[1] His sermon was printed at London, and was subjoined to a scarce tract, entitled "Information or a Protestation, and a Treatise from Scotland, &c., all suggesting the usurpation of Papal Bishops," 1608, small 8vo. Calderwood has given some account of this sermon, with the articles charged against Murray, and his answers to the Privy Council. (Hist. pp. 575-578.)

ed; but he stayed not long there, for Mr George Glaidstans, Bishop of St Androes, being dead, and Mr John Spotiswood comeing in his place, at his verie entrie came and visited the kirk of Dunfermline, and laid the wholl burden of that ministrie upon Mr Andro Foster,[1] a graceles, giftless man; yit, forby the burgh was a pariosh of about eight or nyne myles in length fra the south to the north, and four or five myls in breadth, he silenced Mr John Moray, untill it pleased God, in his providence, to visit Mr Andro Foster his colleague with a great sicknes; who, after his convalesing, took a great trouble in his mynde, evidenced by his running out of the pulpit, when he was going to open his mouth, he still apprehended the magistrat wes comeing to take him out to execute him; for at the Assemblie of Glasgow, 1610, (whereof anone, God willing,) he confessed he had sold Christ for a very small sume, wherewith the King, by the hands of the Earle of Dumbar, corrupted such in that Assemblie as wes content to sell themselves to sin; and being verie poore, haveing a numerous familie, choosed rather to make hast nor beleve, for by the means of a false key now and then he took silver out of the kirk boxe; wherefore no great wonder though he ran out of the pulpit, his ordinare text, in providence, that day being John xii. 6. So he quat his ministrie, and silenced himself, requesting Mr John Moray, for Christ's sake, to take the charge of that congregation upon him: Thus Mr John Moray againe injoyed his ministrie from 1616 to 1622, at which tyme, being summoned before the High Commission for not conformitie, he was removed from Dumfermline, and confyned within the pariosh of Fowlls, in Strathern, where he abode in Gorthie, belonging to his brother, Sir David Moray, a courteour, ever till the death of the said Sir David *in anno* 1629; and then being put from Gorthie, he removed to Prestounpanns againe, where he departed this life *in anno* 1632, giveing many excellent exhortations to all who came to visit him in the tyme of his sicknes: In particular, intreating them never to consent to the present corruptions whilk had entered in this Kirk, aganis the whilk

[1] Andrew Forrester was minister of Dunfermline in 1598, and resigned in 1615.

corruptions he had made a verie godlie treatise,[1] by way of a dialogue betuix Cosmophilus (a bishop, a lover of this world) and Theophilus, (a godlie minister or professor, a lover of God.) All the tyme of his sicknes, and at his death, he professed it was to him mater of much peace and joy, that the Lord dained him, and thought him worthie to have that honour as to suffer for the glorious cause of God, and to give a testimonie to his trueth before a corrupt generation, and to be keeped free of corruptions introduced in this Kirk by prelacie and prelats. The like testimonie to God's trueth many precious servants of God gave, on their death-bed, in corrupt tymes, whilk I could relate; but I forbeare.

Now I come to Mr William Cowper, who, in the yeare of our Lord 1608, was reverenced, and had in estimation by many gracious Christians, for his soundness of doctrine, alwayes inveighing aganis the corrupt estate of bishops, appeareing to all men to hate verie much that lordlie dignitie in a kirk man, compareing them and their godless followers to snuffs of candles, whilk not onlie is destitute of light, but also casts out a filthie flewrish stink in men's noses. And when he knew that some bishops were upon a tyme going to ryde in Parliament, he said to his brethren, Let us go and see thir proud prelats ryde; I never thought to have seen such fearfull corruption in our Kirk: But most of all, he uttered his miscontentment aganis that hierarchie in a letter written to Mr George Grame, a compresbyter, minister at Scoone, (afterward Bishop of Dumblane,) who had before written to Mr Cowper a verie flattering letter, that he might obtaine some favour at his hands, and not to kyth his enemie as he did: Cowper his responsorie missive was this:—

"BROTHER,

"I have receaved your commendations from B., whilk were need-

[1] This little treatise was printed anonymously in 1620, as "A Dialogue betwixt Cosmophilus and Theophilus anent the urging of new Ceremonies upon the Kirke of Scotland. MDCXX." small 8vo, pp. 43. At the end is the date, "Januar. 1, 1621." It has been attributed to Calderwood, and was no doubt printed, like many of his tracts, in Holland, and, it might be, under his inspection.

less, if ye had keeped your wonted heart. As for me, I never hated you: your course wherein ye have entered I never loved; though the fruit ye injoy be sweet, yit the end shall prove it never grew upon the tree of life. Doeing in a mater of conscience with doubting turneth the light to darknes, whereupon followeth induration. Hence it followeth, that many in our Kirk without feeling are coursers aganis their brethren, who have done more good in the Kirk, for the edification of others, than ever themselves did, haveing neither eyes to see, nor hearts to considder, how dangerous their estate is, who cannot rise but with the falling of many, who in Christ have entered the right way in the ministrie, closeing the fountains whilk God hes opened. One of your awin stamp told me, long ere the last ministers went to Ingland, that they were written for to reason, but the end proved prison; and no appearance of returning to some of them. These are the first fruits of your preferment. Here ye stand, and, therefore, I cannot stand with you, except it be to witnes to God in my heart aganis you, that ye have gone wrong. Ye hope in this course to doe good; but is it not hard for you to work miracles? At least ye will hold off evill; but how shall ye draw in that yock with them who are drawing on evill daylie? Ye will not goe beyond the caveats of the Generall Assemblie. But the answere given to the commissioners of the Kirk, by the Chancellour, at the last Parliament, 'We enter not bishops according to an Act of the Assemblie, but according to that which they were an hundreth yeares since,' *detexit fraudem.* I heard the answere given with thir ears of myne, and so did the chief of themselves, A. B. G. Ye skarr at them whom sometyme ye were blyth to see; ye cannot abide the light whilk ye once loved; ye count those preachings unpleasant wherein once ye was wont to rejoyce: These may tell you ye have fallen away and apostatized. Considder [with] yourself where ye was, and where ye are now, and *quantulum illud sit propter quod nos reliquisti:* Thus loveing yourself, but not your way, I end.

(*Sic subscribitur*) M. W. C."

This same Mr William Cowper, notwithstanding of all this glanceing profession, perceaveing the courses of the bishops daylie going fordward, and being a proud ambitious man, glorieing in his gifts whilk he had receaved, (for he was an eloquent man, and had some dexterous conceptions; but in his commentarie upon Rom. viii. 7, urgeing the greatnes of our miserie in nature and unregeneracie upon this ground, that ἔχθρα is *pluralis numeri*, else it would not concord with φρόνημα, he is twise out, and it does speak out to all that he was but a poore Greek scholar:) He began first privatlie to be sociall and homelie with some of the bishops, and then after that Golden Assemblie at Glasgow, 1610, (whereof we are shortlie, God willing, to speak,) perceaveing that the bishops had gotten all their intent; he also imbraced a bishoprick, and was created (for this expression they were all called the King's creatures) Bishop of Galloway. And to excuse himself to the world, he penned an Apologie, and caused print it in London,[1] declareing the causes moveing him to take on that office, whilk he had once so much opposed and abhorred, and who, Hazael like, if any man had said, Mr William Cowper will become a bishop, would have been readie to have replyed, Am I a dog? But after his Apologie came home to Scotland, and that there were so many excellent answers[2] made to it, by way of refutation, he repented that ever he had sett out that Apologie; for after that he was mocked and abhorred of all good men. His best apologie was, he had gotten more light than he had

[1] This Apology is so scarce, that Mr Scott of Perth, in his Life of Cowper, says he had never seen it; and I have only met with a single copy. It has no separate title or date, but bears to be "The Bishop of Galloway his Apologie," 4to, four leaves; and is subscribed, "Yours in the Lord, William Cooper, B. of Galloway."

[2] David Hume of Godscroft addressed to Cowper "An Admonitorie Letter," partly occasioned by the Bishop's Apology. This was printed and circulated at the time. Cowper, in reply, republished Hume's Letter in separate paragraphs, with copious remarks, under the title of "The Bishop of Galloway his Dikaiologie: contayning a iust Defence of his former Apologie against the iniust Imputations of Mr Dauid Hume." London, 1614, 4to, pp. 183. At page 165 of the volume is subjoined "A short Answere to the Tripartite Antipologie of some namelesse Authers." These, with Hume's Letter, may have been "the excellent answers" to the Bishop's Apology to which Row alludes.

before. One answered mirrilie, It is true; for now he hes upon his table two great candles, whereas before he had but one small candle, other more light I know none. He was also accustomed to say, he had but succeeded to Mr John Row, minister of Perth, and Bishop of Galloway: It is true, Mr John Row was minister in St Johnstoune, and Superintendant of Galloway: But the differences betuix the Superintendents and diocesian lordlie Prelats are vast and many; for Superintendents (I confess the words in effect are *synonyma*, seeing that ἐπισκεπτεσθαι is *superintendere*) were acknowledged onlie to be necessarie and usefull in the infancie of our Kirk, before presbyteries could be had for the planting of Kirks: thus the apostle imployed Timothie, Titus, and others; 2°. The Superintendents were pastors over a particular flock, an imployment too base for a Lord Bishop; 3°. The Superintendents receaved their commission from, wes countable to, was censurable by, the Generall Assemblie; 4°. The Superintendents did, with difficultie and much urging, imbrace the office, wherein was to be seen nothing but *onus* not *honos*, povertie and pains, no preferment and riches; and, therefore, when they were requyred to lay that imployment asyde, they quat it gladlie and chearfully: But 1610 was not in the infancie of this Kirk, but when a governement, warranted by the word of God and lawes, ecclesiastick and civill, ratifieing it; after that all, King and subjects, even the perjured Prelats themselves, had sworn and subscryvit to it, wes fullie established, and had been in vigorous use for many years; bishops would not be pastors over flocks, but pastors over pastors; bishops did not receave their commission from, nor would they be countable to, or censurable by, the Generall Assemblie; bishops, gapeing on gaine, and hinting at honour, did greedilie imbrace their places; but at Glasgow, (a providence in the verie place,) 1638, they laid them asyde, or rather were turned out of them, being deposed and excommunicat, with greeff.

This Mr William Cowper was preferred to be dean of the Chappell-Royall at Haliroodhouse; and sometimes taught there, sometimes in the pariosh kirk, where Mr Henrie Blyth, an honest and holie man,

was minister. In end, Bishop Cowper, not contenting himself with generall doctrine, he publictlie affirmed from pulpitt, he could give full satisfaction to all or any who could or would come and conferr with him, anent the lawfulnes of any thing that had as yit entered into our Kirk, upon whilk invitation so many came to him, that he was wearied with them, both in the fields, and in his awin house; and some of them convinceing him, with good reason of the iniquitie of his horrid apostasie, charged him to prepare an answere shortlie to the Judge of all the world: Within a day or two after this, being at his pastyme, (for he loved that all his lifetyme verie much, so that that part of the Bishops verses,[1] *Ludos Gallowa* is his share,) in the Links of Leeth, he was terrified with a vision, or an apprehension; for he said to his play-fellows, after he had, in an affrighted and commoved way, cast away his play-instruments, (*arma campestria*,) I vow to be about with these two men, who hes now come upon me with drawen swords. When his play-fellows replyed, My Lord, it is a dreame, we saw no such thing, these men hes been invisible; he wes silent, went home trembling, took bed instantlie, and died, not giving any token of repentance for that wicked course whilk he had imbraced: but immediatlie before his death, he poynted oftentymes with his finger to the earth, reiterating these words, A fallen starr, A fallen starr. It seems he hes died in a fitt of dispare; but *raro vidi clericum pœnitentem*, is not so old as true. He was inaugurat in his Bishoprick *in anno* 1612,[2] and enjoyed the

[1] That is, verses on the Bishops; see page 291 of this work.

[2] According to Keith's Catalogue, Cowper was the successor of Gavin Hamilton as Bishop of Galloway, whose death, he says, took place in 1614. This must be an error for 1612. Mr Scott of Perth, in a Memoir of Cowper, printed in the Religious Monitor, quotes a MS. Chronicle of the time, as recording that "Mr William Cowper was made and consecrated Bishop of Galloway in the cathedral church of Glasgow, October 4, 1612;" and since printed by Mr Maidment, as "The Chronicle of Perth," p. 6. Edinb. 1831, 4to. In some of Cowper's treatises printed in 1613, he is styled "Minister of God's word, and B. of Galloway." He died at Edinburgh on the 15th of February 1619, and was interred in the Greyfriars church-yard, "at the back of the church, at the south-west corner." The inscription upon his monument, being a stone lying on the ground, close to the wall of the church, is given in Monteith's Theatre of Mortality, p. 15. Edinb. 1704, 8vo.

fruits of it (whilk, by his awin confession, never grew upon the tree of life) onlie seven years, for he died 1619. This man got many warnings; he dreamed (he wes full of apprehensions and groundles imaginations all his life) that he was a lame pig,[1] and that a golden hammer lighted on him and broke him all to peeces; this was when he was standing for trueth. Haveing communicated his dream to a brother, he expounds to him his dreame, saying, Brother, bewar that the golden hammer of a bishoprick break not yow and your profession in shivers; for if it fall out so, it will be said,

Malleus en fragilem confregerat aureus urnam.

Inglished thus:—

The golden hammer broke the brittle kan:
The bishoprick in peeces dash't the man.

I could speak of other apostat ministers also, who, for a long tyme, were opposits to the Bishops' corrupt courses; yit in end, some through ambition, some through avarice, some through both; or, being oppressed with povertie and debt, thinking by that mean to get releef to their estates and ruined houses, embraced bishopricks, such as Patrik Forbes, laird of Corse, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Mr Adam Bannatine, laird of Ken-no-where,[2] (indeed we know not, or we ken no, where he or any of his is this day,) first Bishop of Dumblane, and dean of the Chappell-Royall, then Bishop of Aberdeen; but with what reasone or conscience these apostats embraced bishopricks, after that they had preached so much aganis that cursed Hierarchie, the great day of the Lord Jesus will declare; and with what successe in their maine airme they have done it, let their posteritie, and all the Kirk and Kingdome of Scotland speak it out, to the glorie of God, and detestation of prelacie; for antichrist is

[1] *Lame*, earthen, and *pig*, pitcher, or any vessel of earthenware.

[2] Keith in one place describes Bellenden, Rector of Falkirk, as son of Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoul, in another place, as a "brother of the house of Broughton." Calderwood explains the allusion in the text, by stating that Bellenden accepted the meanest of the Bishopricks, "to patch up his broken lairdship of Kinnocher." (p. 650.)

the devill's eldest son and heir; and a proud prelat is antichrist's son and heir; and an hierarchiall doctor is the prelat's eldest son and heir; for, as we shall heare, they behoved to be doctorated[1] ere they were inaugurated bishops, &c.

Now, leaveing such particulars, I return to the Historie againe. We have heard how the distractions among ministers in their affections was removed at that Assemblie holden at Linlithgow 1608; and how it was appoynted that there should a certaine number meet to advise how the distraction in judgment that was among the brethren might be taken away. Thir were 20 in number, viz., 5 bishops, and 5 with them of their judgment; and, on the other syde, 10 ministers antiprelaticall; who all conveened at Falkland, by the King's awin direction, in the moneth of Maie *anno* 1609; where were present also the Earle of Dumbar, my Lord Scoone, and sundrie barons. They all being mett, his Majestie's commission was read, wherein he willed them to pacifie all controversies that were in the Kirk of Scotland als well as they could, and to report what they had done to the nixt Generall Assemblie. This commission being verie generall, there was added, in the margent, his Majestie's commission concerning reformation of Discipline. After long disputation and many speaches uttered, first, by five chosen out of ilk ten for each partie, and then by them all gathered together; except that the anti-Diotrephian ministers complained that they were much weakened by the absence of Mr Patrik Simson, one of their number, he being diseased, was not present; and so they were but nine that stood for the governement and discipline of Christ's Kirk. The first question was, Whither their conferences and reasonings should onlie be by word, *viva voce*, or if they should be putt in writt? Christ's ministers gave in many pungent and pregnant reassons, to induce the other partie to putt all in writt: but it was not yielded to. Yit after many speaches, yea, and some threatenings uttered aganis Christ's ministers, it was with modestie asked, For what end they

[1] Graduated as Doctors of Theology.

came there? and what were these controversies in the Kirk whilk would be taken away? For (said the ministers) we cannot call any acts and constitutions made and concluded in lawfull Generall Assemblies to be controversies; wherefore, we would have the controversies named, and some way designed, that we may speak of them. So, after many generall speaches, the Bishops and their associats regraited that the Caveats agreed upon at that Generall Assemblie at Montrose, *anno* 1600, and also at the Assemblie at Dundie, were over strict, and were too too rigorouslie sett downe: Some also named the act at Linlithgow, *anno* 1606, concerning constant Moderators to be a controversie, because some presbyteries had receaved them with some conditions, and some presbyteries had utterlie refuised them.

Ministers that would have spoken in defence of the Caveats, as being sett downe by the King's Majestie's awin consent, and aganis the act at Linlithgow, as a manifest breach of the former good ordour of our Kirk, were silenced; and some Articles were presented by the Bishops to be red, to pacifie and stay all hot speaches. They were four in number:—1°. That a declaration should passe fra this conference, and be published in all kirks, proporting that this Kirk of Scotland is well constitute both in doctrine and discipline, and all differences among the ministers thereanent (praised be God) are removed, whatsoever papists, atheists, or other enemies slanderouslie report in the contrare. This is not the last lie that the Bishops desyred to be printed and proclaimed, and what though all these twenty had been (as they were not) unanimous in everie thing, it might not be inferred hence that all the many hundred ministers in Scotland were for that of one judgment. 2°. That the handling of differences and controversies among ministers be laid asyde, and spared at this tyme; and that the saids differences be covered under the skirt of brotherlie love and Christian patience, and moderat wisdom, whill first papists and papistrie be proceeded aganis, and put to a poynt: ye see still takeing ordour with papists is a cloak to all their knavrie. 3°. Seing that the mater of bishoprie or hierarchie cannot convenientlie be handled at this tyme, but with

advantage to papists, and with hudge disadvantage to the established ordour of this Kirk, (whilk hes been a speciall mean whereby they and their kingdome hes been dissipat and overcome,) that purpose would be superseded, whill the land were purged of them (papists) and their leaven: onlie I remark here, they said not in dounright tearms, misken the canker a while longer, that it may yit spread more; but it was that in effect, and it proved so. 4°. That an earnest supplication might passe from this conference to his Majestie, for grace and favour to those ministers who have been so long banished, keept in prison, and confyned, that they may be sett at libertie, and returned to their awin stations and callings. This was the sugar that helped to swallow the pill.

Thir Articles being presented, and red to all that were present, and his Majestie's commissioners urging all earnestlie to acquiesce to them, assureing them that their so doeing would be verie acceptable to his Majestie, and procure at his hands, both an earnest dealling against papists, and a releef to their troubled brethren, all the brethren were desired to advise, especiallie upon the two controversies proponed, viz., anent the Caveats and constant moderators, and to report their judgments to the nixt meeting of that conference, whilk was appointed to be at Stirlin, August 1, nixt to come; desyreing also that the Generall Assemblie, whilk was promised by the King, were continued and prorogat to the first Tuesday of Maie, to be holden at St Androes, *anno* 1610 following. Thus the King's commissioners declareing what care the King took to have this Kirk of Scotland setled in peace and unitie, and the letter directed to his Majestie, being written and subscryvit by all present, this meeting dissolved, with thanksgiving to God; yea, Mr William Cowper being desyred by the King's commissioner and some brethren, to go instantlie to the kirk in Falkland, from the Palace, and there give some word of exhortation to such as in providence should be conveened, and give publictlie thanks to God for the good they had done at that meeting; whilk he did, exhorting upon Psal. lxxiv. 21, 22, 23, sang Psal. cxxxiii., and so dissolved.

In this conference, thus politicklie dressed, the bishops gained a great poynt, viz. That there was no supplication nor publict protestation given in aganis them at the approaching Parliament holden in July immediatlie following; for many things were concluded at that Parliament in their favours, and for their further preferment. The nobilitie that came to that Parliament being few, all the bishops did ryde in great pompe; and whatsoever priviledges they sought were granted to them, for then they were advanced to their full liveings, and all the casualities thereof whilk bishops enjoyed in tyme of Poperie. How much sinfull simplicitie (for want of serpentine wisdom) did at this tyme appeare in Christ's ministers, whereas the King's and the Bishops' plotts in all this, out of former experiences, might easilie have been espyed; how much want of zeall, courage, and care, appeared in them I shall not say, but lett a letter[1] of one of the banished ministers to one that wes upon that conference speak it out aloud. The conferrer had written to his persecuted brother what was done at that meeting at Falkland, desyreing his opinion and judgment, whither they had done good or evill at it. He answers,—

BROTHER,

I have receaved your short but right significative letter of your sound and ardent affection both toward the cause and us who suffer for it. [My dear and most loving sone,] ye would be spurred and censured, as ye speak; but what I should censure I see not, and to spurr a runing horse is no discretion. I grant it is true there is great need of both to us all, but what shall we doe, seing God, in his righteous judgment, for our former negligence, contempt, and ingratitude, hes plucked away from us both heart and hand, yea, and affection, zeal, courage, and action. So that autoritie, money, and craft, carries away all trueth, sinceritie, and bold freedome. Greatter craft, subtilitie, and tyrannie, was never

[1] Calderwood also inserts this letter, and says it was written by Mr James Melvin, or Melville; but the two copies differ in so many places, that it is not improbable the letter itself may have been written in Latin.—(Hist. p. 613.)

used by Pharao and the Egyptians aganis God's people. I saw all the craftie course plotted many years since, and gave such warning thereof as I could, both publictlie and privatlie, but few beleeved me. I cannot gett full information as yit what was done at that Parliament, but I heare, that all the King desyred for setting up of the bishops was inacted; and that he thought that was verie good service done to him. Ye speak of a question concerning the severitie of the Caveats concluded in relation to them who should vote in Parliament, but I wish the verie vote in Parliament itself were called in question againe; for it is the verie fundation of this rebuilded Babilon. If ye say yit, Men and brethren, what shall we doe? Would to God we had the spirit of compunction, first, to move us in an earnest maner to ask that question; then something might be answered: As, First, to cry and complain to Christ, filling heaven and earth with bitter lamentations for the captivitie and desolation of Zion, and for hir sake not to keep silence untill the Lord had pitie on hir. Nixt, to publish to all Christians our just greevances, how our Kirk is so oppressed by autoritie of men, corrupted by money, circumveened by craft and policie, and holden in thraldom aganis God's word, and aganis the acts, lawes, and priviledges whilk the King, the Estates of Parliament, and wholl bodie of this realme, hes granted and given to hir. Thirdlie, I would have those Balaams, with honour and riches made dumber nor asses, and blinder nor moles, who, for the wages of unrighteousnes, hes perverted the straight wayes of God; those Judasses, sons of perdition, who for money hes betrayed Christ and his kingdome; those profane Esaus, who hes sold their birth-right in Christ's inheritance for a meass of pottage; [and, finally, these Shemaiahs, imprisoners and tormentors of their brethren,] after due admonition, to be painted out livelie in their cullours and proceedings. And, lastlie, alace, if that spirit of action, zeall, and courage, whilk some tyme mightilie did reign in our Kirk, wer resuscitat and raised up againe, whilk might make a few from everie Presbyterie and Province conveen together in the name of Jesus Christ, and censure sickerlie those corrupters of the Kirk. But what talk

I of those maters, seing your last conference hes præoccupied all such dealling, and cutted short the occasions and means thereof by approveing all the King's proceedings, with giveing thanks to God therefore, (a horrible profanation, and takeing of God's name in vaine,) and promiseing peace, and brotherlie concord and contentment. So all that now can be done are but wishes and words, venting like new wine from the inward working of a passionat heart; *res jam non est integra;* the cause is prejudged, a few now cannot doe it, and a competent number of many will (I feare) never be gotten. So we must commend this wholl cause to the great Avenger of the defaceing of his awin glorie, and demolishing of the hedge of his vineyaird, and fair wall of his Jerusalem, and complaine continuallie, that now we cannot see any signs of any remedie, neither is there any prophet among us to tell us, How long, &c. Yit, deare brethren, sufferers for, and labourers in, the cause of Christ, let us not be altogether discouraged, but hearken to the voyce of our Christ and King, saying, Let not your hearts be troubled, &c., John xiv. 1, &c. And this is a faithfull saying, If we suffer with him, (for him,) we shall also reigne with him, 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12, 13 ver. And, finallie, let us be as Jeremiah, carried to Egypt aganis his will, and like Ezekiell, Daniell, and the rest, caried to Babilon aganis their will. Let us ever have the examples of the godlie before our eyes, and preass to imitat their patience, pietie, wisdom, and courage, ever standing uprightlie and constantlie for the glorie of God, and comfort of his captivated Kirk, untill the time it please him to stirre up some Zerubbabel, or Nehemiah, or Ezra, to bring againe the people, to re-edifie his temple, and sett up againe the decayed walls of his Jerusalem: the hope whereof is much encreassed, hightened, and strengthened amongst all the truelie learned and godlie in Europe, by a voyce sounding nightilie, as it were, fra the dead, aganis this sacrilegious and cursed Hierarchie, I mean Mr Brightman's Commentarie upon the Apocalypse, whilk hes more clearelie and solidlie demonstrat the trueth of God aganis them then all that hellish pack of Jesuits and worldlie formalists can say any thing for them; [of whom ye will see my

Uncle's judgment, in his last letter to me, which I have sent you with this bearer;[1]] the reading thereof I recommend to you, and rests, desyreing a greatter intention of spirit in mutuall prayer.

Now to proceed in our Historie. The Bishops perceaveing that conferences would not doe their turn, deserted that second meeting appoynted to have been at Stirlin, and caused a proclamation to come doune fra Court, dischargeing the Generall Assemblie whilk should have been at St Androes, yea, and all ordinare keeping of Assemblies; because there was such distraction and disagreement amongst the ministers, that the keeping of an Assemblie could work no other effect, but give advantage to Papists and other enemies of the gospell to insult over them. And fullie to gaine their poynt, the tuo Archbishops, St Androes and Glasgow, with some others, *in anno* 1610, went up to Court, and there purchased at the King's hand (who could, who would, refuise them nothing) the High Commission, (whilk is most tyrannicallie used by the bishops of Ingland,[2]) to be also sett up in Scotland, that they might be the more awfull and formidable to all, but speciallie to the ministers, who would not follow their course. Further, they purchased missive letters from the King to seven or eight score of the most ignorant and most disaffected, worst inclyned, of the ministrie, and most profane, together with his Majestie's missives to all Presbyteries, commanding them to send such of their number as he had nominat in his letters, to keep and assemble at Glasgow such a day as was therein mentioned; and in his particulare letters to everie minister that was nominat, he commanded those ministers to keep the said day and dyet appoynted, whither their Presbyterie

[1] The words printed within brackets in this letter are omitted in the MSS. of Row's History.

[2] A Court of High Commission had been established in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and much oppression and severity having attended its judgments, it was regarded with general dislike by the laity. King James's letter, authorising the establishment of two such Courts in the province and diocese of St Andrews and of Glasgow, dated 15th of February 1610, will be found in Calderwood, pp. 616-619. He also inserts the warrant for uniting these Courts, 21st December 1615, pp. 651-654.

did give them commission or not, assureing them both of thanks and reward for their duetifull obedience and service.

But that all men may see the hudge iniquitie of, and the many fearfull inconveniences that might and did ensue upon that High Commission, (which was first granted at this tyme to Mr George Gladstans, Archbishop of St Androes, and after Gladstans's death, it was renewed againe to Mr John Spotiswood, then Archbishop of St Androes, in a more ample and more subtill forme, *in anno* 1620,) ye shall considder the tenor of it in the words following:[1]—

[THE KING'S WARRANT FOR THE RENEWAL OF THE HIGH COMMISSION COURT, 1620.]

Our Soveraigne Lord ordains a Letter of Commission to be passed under his Highness Great Seall of the Kingdome of Scotland, bearing, That, forsamekle as it hes been complained by the Archbishops, Bishops, and other ministers of that his Majestie's Kingdome, that advocations and suspensions are frequentlie granted by the Lords of Councill and Session, unto such as be in process before them and their ecclesiasticall court, for offences committed; whereby offenders are imboldened to continue in their wickedness, useing the said advocations and suspensions as means to delay their tryell and punishment: Therefore, that no such subterfuge be left unto impious and wicked men, witt ye His Majestie, as being supream governour over all persons and causes, both civill and ecclesiasticall, within his Highness dominions, nixt and immediatlie under Christ, to have given, granted, and committed, likeas, by the tenor hereof, His Majestie gives, grants, and committs full power and commission to the right reverend Fathers in God, his trustie and wel-beloved councellours, John Archbishop of St Andrews, Primat of Scotland, and James Archbishop of Glasgow, to his Highness right trustie cousins and counsellours, Alexander Earle of Dumfermline, Chanceller, Johne Earle of Marre, Thesaurer, George Earle Marshall,[2]

[1] This warrant has been compared and corrected by the copy in Calderwood's History, pp. 733-735.

[2] Instead of the list of names which are here inserted from Calderwood, Row sim-

John Earle of Montrose, and Thomas Earle of Melros, his Majestie's Secretarie of Scotland; to the right reverend Fathers in God, Alexander Bishop of Dunkel, Patrick Bishop of Aberdeen, Alexander Bishop of Murray, Andrew Bishop of Galloway, Patrick Bishop of Ross, David Bishop of Brechin, Adam Bishop of Dumblane, John Bishop of Cathness, Andrew Bishop of Argyle, and George Bishop of Orknay; to his Highness trustie counsellers, William Lord Sanquhar, Arthure Lord Forbes, James Lord Ochiltrie, Sir Richard Cockburne, Lord Privie-Seal, Sir George Hay, Clerk-Register, Sir William Levingstoun of Kilsyth, knight; and to his welbeloved Sir John Lermonth of Balcolmie, Dr Peter Bruce, dean of the Chapter of St Andrews, Mr James Hammiltoun, dean of the Chapter of Glasgow, Dr Alexander Gladstone, archdean of St Andrews, Dr Theodor Hay, archdean of Glasgow, Mr David Sharpe, chanter of Glasgow, Dr Henrie Philip, minister at Aberbroth, Dr Robert Howie, Provost of the New Colledge of St Andrews, Dr James Blair, Professor of Divinitie in the said Colledge, Dr William Forbes, minister at Aberdeen, Dr John Strang, minister at Errol, Dr Archibald Hammiltoun, minister at Paisley, Masters Patrick Galloway, Andrew Ramsey, and William Struthers, ministers at Edinburgh, Mr John Strauchan, parson at Kincardine, Mr John Guthrie, minister at Perth, Mr Coline Campbel, minister at Dundie, Mr John Bell, minister at Abernethie, Walter Whytfoord, parson of Moffet, Mr James Logan, parson of Ettilstoun, Mr Andrew Drummond, minister at Panbryde, Mr John Ogilvie, minister at Auchincoldrom, Mr John Mackorn, minister at Stratoun, Mr David Cuninghame, minister at , Mr John Weems, commissar of St Andrews, Mr Thomas Henrison, commissar of Edinburgh, and Mr James Hammiltoun, commissar of Glasgow; or any five of them, the Archbishop of St Andrews and Glasgow, or any one of them, being of the number of the five alwayes: And to summond and call before

ply adds, after Earl Marshall, "and so reckons out some more earles and lords, all the eleven bishops, some officers of state, some barrons, all the doctors of Theologie, sundrie ministers, all of Diotrephes humor, and three commissars."

them, at the tymes and places they shall think most convenient, all persons dwelling within the Kingdome of Scotland, and within the Provinces of St Andrewes and Glasgow, that are offenders in doctrine, life, or religion, or any of these holden to be scandalous; and, speciallie the intercommuners and resetters of jesuits, seminarie priests, and masse priests, hearers of masse, priests and excommunicat papists, recusants or not-communicants, incestuous and adulterous persons, all obstinat contemners of the discipline of the Kirk, and persons excommunicat for the samine: To take tryell of the forenamed offences; and as they shall finde any person guiltie or impenitent, to give direction to the minister of the parish where he duells to proceed with excommunication aganst him: and if the minister obey not the said command, to censure him by suspension, deprivation, and warding, as they think meet: And further, to fyne, imprison, and ward any such persons as they shall finde guiltie of the saids crymes, or that shall be contumacious, and refuise compearance when they shall be charged: With power likewise to the saids commissioners to summond and call before them all ministers, preachers, doctors, or masters of schoolls, colledges, and universities, and all exhorting and lecturing readers, within the bounds foresaid, that shall be delated to them for preaching and speaking in publick aganst the present established Order of the Kirk or Estate, or aganst any of the Conclusions of the bypast Generall Assemblies of the Kirk; speciallie of the Acts of the Generall Assemblie holden at Perth in the moneth of August 1618 years, and all disobeyers of the said Acts; likewise writters of pamphletts, in the contrare of any of the constitutions of the Kirk, and printers of the saids books and pamphletts, or of any other books without his Majestie's licence, or warrand of such as his Majestie hes authorized with the granting of licence in such cases. And who soever that after tryell shall be found guiltie of any of the præmisses, to punish them by suspension, deprivation, fyning, warding, and imprisoning, as they shall finde the qualitie of the offence to deserve: As also, with power to them to receave and discusse all appellations made to them from any inferiour ecclesiasticall judges, and to inhibit the

said ecclesiasticall judges to proceed in any mater which they shall hold to be improper for them, or wherein they shall perceave the saids judges to have behaved themselves partiallie, advocating the saids maters to their awin judgment, and commanding the Captaine or lieutenant of his Majestie's guard, the Provest and baillies of the burgh where the saids Commissioners shall happin to sitt, Sheriffs and baillies of the regalities, to search, take, and apprehend all such offenders, and to present them to the said Commissioners, upon a warrand subscryved by any five of them, (one of the said Archbishops being alwayes of the number,) and chargeing the captains or constables of his Majestie's wards and castells, jayllers and keepers of prison in burgh or land, to receave and detaine all persons directed to them, in such forme as by the said warrand shall be prescryved, as they will answere to the contrare at their perill: Requireing also the Lords of his Majestie's Privie Councill, upon the sight of a certificat, subscryved by any fyve of the saids Commissioners, (one of the said Archbishops being allwayes one,) either of fyne imposed upon any partie, or upon their refuiseing to compeare before the said Commissioners, to direct a summar charge of horning upon ten dayes, for payment of the fyne that shall be imposed upon them; and to direct other letters, for denunceing of persons that shall refuise to compeare before the said Commissioners, of whilk letters no suspension of relaxation shall be granted without a testimonie under the Archbishops' hands of the partie's obedience and satisfaction; and with power to the said Commissioners to choise clerks, procurator-fiscall, and other members of court, and to direct precepts in name of the said Archbishops and their associats, for citation of any partie before them in any of the causes above named: which precepts shall be sealled with a speciall seall, containing the airms of the said Archbishops; and with power to summond witnesses in any of the said causses, under the paine of 40 libs. money of this realme of Scotland; and if the witnesses refuise to compeare, the said Lords of Councill shall direct charges for payment of the penalties they shall incurr; upon certificat of the said Commissioners: of all such

fynes as shall be imposed, the one half to pertaine to his Majestie and his Highness thesaurer, and the other half to be bestowed upon such necessarie charges as the said Commissioners shall be forced to, and the superplus thereof to be bestowed at the sight of the said Commissioners *ad pios usus*. And generallie, all and sundrie other things whatsomever to doe, whilk they shall think to be convenient for his Majestie's service, and according to the intent of the said commission. Attour, his Majestie, by the tenor hereof, discharges the Lords of his Highness Privie Councill and Session of all advocation from all Ecclesiasticall judicatories of any maters of the qualitie above written; but that they reserve the tryell and judgment thereof to the said Commissioners, chargeing and commanding all and sundrie his Highness subjects and leidges whom it effeers to readilie answere and obey the said Commissioners, or any five of them, (one of the said Archbishops being one,) their officers and ministers, in all and sundrie things concerning the premisses, under all highest paine and charge that after may follow. Given at Our Manor of Greenwich, the fifteen of Junij, and of our reignes of England, France, and Ireland, the seventeen, and of Scotland, the fifty-two. (Subscribed by the King's own hand.)

Sic subscribitur, JAMES R.
MELROSE.
GEORGE HAY.
ALEX. CANCELL.
MARRE.

Now, albeit this commission, *verbo tenus*, appears to have been given out for takeing order with offences, wickednes, scandalls in doctrine, life, and religion, and especiallie to take ordor with papists, excommunicats, and recusants, and other ungodlie livers; yit it is notoure that was never intended; for shall the most profane and scandalous offenders in all the Kingdome (the Bishops I mean) take ordour with profanitie? (See the cleareing of this trueth, at Glasgow Golden Assemblie, 1638, page 14, 15, &c., Ses. 14, &c.,) and that antichristian tyrannicall Hierarchie was never an enemie

to papists. But the trueth was, as the effect and event proved and spoke aloud, that it was intended, and all the force of it was bended onlie to the hurt, dounebeareing, and undoeing of the faithfull servants of Jesus Christ, opposers of their Hierarchie; for by this High Commission, some of the sincerest ministers of this kingdome hes been confyned, (I speak from personall experience,) some put from their ministrie by deposition; others of the subjects hes little regarded it, as never being confirmed by any Parliament; for it is a plaine way for the King's Majestie to exercise an absolute autoritie upon any of his subjects, of whatsomever rank they be, when ever he pleases, seing he can by himself alone erect a new judicatorie, to overtop all, both in kirk and commonwealth: for in speaking of appellations, even the Generall Assemblie, the supream ecclesiastick judicatorie in this Kirk, is not excepted; yea, they resolved never to have another Assemblie; so that from 1618 to 1638, for twenty years, there was no Generall Assemblie in Scotland. What are the evills of this Commission, see *Didoclavij Altare Damascenum*,[1] printed 1623, p. 17 *ad* 29; but he speaks of the Commission granted first, 1610, wherein three was a quorum. The grave and weightie Reassons for whilk it was discharged at Glasgow 1638, p. 13, holds forth also the iniquitie, injustice, wickedness, and tyrannie of that Court. And now, see what was the King's drift and designe, when, so many years agoe, he caused transport worthie Mr Black out of St Androes (for he was most antiprælaticall) to Arbirlett in Angus, and Mr George Gladstanes (a verie court sycophant) from Arbirlett to St Androes, where now he is Archbishop and Primat of Scotland, *anno* 1610.

Now, we come to speak of the seventieth Generall Assemblie holden at Glasgow, Junij 8, 1610: Mr Johne Spotiswood, bishop there, usurped the moderation. This Assemblie was a rare one, for unexpectedness, suddaintie, way of procedure, acts, and events: 1°. It was most unexpected in regard of that proclamation, pag. 195,

[1] The well-known work of Calderwood, published abroad, under the name of Edwardus Didoclavius.

[264] dischargeing Assemblies. 2°. Most suddaine, for the Earle of Dumbar, with the ministers and presbyteries letters fra the King, came downe from Court in the end of Maie, and the Assemblie held Junij 8. 3°. In regard of the way of procedure; on the right hand, allurement, gold to be given to them that voyceth as the King would have them to voyce; to perjure themselves, break covenant, sell Christ and his cause for 30d., and their birth-right for a meass of pottage; on the left hand, terrour, threatnings, menassings, the wrath of a King, the roareing of a lyon, persecutions, deposition, banishment, &c. 4°. Acts setting up an abjured hierarchie, rebuilding cursed Jericho, re-edifieing demolished Babel. 5°. The events (ye may well know) could not be but dreadfull. The historie is this: In the end of Maie 1610, the Earle of Dumbar comeing down from court, brought with him from the King a commission, and many letters, one to each Presbyterie, and letters to many particular ministers who were nominat by the bishops, and thought meetest to be at that Assemblie, desireing and willing presbyteries to send those ministers named in the letters to that Assemblie, with an unlimited commission, and willing the particulare ministers to whom he wrot to repair to that Assemblie, whether their presbyterie gave them a commission or not. Thir letters being delyvered in the end of Maie, the Assemblie was appoynted to meet at Glasgow upon the 8th day of Junij following.

Sundrie noblemen and barrons were written for to keep that meeting, and some ministers also who were not named in his Majestie's letters to the Presbyteries. Also, the Earle of Dumbar brought with him three Inglish doctors,[1] estimated great divines; and he lacked not gold and money eneugh to be distributed and given to such ministers as should vote to the King's contentment. Thus all being conveened, and ministers and others informed afore-

[1] These were Dr Christopher Hampton, Dr Phineas Hodson, and Dr George Meriton, each of them chaplain to the King. Hodson, "the little chaplain," as Calderwood styles him, preached before the Assembly at Glasgow on the 8th, the other two on the 10th of June. The sermons of Hampton and Meriton were printed at London, 1611, 4to.

hand, the first day of the meeting was appoynted to be a day of fasting and humiliation, (as when Naboth's vineyard and life is plotted to be taken, a fast must be proclaimed, wherewith to palliat the plott: 1 Reg. xxi. 9,) and, therefore, there were three sermons taught, one by the Bishop of the place, Mr John Spotiswood, who had (as said is) usurped the moderation, because they were conveened at his cathedrall: he preached at seven hours in the morning; Mr James Law, Bishop of Orknay, at ten houres; and one of the Inglish doctors at afternoone; all aiming at this, that there was need of a more comelie and peaceable government in our Kirk then was presentlie: And, therefore, albeit religion came into this countrey after one maner of way, viz., aganis autoritie, yit must be intertained after another way, viz., with autoritie and regall power.

The nixt day, the Assemblie fullie conveened, earls, lords, barrons, ministers, and commissioners: The King's Majestie's grand commissioner still assenting to whatever was thought meet by the Moderator. And, therefore, the first thing that was done, there was a privie Conference chosen, to shorten the Assemblie the better, whilk hes been the wrack of almost all our Assemblies continuallie. This privie Conference was made up for the most part of Bishops, and their followers, who, without contradiction, (except two that opponed to some things, whom the Moderator would not name in open audience; they were supposed to be Mr Johne Hall, and Mr William Cowper,) concluded the Articles following; and so the Moderator reading them openlie, in the audience of all the Assemblie, and makeing all the Articles as though they had been but one, (whilk was a verie wicked trick,) sought the votes of the wholl Assemblie; beginning at his Majestie's Commissioner, and then going to the noblemen, barrons, and gentlemen, and last at the ministers, (whereas ministers should voyce first, noblemen and gentlemen haveing voyce there but as elders,) all their votes were either *affirmative*, granting to all the Articles *in cumulo*, (and these votes caried the mater,) or *negative*, voteing aganis all the Articles; and such were only five or six ministers, or some voted *non liquet;* because

they would peradventure have voted to some of the Articles, but they had not will to be so gross as to voyce to them all. After the votes given, and Assemblie concluded, then the pelf (gold) was distributed among these that voyced affirmatively; and some got more, and some less, according as the Bishops thought they deserved their reward, or were able to hold fordward the cause and purpose intended; whereby it came to passe, that some getting so little in comparison of others, were mal-contents, and went home, wishing they had not come to that Assemblie. This being knowen in the countrey, they made a rumour passe, that the King's Majestie had onlie given moneyes to such ministers as had their dwellings far fra Glasgow, to defray their great charges; but the contrare was well knowen; for both some neare Glasgow, who voted the King's way, got the wages of Balaam, and some gracious ministers in the North, who voted *negative*, got no gold at all.

THE ARTICLES CONCLUDED AT GLASGOW ASSEMBLIE, 1610.

Imprimis, That the pretended Assemblie holden at Aberdeen is null in itself, in respect it had not his Majestie's allowance, and was discharged by his Highnes's Commissioner. And, because that the necessitie of the Kirk craves, that, for ordour takeing with the common enemie, the Papist, and other effairs of the Kirk, there shall be yearlie Generall Assemblies, the indiction whereof the Generall Assemblie acknowledges to appertaine to his Majestie, by the prorogative of his Royall Croune; and, therefore, this Generall Assemblie most humblie requests his Majestie, that Generall Assemblies may be holden once in the yeare at the least, in respect of the necessities foresaids; desyreing his Majestie to appoynt a certaine tyme at the which the samyne may be holden preciselie in all tymes comeing.

Item, It is thought expedient that the Bishops shall be Moderators in everie Diocesan Synod; and the Synods shall hold twice in the yeare in the kirk of the diocie, viz., in Aprile and October; and where the diocie is large, that there be two or thrie Synods in convenient places for the ease of the ministers.

Item, The Visitation of the Dioceses to be done by the Bishop himself, and if the bounds be greatter nor he can overtake, he is then to make speciall choise, and appoint some worthie man in his place to be visitor; and what ever minister, without just cause and lawfull excuse made, shall be absent fra the visitation of the Diocesan Assemblie, he shall be suspended from his office and benefice, and if he amend not, he shall be depryved.

Item, That no sentence of excommunication or absolution be pronounced against or in favours of any person, without the knowledge and approbation of the Bishop of the Diocie, who must be answerable to his Majestie for all formall and impartiall proceeding therein, and the process being found formall, the sentence to be pronounced at the direction of the Bishop by the minister of the pariosh where the offender dwells, and where the process began. And in case the Bishop shall be found to have stayed the pronounceing of the sentence aganis any person who hes demerited the same, and aganis whom the process hes been lawfullie deduced, the same being tryed, and he convicted in a Generall Assemblie; therefore, that advertisement shall be made to his Majestie, to the effect another may be placed in his roume. (Notandum, The Generall Assemblie may not depose him.)

Item, That all presentations be directed hereafter to the Bishop, and upon a presentation given or otherwise sute made by any, to be admitted to the ministrie, the minister is to requyre of the brethren of the bounds where he is to serve, a testificat of his conversation past, abilitie, and qualification for the function; and upon the return of their testification, the bishop is to take farder tryell, and finding him qualified, and being assisted by some of the ministrie of the bounds, (no mention at all of the Presbyterie where he is to serve,) he is to perfite the act of ordination. (Notandum, The Bishop is answerable to none for his doeing, and Paull, an eminent apostle, associated to himself in this act of laying on of hands the Presbyterie; but this is now the verie hour of darknes.)

Item, In deposition of ministers, the Bishop, associating unto himself (he hes the option and choise himself, be ye assured they shall

be all prelaticall, men of his awin stamp) some of the ministrie of the bounds where the delinquent is, they shall take tryell of his fact, and, upon just causses, depryve him.

Item, That everie minister, at his admission, shall sweare obedience to his Majestie, and to his Ordinar, according to the forme sett downe in the conference at Leith, *in anno* 1571, whereof the tenor followes: (Nota, That conference at Leith, *in anno* 1571, was protested aganis at Perth, *in anno* 1573, declareing particularlie that bishops should not meddle with seculare effairs, and should have nothing beyond the office of a superintendent. *Vide post Altare Damascenum tractatum de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, pag.* 5, *et post illum tractatum Vindicias Philadelphi*, &c., *pag.* 36, 37.[1])

> "The Forme of the Oath to be given by the Person provyded to any Benefice with cure, the time of his admission, by the Ordinar.

"I A. B., now nominat and admitted to the Kirk of C., verilie testifie and declare in my conscience, that the right excellent, right high and mightie Prince James the VI., by the grace of God King of Scotts, is the onlie lawfull supream governour of this Realme, als well in things temporall, as in conservation and purgation of religion; and that no forraigne prince, prelat, state, or potentate, hes or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superioritie, preheminencie, or authoritie, temporall, ecclesiasticall, or spirituall, within this Realme: And, therefore, I utterlie renounce and forsake all forraigne jurisdiction, powers, superiorities, and authorities; and promise that, from this tyme forth, I shall and will beare faithfull and true alleageance to his Highnes, his heirs, and lawfull successors; and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, priviledges, and preheminencies united and annexed to his Royall Croun. And farther, I acknowledge and confess to have and to hold the said C., and possessions of the samyn, under God onlie, of his Majestie and

[1] The treatises here mentioned are printed at the end of Calderwood's Altare Damascenum, 1623, 4to.

Croun Royall of this realme; and for the saids possessions I doe homage presentlie unto his Highness in your presence, and to his Majestie's heirs and lawfull successors shall be [faithfull and] true. So help me God."

Item, The exercise of doctrine is to be continued weeklie amongst the ministers at the tymes of their accustomed meeting, and to be moderated by the Bishop if he be present, or then by any other whom he will appoint at the tyme of the Diocesan Synod.

Item, The Bishops shall be subject in all things concerning their life and conversation and benefice to the censure of the Generall Assemblie, and being found culpable, with his Majestie's advise and consent, (whilk they well knew would never be obtained,) to be depryved.

Item, That no Bishop be elected but who is past the age of forty years compleat, and who hes been an actuall teaching minister for the space of ten years.

All which Articles, divers tymes read publictlie in face of the wholl Assemblie convecned, after voting the samyn, were ratified and concluded by the said Assemblie, and injoyned by the Moderator to be observed in all tyme comeing.

Yit a godlie brother, Mr Peter Primrose, with the remanent brethren of the Presbyterie of Aire, who, being neare to Glasgow, came to see what would be done at that Assemblie, who perceaveing the gross iniquitie of those acts, (whereby, in one instant, all the excellent forme of the discipline of this Kirk of Scotland was casten doun,) were fullie resolved to protest aganis all that was done, and began in publict to doe the same; yit were interrupted, and made to beleve that they should get satisfaction in the privie Conference; where, partly by minassing authoritie, and partlie by cunning policie, they were broken and laid by.

Therefore, before their dissolution, instead of giveing any satisfaction to well affected brethren after conference, this Act was also concluded :—

That seeing it is alreadie inacted, that the Bishop shall mode-

rat at the exercise of the brethren, or one whom he shall name at the Synod; and seing there is no Synod to be till October nixt, that, in absence of the Bishop, the constant Moderator shall remaine in his awin place, in everie presbyterie, whill the nixt Synod come.

Item, Because it is uncivill that lawes and constitutions, either civill or ecclesiastick, being once established and in force, by publict and open consent, should be controlled or called in question by any person; therefore, it is statut by uniforme consent of the wholl Assemblie, that none of the ministers, either in pulpit in his preaching, or in his publict exercise, speak or rëassone aganis the acts of this present Assemblie, nor disobey the same, under the paine of deprivation, being tryed and convicted thereof. And speciallie that the question of equalitie or inæqualitie in the Kirk be not treated in the pulpit, under the same paine; and that everie one of the present commissioners intimat this act, in the first meeting at the first exercise after their return home.

Extracted forth of the Register of the Books of the Generall Assemblie by me Mr Thomas Nicolson, *commissar of Aberdeen, clerk, keeper, and extractor hereof.*

NOTANDA.

1°. Forby what is said, observe the men given over (it seems) to a reprobat mynde, who knowing that they were deeplie plotting and openlie practiseing aganis the cause and covenant of God, to whilk they were all sworne, yit durst they, in so blasphemous a maner, take the name of the great God in vaine, as to celebrat a fast, and beg in prayer the God of trueth to countenance their publict perjurie; and haveing concluded, they durst abuse that sacred, great, and glorious name, by thanksgiveing to God for good successe in betraying the kingdome of Jesus Christ.

2°. Remark, those Assemblies, at that tyme of defection and apostasie, were but ciphers; the privie Conference, chosen all of disaffected men, for the most part reasoned and concluded all, in the Assemblie nothing but reading and voyceing.

3°. The King, so judicious a prince, contrare the light of his mynd, and many publict testimonies to the trueth, given in open audience of Generall Assemblies, publict declarations, and otherwise; for by his solemne sweareing the Covenant, with his hand lifted up to the most high God, and causeing all the kingdome to doe the same, now being forty-four years of age, tempts by gold on the one hand, and menassings on the other, weak, wicked, and unstable men to perjure themselves, forsake their covenant, and turn their back on Christ's kingdome.

4°. Remark, the Earle of Dumbar is a chief stickler in all this cursed bussines.

5°. They declare aganis Aberdeen Assemblie: How is it to be expected they will deall earnestlie with the King for the reduceing or releassing of those, (whom the King persecuted for avowing of that Assemblie,) as at Falkland they promised?

6°. They make the King head of the Kirk, and it is a question if *papatus politicus* be not large worse nor *papatus ecclesiasticus*.

7°. Presbyteriall governement is closs abolished: in effect it is but *larva et umbra* that remains, and Prelacie is fullie sett up: Yit the Caveats inacted at Montros, *anno* 1600, pag. 145, [201], are not abrogated: Whereupon and other solid grounds, in number fyve, the Golden Assemblie at Glasgow, *anno* 1638, pag. 9, hes declared this pretended Assemblie 1610 to be null, and did proceed to depose the Bishops at Glasgow 1638, pag. 14, &c.

8°. Want of courage, zeall, and honestie in those who loved the trueth, being boasted from or persuaded to quyt their publict protestation aganis this corrupt Assemblie.

9°. Iniquitie is established by a law, Psal. xciv. 20, yit men discharged to speak aganis it, all are commanded to be metamorphozed in dumb dogs that cannot bark.

10°. Notandum, We have had two Golden Assemblies at Glasgow, one 1610, golden, as *poculum* is called *aureum*, where reall gold Jacobusses (as the Inglish tearme our double angells) were givin to such as wer content to sell Christ; the other, 1638, golden, (as *numerus* in the almanack and calendare, by compotists,)

is called *aureus*, i.e. *pretiosissimus*, because of its excellent use and benefite it produces.

Thir doings at this corrupt Assemblie were heavilie regraited by good brethren of the ministrie, and godlie professors also, so that as sundrie of the nobilitie, bishops, and ministers, were returning home, and came to Stirlin, Mr Patrik Simson publictlie, in a solemne and frequent congregation before them all, in his sermon laid out before them their perjurie and defection from the trueth of God, fairlie and clearlie manifesting the mater so to their consciences, that the Bishops were at a stand, and knew not what to doe, whither to accuse him, or to comport with that rub; yit, after advisement, they judged meetest at that tyme to forbeare.

Suchlyke, when as severall of them came to Edinburgh, Mr Walter Balcanquall, one of the ministers there, served them just as Mr Patrik Simson did; who was for this conveened before the King's Councill, where *coram* he convicted Bishop Law of apostasie and perjurie in such a maner that he had nothing to answere; yit they dismissed him with a simple admonition. Mr Patrik Galloway also glanced verie neare the matter in his first sermon that he made after his return to Edinburgh, but ever withall (after his accustomed maner) flattering the King verie much.

Others also, professors that spak pertlie and openlie aganis the Acts of that Assemblie, were also summoned before the Councill, who appeareing, spak freelie their mynde, so that the Councill thought they behoved to punish them some way; but the Bishop of Glasgow stayed them, saying, That such dealling so soone would doe no good, but stirre up more, and mak them over much adoe; yit a merchand of Edinburgh, William Kemp, was imprisoned a while, and then was releeved with a sharp admonition. And instantly there was a terrible proclamation made, that none should speak or writ aganis the Proceedings and Acts of the late Assemblie at Glasgow.[1]

[1] When Dr Hampton published his "Sermon preached in the Citie of Glasgow in Scotland, on the tenth day of June 1610, at the holding of a Generall Assembly there," Lond. 1611, 4to, in his dedication to the King, he alludes to the "calumniations of a tragicall triffler," and says, "The brethren to whom he sends his

Immediatlie after this, the Bishops of Glasgow and Brechine took journey to Court to report what was done, and got great thanks fra the King. Galloway followed, who all three abode there till the moneth of November, at what tyme the Inglish Parliament sat doun in Westminster, and then by a speciall commission from the King to the Bishop of London for that effect, the Archbishop of Glasgow and the other tuo were solemlie ordained, inaugurat, and consecrated,[1] with anoynting of oyle and other ceremonies, just according to the Inglish fashion and pontificall of the Papists; who thereafter returning to Scotland in the moneth of December, did to the Archbishop of St Androes, in St Androes, as they were done withall at Lambeth, als neare as they could possiblie imitat; and thereafter the tuo Archbishops consecrated the rest, and the new intrant Bishops as they were nominat by the King, and agreed unto by the rest, first quyetlie, as being ashamed of the foolish guyses in it, but afterward more and more solemnlie as their estate grew, and as they were favoured by their Prince.

Now to speak some other things that followed as effects of this Assemblie. When newes came to Ingland what was done at Glasgow, and Mr Andro Melvill then being in the Towre, was informed of all the particulars, [James Colvine,] a gentleman of his acquaintance

Narration are reverend in deed, but so respective of the Churches tranquilitie, that the idle sound of his trumpet will make no alarum." What Narration is here referred to is uncertain.

[1] John Spottiswood, Archbishop of Glasgow, Andrew Lamb, Bishop of Brechin, and Gavin Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway. According to Spottiswood's own account, (as well as other authorities,) the consecration took place on the 21st of October, in the chapel at London-House, by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath; the Archbishops of York and Canterbury being specially excepted, to avoid any appearance of their acknowledging the usurpation which these prelates claimed of old, as belonging to their spiritual jurisdiction. He also states that a question was moved by Dr Andrews, Bishop of Ely, of the necessity that the Scotish Bishops should first be ordained Presbyters, as having received no ordination from a Bishop. Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, however, who was present, maintained "That thereof there was no necessity, seeing where Bishops could not be had, the Ordination given by the Presbyters must be esteemed lawfull; *otherwise, that it might be doubted if there were any lawfull vocation in most of the Reformed Churches.* This applauded to by the other Bishops, Ely (it is added) acquiesced."—(Hist. p. 514.)

came to take his leave of him, and asked what word he had to send to his friends in Scotland, for he was presentlie to go to his journey. He, haveing his mynd upon the deplorable estate of the Kirk of Scotland, took scarcelie any heed what the gentleman had said to him; wherefore, the gentleman not willing to stay, said over againe, Sir, I would carie any word from you to your friends in Scotland if ye will imploy me. Mr Andro Melvill answered, "I have no word to send to them, but am heavilie greeved that the glorious governement of the Kirk of Scotland should be so defaced, and a Popish tyrannicall governement sett up; and thow, Manderstoun, (so styleing the Earle of Dumbar, because he came out of that house,[1]) hes thow no other thing to doe but to carie doun to Scotland such commissions, whereby God's Kirk is wracked there? The Lord shall be avenged upon thee, and thow shall never go doune againe for all thy grandeur." Whereupon, the gentleman comeing furth from him, mett with other tuo of his acquaintance awaiting upon the Earle of Dumbar his comeing up to Court, and he said to them, that Mr Andro Melvill had foretold his ruine shortlie to ensue, because of his accession to the defaceing of the Kirk of Scotland; and, therefore, seing I know Mr Andro Melvill to be an holie and zealous man, and that sundrie other things whilk he hes spoken in his zeale hes come to passe, I wish you to delay no time, but get your turns exped with him so long as his court lasts. The other great instrument of the wrack of the Kirk of Scotland was Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterburrie; both thir were stricken with the great and just judgments of God soone after this Assemblie; for in that verie moneth of November, at the inauguration of the Scottish bishops, Bancroft (who, in his funerall sermon made by the Bishop of London, wes commended for casting doune Presbyteries and Assemblies in Scotland) was casten doun and overthrowen by terrible torments, and died a desperat death.[2] And the Earle of Dumbar was by death throwen

[1] He was the son of Alexander Hume of Manderston, a branch of the family of Wedderburn.

[2] Archbishop Bancroft died at Lambeth, the 2d of November 1610.

doune from the verie top of his grandeur and dignitie, and when he wes busselie compleating his great building in Berwick, intending, with great solemnitie, to have keeped St George's day there, and to have celebrat with great pompe the mariage of his onlie daughter with the Lord Waldoun; but God suffered him not to compleat either of them, being prevented by death in Februarie following, *in anno* 1611.[1]

[Having[2] occasion thus to mention Mr Andro Melvill and Bancroft, we insert heir a particular omitted pag. 171, [236]. The King knowing Mr Melvill to be ane bold, plaine, and frie speaking man, and of ane hote and fyrie spirit, sparing no flesh, of purpose absented himselfe from the Counsell when he wes to make ansuer befor them, therby giving Mr Andro Melvill a faire opportunitie to light leill upon Bishop Bancroft, then Bishop of Canterburrie, who, in the King's absence, used to preceid in the Counsell, who (as we have said before) had written ane booke in Queene Elizabeth's tyme against King James [his] right to the Crown of Ingland. When he was broght before the Counsell, Bishop Bancroft, the preses, comanded him to kneele, that he might ansuer to the Counsell and their demands upon his knees, according to the custome of England, (for so these that were accused of high treason used to answer.) But Mr Andro Melvill refusing to kneele, the Bishop commanded some officers or serjeants-[macers] to put him to his knees; which when they had done, the honest servant of Jesus Christ being on his knees with his eyes elevate, and his hands lift up to heaven, prayed, To thee, O Lord, I make my moane, &c.,

[1] Sir George Home, Earl of Dunbar, died the 29th of January 1611. According to Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, he was poisoned "with some tablets of sugar, given him for expelling cold by Secretary Cecil." One of his daughters was married to Lord Walden who, according to the same authority, "disponed all his share of the Earl's great possessions, and pulled down the magnificent edifice at Berwick, transporting the whole marble and other hewn work thereof to London." The Earl's other daughter was married to Hume of Cowdenknows. Calderwood also says of the Earl of Dunbar, "Of all that he conquished in Scotland, there is not left to his posteritie so much as a foot-breadth of land."

[2] This passage is not contained in the MS. of Row's History, written in 1650: see note to page 236.

and presentlie started to his feet againe. This doing als oft as they compelled and forced him to kneele. The Bishop sieing that he could not help himselfe, but that still he complained and prayed to God when he was forced to his knees, did permitt him to answer standing. Then sayes the Bishop unto him, Yee are heir this day accused befor the Counsell table of England of high treason against his Majestie, &c. The zealous and faithfull servant of Christ, interrupting him, answered, Poore Andro Melvill a traitour! That wes never, &c.; reiterating these words. But my Lords, directing his speach to the Counsell, and turning as it were from the Bishop, there is one Dr Bancroft (for so he wes called when he wrote his booke) in England who is a great traitour; let him be searched for and punished as a notorious traitor: Bancroft is a traitour I thus prove,—

He that writes against the King's right to the Croun is a traitor:

But Dr Bancroft hath written against King James's right to the Croun:

Ergo, Dr Bancroft is a traitor.

And repeating his argument, as for the *major*, it is undenyable, sayes he; and for the *minor*, sayes he, putting his hand in his pocket, he pulls out the booke, There, sayeth he, is Dr Bancroft's booke whilk he hes written against our King's right to the Croun of England, whilk Mr John Davidson, our brother minister at Prestonpannes, hes ansuered; then I am sure he is a traitor: let him be dealt with as a traitour; but poore Andro Melvill is not the traitour. The Bishop being amazed at this bold and zealous ansuer and unexpected re-encounter, at first wes silent, and whill he is bethinking himselfe what to reply, one of our noblemen (for there wes then some of our old nobilitie present) sayes to the honest and zealous servant of Jesus, Mr Andro, Remember yourselfe where ye are, and to whom yee are speaking, &c. He replyed, Yes, my Lord, I know verie well where I am, and what I am speaking; but, my Lord, if yee were worthie your lugs, yee wold not sitt there, and heare [and] sie ane innocent Scotishman so abused as I am heir

this day. The nobleman, astonished at his freedome and boldnes, gave way to him to speake for himselfe, and so he went on as pag. 171, [236].

Another effect not to be forgott whilk followed upon that cursed Assemblie, is concerning three brethren of one presbyterie sent to the Assemblie, (I love to speak what I know trueth, they were my compresbyters :) they were adjured, as they should answere to Christ Jesus, in the Bishop of St Androes his presence, not to consent to the alteration of the present governement of this Kirk; who, notwithstanding, being earnestlie dealt with, with ponderous arguments, (gold is a weightie and worthie metall,) tuo of them voted to the setting up of prelacie, the third, Mr James Stuart, minister at Salin,[1] his vote was *non liquet*. Returning home, the presbyterie inquyred what they had done at the Assemblie, the other tuo were silent; Mr James said plainlie, There wes gold and money eneugh dealt amongst ministers, but I thank my God I got none of it. Whereupon a friend said mirrilie to him, They say that ye got Devill be-lickit at this Assemblie, alludeing to his vote *non liquet*, thinking he had repeated it faithfullie, for he understood not the Latine words, being an unlettered man. This repeated by me at the Golden Assemblie of Glasgow, *anno* 1638, as it wes a cleareing to that most famous and renouned Assemblie of the wickednes and treacherie used at Glasgow 1610, so the sport was amidst their cares and fears, some a little refreshment.

As for the other tuo, I spoke alreadie of Mr Andro Foster [Forrester], minister at Dunfermline, page 186, 187 [254]; he confessed he got fra the Earle of Dumbar fifty merks Scots money, a small sume to sell Christ his Kirk and his cause for, neither did this nor the other fifty merks (whilk he confessed, with a false key, he had at sundrie tymes stollen out of the boxe in smalls) enrich the man, for he wes a verie spectacle of God's wrath ere he died, long distracted and mad; and comeing to himself somewhat, dimitted his ministrie there; yit long after he being turned a beggar, the Bishop of St Androes intruded him upon a landwart congre-

[1] Stewart, admitted minister of Carnock in 1586, was translated to Saline in 1587.

gation in Perthshire,[1] over the bellies of the people; and so he died a most infamous wretch, drouned in debt.

The third, Mr William Patton, minister at Aberdour, (haveing in all three congregations under his charge, viz. Aberdour, Dalgatie, and Beath,) he also got fifty merks for his vote fra the Earle of Dumbar after his return from Glasgow; the elders of his Session and deacons did misse fifty merks or thereabout stollen out of the kirk box, which stood in the minister's house; wherefore, he was desyred either to use diligence to try who had done it, or to refound it himself; but he answered dispytfullie, that he would make them no compt of it; whereupon they complained to his ordinar, and for that the Bishop came and made a visitation of his kirk, and caused the minister publictlie sweare that he neither tooke that money himself, neither knew he who took it; yit after he had sworne, the Bishop commanded him to put fifty merks in the boxe, considdering that [when] fifty merks were taken out, the boxe stood in his house, and he had used no diligence to try who stole it. So he put in fifty merks with shame and great malcontentment. Thus the pryce which he got for Judas-like betraying of Christ was employed in providence upon an use not unlike a buriall for poore strangers, for it came to the poores use, not being any benefite at all to the Judas, whose skill and dexteritie was knowen to be far greater in making of skulls[2] nor either in praying or preaching.

This is concerning the commissioners of one Presbyterie of Dunfermline; it was informed also, and noturely knowen, that whoever got of that accursed thing, (the King's gold sent doun with Dumbar to tempt unstable soulls to betray Christ and his cause,) it became to them like *Equus Sejanus*, first, that is, they did neither thryve nor prosper, and most of them confessed it never did them good: from many of them it was either stollen or taken away by some

[1] Forrester resigned his charge, at Dunfermline, in 1615, and was appointed, in 1619, minister of Collace near Perth.

[2] *Skulls* here probably stands for a kind of coarse baskets used for carrying peats, &c., but the same word is used also for goblets or drinking vessels; and *skules* for stalls where cattle are fed.

other mean. However, the King was so earnest upon the erecting of Bishops, (contrare to his oath and many solemn declarations,) that he cared not what it cost him; as the Pagans were profuse upon their idolatrie, and Israelits turning idolaters can take their verie earrings and braceletts, and cast from them if it be to make a golden calf of them; so he, in buying in their benefices to them out of the hands of the noblemen that had them, in buying votes at Assemblies, in defraying of all their other charges, and promoveing of all their adoes and bussines, as comeing to, and going from, and liveing at Court, prelat-like, that is, sumptuouslie and gorgeouslie, in apparrell, hous, dyet, attendants, &c. did imploy (by the confession of such as were best acquainted with, and were actors in, these bussinesses[1]) above the summe of three hundreth thowsand pounds Sterlin money, that is, sixe and thirtie hundreth thowsand pounds, or fiftie-four hundreth thowsand merks Scots money, an hudge thing indeed; but sin lying heavie on the throne, crying aloud for wrath on him and his posteritie, is infinitlie sadder nor 300,000 libs. Sterlin.

Now, it rests that we speak how the October Synods, 1610, were keept in relation to the statuts of this Generall Assemblie. The great metropolitan Archbishop, Primat of Scotland, keept tuo Diocesan Synods, (for they would not use the good old words of Presbyterie and Provinciall Assemblie, but the brethren of the exercise and the Diocesan Synod, relating to a prelat's diocie,) one in Angus, another in Fyffe. In Angus all the ministers mett, and gave obedience in all things to their ordinare: what stamp hes ever since that day been upon the most of the ministers in that province to this verie day is too too notoure. Many ministers of Fyffe and Perthshyre met at St Androes, according as they were charged by particulare letters, under paine of suspension, to ob-

[1] "A counseller and special doer in that work told me, that one bishoprick cost the King a thousand pounds sterline, and more then he and I could spend all our dayes beside. The advancement of the whole work, for the space of eight years, may be estimated to many hundred thousands." These words occur in Calderwood, p. 613, apparently as an explanation of his own, but interpolated as part of James Melville's letter (see, p. 264 of this volume.)

serve the Acts of the Assembly of Glasgow, and to conveen at St Androes on such a day.

At the day appoynted many mett; the Bishop taught as if he had been moderator last; but it is observable, that albeit he was minister of St Androes, and then Archbishop, yit the Province of Fyffe did never choise him moderator of their Provinciall Assemblie, though he was often on the leetts;[1] whilk made him once in great anger to say, that he would be deleeted, that is, seing they would never choise him moderator, neither would he be any more mocked by being still on the leetts; wherefore, the Assemblie, not without reassone, fears that he would usurp the place of moderation, whilk he did, sitting doune as moderator without any leeting or voycing. The brethren had before hand mett and choised Mr John Malcolme (minister at Perth, being the agedest of those that was knowen to love the cause of God) to speak in their name aganis any prelaticall usurpation that should that day appeare; and if the Bishop would not suffer them, according to the good old form of the Kirk of Scotland, to choise their moderator, his ordour was to rise and remove, and all the ministers obliged themselves to follow him. Mr John Malcolme promised so to doe. The Bishop being sett doun in the moderator's chair, began to pray, and some would have interrupted him, but he said, Let us begin at prayer, and then speak what ye think good. The prayer ended, the Bishop began to tell what warrand he had to take that place and authoritie upon him by the Acts concluded at the late Assemblie at Glasgow. Then after great contradiction, and many good reassons aganis him both from Scripture and Acts of our Generall Assemblies, in the purest and sincerest times of our Kirk, the Bishop at length uttered thir words, "God, let me never see God's face, nor be partaker of his kingdome, if I should take this office and place upon me if I were not persuaded that it were both lawfull and expedient." To the whilk cursing of himself it was answered, That his pretended groundles perswasion should not destroy the good ordour that was established in our Kirk; whereupon

[1] Put in the list for nomination as Moderator.

sundrie began to protest aganis his usurpation, desyreing Mr Johne Malcolme to rise and leave him, and promiseing (as wes foreagreed) to follow him. But Mr John Malcolme (a man who had not a brow for that bargain) was dissuaded by his colleague, Mr William Cowper, who stood up and said, Brethren, it shall be best to stay, and try if he does any thing contrare to the ordour in former Assemblies, and then we shall all leave him. The Bishop also himself used many fair speaches to alluir the brethren to stay, and see what was done; yit some began to protest aganis that whilk was alreadie his proud usurpation. The Bishop then,[1] in great anger, said, I care not what ye doe, if there but were sixe or seven brethren who will stay, I shall doe the turn that I should doe, and be answerable to the King for my doeing; he said not to the Generall Assemblie, nor spak he as James directs, saying God willing, or If the Lord will, &c. Thus Mr Johne Malcolme (according to his promise and order) not removeing, and the Bishop promiseing solemnlie to do nothing but as they should direct him, he choised a clerk, and said, I think the tryell of presbyteries is the principall thing that is ado at this tyme: and so a verie perfunctorious and superficiall tryell of the presbyteries being made, the brethren dissolved with great miscontentment.

Shortlie after this, upon a certaine Sabbath, the Bishop haveing preached before noone, (that wes also a part of the prelacie, and Diotrephean humour, never to preach at afternoone, but still in the forenoone,) and it being his ordinaric custome, in the afternoone, to go to some pastyme, or to ly upon a bed and sleep; he had this day lyen doune to sleep: The cooke (a crabbed sort of office-bearer) being offended that he could not get my lord's supper out of the lardner in tyme, made some noise, and uttered some lowd words: The Bishop's sister's son cometh and chideth with the cooke for holding my lord from, or putting him off, his rest: The cooke againe in anger replyed, and spake some indiscreet words to

[1] In the MS. of Row's History, 1650, which we have followed, there are six leaves (pages 211 to 222) cut out in this place, and their place supplied by two leaves not paged, containing what follows in the text, to the middle of Melville's Latin Supplication, (p. 297.) In regard to the passages probably omitted, see note to page 294.

the Bishop's nephew, whereat he, being offended, drew a dagger and sticked the cooke. The man being killed, the cry ariseth, the Bishop his nephew, the murderer, is apprehended and committed to prison. The poore man's friends being satisfied with a peece of money, none being to pursue the murder, he was by moyen cleansed by a whyte assyze, (as they call it,) and lett go free.

In October also all the rest of the Bishops keeped their diocesan courts, albeit with great contradiction and discontentment in some of them; and no marvell I say so, that it wes but in some of them, seing that the most godlie, learned, zealous, and wisest of the ministrie, many of them were removed by death or banishment, or warding, or confyning, &c., so that they not being present to oppose, they could neither act in their owin persons, nor stir up others to their duetie, as they would have done, if they had been present, or had been permitted, for it wes certainlie knowen that Mr George Glaidstans did writ to the King, confessing, that if Mr Andro Melvill had been in the country and at libertie, (at this tyme he wes still in the Towre of London,) it had not been possible for him to have gotten that turn done which he did. Now, albeit all succeeded to the Bishops contentment, yit were they odious to all who knew their perjurie and pride, their profanenes, and licentious living at this tyme; in so much that sundrie poesies, both in Latin and English, were sett out against them, as these following:[1]—

VINUM amat Andreas,[1] cum vino Glasgua[2] amores,
Ros[3] cœtus, ludos Gallua,[4] Brichæus[5] opes;
Aulam Orcas,[6] ollam Moravus,[7] parat Insula[8] fraudes,
Dumblanusque[9] tricas, nomen Abredonius;[10]

[1] Calderwood says the verses, "wherein were described shortly the conditions and manners of our new prelats," were circulated in Edinburgh in January 1609. The severall prelats named in these scurrilous lines were, (1.) George Gladstones, Archbishop of St Andrews; (2.) John Spottiswood, Archbishop of Glasgow; (3.) David Lindsay, Minister of Leith and Bishop of Ross; (4.) Gavin Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway; (5.) Andrew Lamb, Bishop of Brechin; (6.) James Law, Bishop of Orkney; (7.) Alexander Douglas, Bishop of Murray; (8.) Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles; (9.) George Graham, Bishop of Dumblane; (10.) Peter Blackburn, Bishop of Aberdeen;

Arva Caledonius [11] fraterni ruminat agri,
Rarus adis parochos o Catanæe [12] tuos.
Solus in Argadiis [13] præsul meritissimus oris,
Vera Ministerii symbola solus habet.

Englished thus :—

St Andrees loves a cup of wine,
Wine Glasgow with an whoore;
Rosse companie, play Galloway,[14]
Brechin not to be poore.
Orknay the Court, Moray the pott,
The Ysles loves to deceive;
Dumblane to triffle, and Aberdene
A glorious name to have.
By chance Dunkel has lighted so
That Jacob he would bee;
But, O, good Catnes, when comes thow
Thy flock to teach or see?
For life and doctrine they may al
Resigne it to Argill;
So faith has left the Lowland clean,
Gone to the hills a while.

Ter quater in toto fuit unus apostolus orbe,
Nunc tot apostaticos Scotia sola foves;
Distat apostolico novus hic chorus; ille ministros
Pervigiles, porcos hic habet, atque lupos;
Unus erat Satanæ mystes; pars cætera Christi,
Unus at hic Christi; cætera pars Satanæ.

(11.) Alexander Lindsay, Bishop of Dunkeld; (12.) Alexander Forbes, Bishop of Caithness; and, (13.) Neil Campbell, Bishop of Argyle.

[14] It may be noticed that Row, at p. 259, quotes the words *Ludos Gallua*, as applicable to Cowper, instead of his predecessor, Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway.

Englished thus :—

Thrise four tymes one apostle was
In all the world so wyde;
Alse many false apostate priests
Scotland thee now does guyde.
But mark, great odds, the apostles were
Good watchmen, preachers fyne;
Thir apostats are craftie toads,
Dogs filthie, wolfes, and swyne.
Of those one wes a divill, I grant,
The rest were Christ's indeed;
Of thir one truelie preaches Christ,
The rest are divilish seed.

A QUISQUIS FOR BISHOPS GOOD AND BAD.

When Bishops preach, they preach in spyt, of vyces
They have great part, with those that feare the Lord
They seldome sympathize, with men's devyces
In maters of the Church they do acord;
The Romish rites they love, not with their soule
They can endure to heare a preaching Paul.

Read this by interpunctions,[1] it paints out wicked bishops; read it by wholl lynes, it descrybes Paull's Bishops, good preachers. I could adde many more poesies, painting out thir Bishops knavries, (haveing them by me); but let thir suffice,[2] as a test of all the rest.

After the Golden Assemblie at Glasgow, there were some appearance that Mr A. Melvill might have been releeved out of the Towre, if he would but in any slender way confesse he wes greeved

[1] That is, according to the punctuation.

[2] At page 291, it is noticed that a portion of the MS. 1650 has been cut out, and supplied in a more condensed form in this place. On examining other MSS., it seems probable that John Row intended to omit some of "the poesies" against the order of bishops, which he says he had beside him. That the present edition may not be considered in any respect as furnishing a mutilated text, the additional verses are contained in the other MSS., here subjoined. These verses are not peculiarly wor-

that he had offended the King's Majestie or the Councel of Eng land; and being requested by many who loved him so to do, h

thy of preservation, but they are at least not so offensive to good taste as t personal abuse of Gladstones, which John Row thought proper to retain "as a tas of the rest."

[THE TROJAN HORSE.]

By Pallas airt the Grecians built ane Horse
As huge as hill, presenting him to Troy;
And crafty Sinon, taken as perforce,
Persuaded them to breake the walls with joy.
By their own hand, the Horse for to convoy,
And set him up in their most sacred place;
But thereout ushing captains, did destroy
With fyre and sword their city soone, alace!
The Dardan prophete cryed, and bad them cease,
Alluring them to worke their own reloiffe;
But foolishe madness spoyled of that grace,
Soe God for sin brought on their last mischeife.
This Horse, this Sinon, and this Trojan sack,
Methinks I see, whill we thir Bishops make.

THE LEGEND OF LAMMERS LIVES.

Heir is a breefe but a most true narration
Of the Scots Bishops lives and conversation:
First to the erection of old Abbacies
They all consented, and of priories,
Only to get their oune erectione past;
Though now them to undoe they seek at last.
Next, they are *puræ Fidei transgressores*,
Whereas they should be *Fidei defensores*.
Make rhetorick of ane oath, swear and forswear,
Reeks not God's mercies, nor his judgments fear.
To eat, to drink, to card, to dice, to play
In princes courts *placebo* night and day,
They indeavour *et vigilante cura*,
Daylie to seeke for *castra, prata, rura*.
Thus they desire to be *Episcopati*,
For nothing else but to be *elevati*;
And though God's law cryes *ne quis pejeraret*,
Ne quis adulterium, furtumve petraret,
Yet they, lyke hirelings, seeke but *gregis lanam*,
And live prophanlie *sectantes viam vanam*;
Yea, they doe ride *per multos mundi plagas*,
To get great pompe, and leave their oune sheep vagas.
I know they'le say they have their substituts,
But I say these are not Christ's constituts;
For they are not with libertie electit,
But contrair wayes intrusively erected:
Thus, though they seeme for to have true religion,
Yet craftillie in them they hyde ambition.

wrote this ensueing Supplication in Latin (because he could expresse his mynd better in Latin nor English) as followeth :—

MELVINUS AD SENATUM ANGLICANUM.

Artaxerxes cognomento Memorosus, in veterem Judæorum ecclesiam ab exilio reducem Persarum Monarcha beneficentissimus, legem de cultu divino, et religione moderanda, sanxit divinitus, ad hæc verba. Quicquid est de sententia Dei cœlestis perficitor diligenter, in domo Dei cœlestis, ut non sit fervens ira in regnum regem aut

And as for those who their blest ministerie
Discharges well, for not conformitie,—
Before the High Commission they are called,
Confyned, depryved, imprisoned, and thralled:
Thus, from a worse estate to worse they fall,
And soe but change may looke for worst of all.

[SONNET.]

Fear not, my friends, though Falshood for a whyle,
And Pride aspyre against the Trueth to stand,
Though blinde Ambition cry, yee wash, ye till,
And Bishops blow and breck all cords as sand:
Jehovah lives, and loves his awne command,
Thus Dagon once did fall before our arke.
If we to God could lift both heart and hand,
Yet should it fall, for all their wylie wark;
They swell, they say, that now that state is starke;
And fleating flesh applauding to their pride,
Sayes others missed, but they have hitt the marke,
And coutch the Kirk, and now like Lords they ride.
Beleave, stand fast, and God shall send a day,
When Sion's breath shall blow this mist away.

[AGAINST BISHOPS.]

What shall we say now when we see
The Preachers of humilitie,
With pompe practise the Papall pride,
With potentats to sit and ryde,
And strive for state in Parliament,
Lyke lords in their abulziement,
They blew against the Bishops lang,
And doctrine in the people dang;
That Ministers should not be Lords,
But now their words and works discords,
Their braverie breaks their owne Kirke acts,
Such changes mal-contentment makes.
Fy on that faith that turns with tyme!
Turne home, and I shall turne my ryme.

filios ejus. Hanc ego legem, cum similibus sacræ Scripturæ locis non negligentissime comparatam, multo antequam in Angliam hac vice cogitassem, sæpe mecum, et diu multumque pro muneris mihi divinitus mandati ratione meditatus, tertio abhinc anno Septembri mense versans in æde regia Hamptona, jussus sacris interesse, tam spectator quam auditor, insolens, pro re nata, invocato Numine, carmen breve grammaticum, Regiæ Majestati recitatum, feci: Cujus exemplum me nescio, descriptum depravatum et mutilum, postea mense Novembri, mihi coram amplissimo Senatu criminis loco objectum, et anni sequentis adulto vere denuo exacerbatum fuit. In hac causa dicenda, sine fuco et fallaciis, more majorum et meis versiculis a criminis atrocitate cujus affinis non essent libere vindicandis; si quid mihi, tam necessario tempore, minus decore, pro hujus gentis indole, et moribus regni non respondens humanitus excidit, quod quenquam mortalium jure offenderit, medum senatum amplissimum; ut ut ego, sive erroris, sive rusticitatis pœnam biennali carcere luo; ita veniam supplex primum a Deo patre indulgentissimo, deinde a Britanniarum Rege clementissimo, denique ab amplissimi senatus æquanimitate, etiam atque etiam peto.

That is—

MELVIN TO THE COUNCIL OF INGLAND.

Artaxerxes, surnamed Memorosus, the Persian bountifull Monarch, sett doune a law, as from heaven, to the old kirk of the Jewes, when they were returned from their captivitie, concerning the worship of God and right form of their religion, in thir words: Let everie thing be done speedilie, in the house of the God of heaven, according to the commandement of the God of heaven, that hot wrath come not upon the realme, the King and his children. When I had often and carefullie thought upon this law, and compared the same with other like places of Scripture, long before I came now last to Ingland, according to my calling, wherein God has placed me, three years since, in the moneth of September, being in Hamptone Court, and being bidden goe heare and see the service; I made off hand, after invocation of God's name, according as occasion then

offered, a short insolent grammaticall poesie, whilk was rehearsed to the King; the coppie whereof without my knowledge, being written mutilat, and wrong sett downe, was objected and casten up to me, as a great cryme, by the most Honourable Councill, in the moneth of November, and the accusation renewed against me the yeare following in the midst of the spring. If I, therefore, in speaking of such a purpose, without guyle or any deceaveablenes, after our Scottish fashion, to cleare myself and my verses from any horrible iniquitie, have slipt in any thing not agreeable to the nature and fashions of this kingdome, whereof I had not mynde (especiallie in such a difficult tyme) to have written any thing indecently, whilk has offended any mortall man justlie, let be the most Honourable Councill, as I have suffered the punishment of my errour and rudenes, in two years imprisonment, so I most humblie crave pardon, first at the hands of my most mercifull Father, and nixt at the most clement King of Great Britain, and, finallie, at the hands of the most gracious upright dealling of this most Honorable Councill.

But yit, notwithstanding of this petition and confession, no releasment was obtained, but he was keept still in prison, whill the Duke of Bouillon in France, in this yeare 1611, sent to Ingland, and by earnest sute, obtained of the King's Majestie leave to transport him to Sedan, where he had erected a colledge, that he might be a Professor therein; whilk, after licence granted, was done with all diligence. But so soone as the Bishops of Ingland got knowledge of his transportation, they were exceedinglie offended, but could not now help the mater.

[Immediatlie[1] after the King had granted Mr Andro Melvill to the Duke of Bulloigne, he sent for Mr John Spottiswood, then Archbishop of Glasgow, and told him that he had given Mr Andro Melvill to the Duke of Bulloigne to be transported to Sedan, adding this, My Lord, yee will be well quyte of him, he is the greatest, if not the only, stickler against your estate in all Scotland: if he were once over seas they will live peaceablie, &c. But, my Lord,

[1] This paragraph is not contained in the MS. written in 1650.

zee sall come to-morrow at eleven houres before noone, when yee will finde me in the Long Gallerie, and put ane petition in my hand, supplicating that Mr Andro Melvill may be releived out of the Tower, and sent home to be Professor of Theology in the Universitie of Glasgow, &c. Thus the politick Bishop, following the wise and politick King's advise, did, for upon the morrow, when the King, with a great number of English and Scottish noblemen, wes in the gallerie, at the appointed tyme the Bishop came, and putting a paper in the King's hand, satt upon his knees all the whyle the King was reading it. After the King had read the paper, looking to the noblemen, he said, My Lords, how good a man sitts there befor me upon his knees; know ye what this is he hes put in my hands? It is a humble and earnest supplication that Mr Andro Melvill, his greatest enemie, (who all his dayes hes opposed the settling of Episcopacie in Scotland,) may be releived out of prison, and sent to the Universitie of Glasgow (where he is Archbishop) to be professor there. Then looking to the Bishop, sayes to him, My good Lord Glasgow, this shews you to be ane good Christian that can heartilie forgive wrongs and love your greatest enemie; but, my Lord, it argues you to be no great politician, and, my Lord, I cannot grant this your humble and earnest supplication in Mr Andro Melvill's favours, for I have alreadie given him to the Duke of Bulloigne to be transported to his colledge that he is erecting in Sedan; but if that had not been, it might have been that yee should had a sey[1] of him, but now it cannot be helped.— This the wise and politick King did in part to put respect upon the bishop before the English nobilitie whom the King had conveened, then and there for the purpose; for King James alwayes delighted to put respect and honour upon Scotsmen, especiallie before the English.]

In this Colledge in Sedan, Mr Andro Melvill lived with great praise and commendation of all that feared God in these bounds, and who knew what literature and holie disposition was in him, con-

[1] *Sey*, an essay, trial.

tinuallie opposeing himself to all who taught any doctrine contrarie to the trueth of God, and Reformation of the Kirk of Scotland, ever till his dieing day, whilk was *in anno* 1621, when the Lord removed him out of this valley of miserie, to his eternall happines and kingdome.[1]

A little before his comeing out of the Toure, Arabella, a ladie of the blood-royall in Ingland, and nixt to the croune, had, for her pleasure, maried a nobleman, without the consent of [the] King and Councill. For this hir husband was imprisoned in the Toure, which Mr Andro Melvin, his fellow-prisoner, knowing, did in great quyetnes and secrecie send to him this mirrie and quick distichon :

Tecum causa mihi communis carceris, Ara,
Regia Sacra mihi, Regia Bella tibi.

Englished thus :—

To both of us the Royall Altare is
The commune cause of prisone :
But here's the odds; the holie altare me,
The good blames thee for treasone.

[1] In the later MSS. of Row's History, among the interpolated passages is another paragraph in relation to Andrew Melvill. I have not introduced it into the text, to avoid such an anachronism, as to make a work, bearing the date of 1650, refer to a period of 40 years subsequent to 1622, the date of Melvill's death, and to a book that was printed for the first time in 1655.

The paragraph inserted is as follows :—"The more to be blamed is Spottiswood in his Historie, whilk he calls The Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, (but may be more trulie called the Historie of lies and calumnies against the Kirk of Scotland,) saying of Mr Andro Melvill, That in Sedan he lived in contempt, and died in povertie; whilk untrue and base calumnie, (for they lived for the space of fourtie years after his death heir, who did then live with him in Sedan,) who, after Spotiswood's Historie came out, testified the contrair. But this as a certain trueth may be retorted upon the excommunicate Archbishop of St Andrewes, who, whyll he lived, was a vyle person, contemned in the eyes of upright walkers in his tyme, (Psal. xv. 2, 3, 4,) and when he died, being driven from his station, and pulled down from his state, (Isaiah xxii. 18, 19,) the King's Majestie was at the expense of his funeralls." Spottiswood's History was first printed at London in 1655, folio. His words, in reference to Melvill, are as follows :—"He was sent to Sedan, where he lived in no great respect, and contracting the gout, lay almost bed-fast till his death." (p. 500.)

For Mr Andro Melvin was incarcerat for *Ara sacra regia*, on which he had made verses, p. 172, 173, [234, 235,] and the nobleman for *Arabella regia* whom he had married.[1]

Now, after Glasgowes Golden Assemblie, the autoritie and ambition of the Bishops growing daylie greatter and greatter, albeit, for the most part, the people contemned them, and spak evill of them, yea, and hated them, as enemies to the sincere preaching of the gospell: There came doune missives from the King to the councill and ministers of Edinburgh, commanding that the pulpitts of Edinburgh should be patent to all and any of the bishops, at all tymes, whensoever they pleased to teach; whereupon Mr George Gladstanes, Archbishop of St Androes, taught on a Sabbath day, before noone, (that behoved to be) in the Litle Kirk of Edinburgh, the eastmost of the two, commonlie called then Mr Robert Bruce his kirk; and after that day, he and other Bishops preached, as they thought meet, many of all the Bishops dwelling and making their residence in Edinburgh that winter, 1610, 1611, and all the summer following, wherein some Bishops should have been consecrat in St Androes; but the weather was so stormie that the convention intended for that sacred bussines held not: But shortlie after, a number of Bishops, who had receaved consecration alreadie, mett at Leith, and there did consecrat their brethren openlie; but the forme of their consecration was esteemed of all so vaine, ydle, and frivolous, that they were mocked for their doing: Nottheles, the Bishops being so preferred to high places, and keeping their Diocesan assemblies, (or Courts rather,) twise in the yeare, and calling ministers before their High Commission, and threatning to suspend or depose them

[1] Arabella Stuart, only child of Charles Duke of Lennox, younger brother of Henry Lord Darnley, and consequently cousin-german of King James the Sixth. This lady, no less remarkable for her acquirements than beauty, might trace all her misfortunes to her proximity to the throne of England; and that not only under Queen Elizabeth, but even after James's accession. She married, secretly, the grandson of the Earl of Hertford, and died in the Tower of London, after several years' close confinement, the 27th of September 1615, aged 38.

from their callings, and no means appearing, whereby a free Generall Assemblie might be had, and gotten conveened to censure them, and ministers who were of a contrarie opinion to them, either not willing, or rather not darring conveen to excommunicat them; and the ministers of Edinburgh now admitted, their number being augmented, yea, doubled, they being admitted in a new and uncouth forme by a bishop, and not by the presbyterie, being admitted in the places of good and worthie men, now either dead or banished, being altogether conforme, following the Bishops courses; for most part, the cause of God was deserted by many, and the course of conformitie with Ingland daylie grew more and more, yit from small beginnings, and by little and little: For, in the yeare 1614, the King sent doune a proclamation (for now a letter or proclamation fra Court ruled the Kirk) of this tenor:—Forsamekle as it is meet to try who are Papists, that they may be taken ordour with, commands that all the ministers in Scotland should examine and try their people, and make them readie [for] communion, the 24th day of Aprile; commanding also all his subjects, of whatsoever qualitie or rank they were of, to communicat that day, that so they might be the better knowen, who would not communicat. Now this 24th of Aprile, being Pasch day, some more simple, short-sighted men exponed it to the best; but others, more wise and foreseeing, feared that it was onlie brought in, that it might be made a perpetuall law in all tyme comeing, as the effect afterward proved. Whereupon severall ministers, in obedience to the King's proclamation, gave the communion on Pasch day, not knowing, at first, any inconvenient therein; yit some also obeyed not, foreseeing the evill. (*Nota*, It is intended for Pasch day, that so we may be one little step nearer to Inglish and Romish rites, yit it is palliated by nameing the day of a moneth, but no mention of Pasch day; and nixt, whereas it is intended to draw honest ministers, who should refuise obedience to that whilk was within the vast compasse of the unlimited prerogative royall, into a snare, and to bring them under the censure of the High Commission; yit it is wickedlie pretended to trap and take ordour with Papists.)

Anno 1615, in the moneth of Maie, Mr George Gladstanes, Archbishop of St Androes, departed this life. He lived a filthie belliegod; he died of a filthie and loathsome disease, σκωληκόβρωτος. In the tyme of his sicknes, he desyred not any to visit him, or to speak comfortablie to him, neither that they should pray publictlie for him; but he left a supplication behinde him to the King, that he might be honorablie buried, and that his wife and bairns might be helped, because of his great povertie and debt at his death, (Behold the curse of God on bishops' great rents and revenues!) All whilk was done, for albeit his filthie carion behoved to be buried instantlie after his death, be reason of the most loathsome case it was in; yit the solemnitie of the funeralls was made in the moneth of Junii following. The day of the funeralls being a windie and stormie day, blew away the pall that was caried above his head, and marred all the honours that was caried about his coffin.

THE EPITAPH OF MR GEORGE GLADSTANES, WHO TOOK UPON HIM FIRST TO BE A BISHOP IN THIS THEIR LAST RISEING, 1610.

Here lyes beneath thir laid-stanes,
The carcase of George Glaid-stanes;
Wherever be his other half;
Loe here, yee's have his Epitaph.

Heaven's abject, for he was an earthlie beast,
Earth's burthen, for his bellie was his god,
A Bacchus bishop for a fleshlie feast,
And for religion, but a Romish rod;
Als false in heart, as fyrie in his face,
Of civill conversation the shame,
And lacked, what he lov'd be stylled, Grace,
His life was still repugnant to that name:
As by his death his life ye may determine,
A lazie life draws on a lowsie death
A fearfull thing! sith vile Herodian vermine
Did stop that proud presumptuous Prelat's breath.

Yit worst of all; in minde to be imprinted;
None loved his life, and few his death lamented.

That he was a vyld filthie bellie-god beast is notoure to all, who knew his evening prayer after supper, Lord keep King James, who gares [cause] Gladstanes womb go farting-full to the bed of it. Let that perjured apostat's filthie memorie stink, rot, perish!

EPITAPHIUM.

Restis Hamiltonum necat, ensis ut ante Betonum,
Diraque Adamsonum sustulit ecce fames.
Quid tibi Gladstoni quarto tua fata relinquunt?
Hæredem cum te tres statuere trium.
Dira fames, crux prisca; novum nova fata decebunt,
Flammæ animam comedent, pinguia colla canes.

Englished thus:—

The bastard Bishop Hamiltoun was hang'd,
And Cardinall Beatoun stob'd,
Proud Adamson with famine much
Of all comfort was rob'd:
Gladstans thow'rt fourth, thy destinie
What hes it left to thee?
For certainlie wee'l serve thee heire
To all the former three:
Famine and gallows are not eneugh;
Some new wrath waits for thee:
By hellish flams thy soule, by doggs
Fat neck devoured bee.

Mr Johne Spotiswood, Archbishop of Glasgow, was made Archbishop of St Androes instead of Gladstanes, and Mr James Law, Bishop of Orknay, was made Archbishop of Glasgow, and Mr

George Graham, Bishop of Dumblane, was made Bishop of Orknay, and Mr Adam Bannatyne, minister at Falkirk, was made Bishop of Dumblane; albeit he had continuallie before that appeared to be an utter enemie to that corrupt estate of Diocesan Lord Bishops, and had spoken thir words to Mr George Graham, not many years before that, in a Provinciall assemblie, (Mr George Graham being delated to have taken on him to be a Lord Bishop, contrare to his promise made to the Presbyterie of Perth,) "I see nothing in thee but thou art a mensworn man; thou art the excrements of all the ministrie; and thou hes imbraced the excrements of all the bishopricks in Scotland: if the brethren would follow my counsell, we should presentlie give thee over to the devill; but because they pitie thee, let this advertisement move thee, that thou mayest cast off that unlawfull place and calling, whilk thou hes taken thee to."

Mr John Spotiswood, now Archbishop of St Androes, did hold a High Commission,[1] at the which Mr Johne Malcolm, minister at Perth, was called before them, for uttering some things in the Epistle Dedicatorie to the King's Majestie, before his Commentarie upon the Acts of the Apostles, whilk now was printed.[2] But he answereing for himself, there was no farder done, but his answers were sent to the King.

In the moneth of October following, 1615, Spotiswood held his first Diocesan court or assemblie in his metropolitan citie St Androes, and caried so calme, and gave such contentment to the brethren then present, that he assured them (O subtile foxe!) he should be well content, that presbyteries should keep their awin forme, visit all the kirks within their awin bounds, and doe all that ever they did before; onlie, if difficult maters came in before them, let him be advertised, and he should help them therein all he could. But yit the first publict deed that he did was in the moneth of November he came to visit the Kirk of Dunfermline, and finding Mr John Moray, minister there, not to be conforme, and who

[1] On the 8th of August 1615.

[2] Commentarius in Apostolorum Acta, &c. Middleburg. 1615, 4to.

would not acknowledge his comeing there at that tyme, as if he had any power to visit; and finding also Mr Andro Foster, minister there, to acknowledge my Lord Bishop in everie thing; he laid the burthen of that wholl charge upon Mr Andro Foster, a worthless man, (as we heard before, page 186, 187, [254],) and silenced Mr Johne Moray, a verie well gifted and gracious man.

In the yeare following, 1616, the King caused make a proclamation, appoynting a Generall Assemblie to be holden at Aberdeen in the moneth of August: the pretended Bishop of St Androes usurped the moderation, even in another Bishop's diocie. The Earle of Montrose, my Lord Carnagie, and the President, were his Majestie's commissioners to that Assemblie. The Assemblie continued fyve dayes. The first day there was three sermons, and everie other day after that there was one; but there was scarcelie so many hours wherein the publict Assemblie handled the publict effairs: but all maters were concluded in the privie Conference. They spake somewhat of takeing ordour with Papists; that still must be pretended; but long ere now that pretext is so worne, that it is become threed-bair. But behold what was intended: They spake of bringing in to this Kirk some forms used in the Kirk of Ingland, and to have publict prayers penned, (they will not so soone say the Service Booke,) to be used publictlie by all ministers, and sundrie other things were spoken of, but no certaine conclusion was made, by reasone that many ministers, who were not members of the privie Conference, being wearied, having no imployment, departed off the toune. But the Bishop drew up the acts as he best pleased himself. This is now the fourth null Assemblie. (The irrefragable and impregnable Reasons of the Nullitie of this unlawfull Assemblie are to be had in the Acts of the Assemblie of Glasgow, 1638, page 9 and 10.)

The yeare following, *Anno* 1617, the King himself came to Scotland, after he had been 14 years in Ingland; and he held a Parliament here, wherein he thought to have gotten sundrie articles con-

cluded anent Ceremonies to have been brought in into this Kirk. And, therefore, he caussed repair the Chappell Royall at Halirood-house,[1] wherein was a glorious altar sett up, with two closed Bibles, two unlighted candles, and two basons without water sett thereon, brave organs putt, and quiristers appoynted to sing, and the Inglish service ordained to be said daylie: whereunto many, for noveltie, came to see and heare what such things could be; but seeing nothing but profanitie, abuseing of the service of God, and taking his name in vaine, they came never againe. Yit to begin that ceremonie of kneeling at the altare when the sacrament is taken, the King caused some of the Nobilitie and some of the Bishops to take the communion, at the altar, kneeling after the Inglish-Popish forme. The brethren of the ministrie, therefore, who came to Edinburgh to see what good they could doe at that Parliament, seing they got not a free Generall Assemblie, a good number of them (about 40) conveened with the ministers of Edinburgh,[2] and being informed what was his Majestie's intention, in bringing in superstitious and noysome ceremonies into this Kirk; they concluded to pen a Supplication, in humble way, with a protestation in the end thereof, if their supplication haplie should be rejected: The tenor whereof followes:—

"MOST gracious and dread Soveraigne, most honorable Lords and remanent Commissioners of this present Parliament, We, the Ministers of Christ's evangell, being here conveened from all the parts of this kingdome, doe, in all submission and reverence, intreat your Majestie and honours patient and favorable hearcing of this

[1] "In repairing the Royal Chappell of the Palace of Halyroodhouse, beside the place which was prepared for the organs, and the quiristers to sing, there were also carved the statues of the Twelve Apostles, and the Four Evangelists, curiously wrought in timber, to be guilded and set up. The people murmuring, the Bishops disswaded the King from setting them up."—(Calderwood's Hist. p. 673.) It is reported that James said, that persons who objected to the figures of the apostles and patriarchs, would suffer those of lions, dragons, and devils in churches; and that these things were the books of the unlearned.

[2] Calderwood gives the list of subscribers to this Supplication, and the proceedings against himself, Archibald Simson, and others, in relation to it; and of which a short notice is given by Row; see page 312.

our reasonable and humble Supplication. And first, it will please your Highness and Honorable Estates presentlie conveened, be informed, that we are here a number of the ministrie, and that the Bishops have protested, since our comeing hither, to a great many of us, that nothing should be agreed nor consented unto by them in this present Parliament in maters concerning the wholl Kirk, the discipline or ordour thereof, without our speciall knowledge and advise: affirming also, that neither they, nor we, have power of consent in any novation or smallest change of the ordour established without the speciall advise and determination of the Generall Assemblie, representing the bodie of the Kirk within this kingdome, had thereunto. Whereupon we, resting in securitie, have receaved now a sudden report, to our great astonishment, of an Article to passe in conclusion, and receave the force of a law in this present Parliament: Decerning and declareing your Majestie, with the advice of the archbishops, bishops, and such a competent number of the ministrie, as your Majestie out of your wisdom shall think expedient, shall, in all tyme comeing, have full power to advise and conclude in all maters decent for the externall policie of the Kirk, not repugnant to the word of God; and that such conclusions shall have the strength of ecclesiastick lawes: wherein it will please your Majestie and wholl Estates to heare our just grieffs, and to considder our reasonable desire, and not to putt us, your Majestie's humble and loveing subjects, to that poore and simple part of protestation, whilk, if remead be not provyded, we must be forced to use, for the freedome of our Kirk, and discharge of our consciences.

"We then First plead reformation and puritie of our Kirk in doctrine, administration of the sacraments, discipline, and all convenient ordoure with the best Reformed kirks of Europe, that it may stand, as it hes been acknowledged, rather as a pattern to be followed of others, than that we should seek our reformation from any that never attained to that perfection, whilk of the mercie of God this long tyme bygone we have injoyed under your Highness, and are able by reassone to maintaine the same.

"Nixt, we plead the libertie of our Kirk, whilk by the lawes of

your Majestie's kingdome, and divers Acts of Parliament given furth in favours of the same, is Established, with power of publict meetings and Generall Assemblies, and allowance to make such canons and constitutions as may serve for the comelie ordour and decencie of the same: all whilks by this conclusion to be taken must be utterlie overthrowen.

"Thirdlie, we plead for the peace and tranquillitie of our Kirk, that, being nearest the divine and apostolick institution, hath lived without schisme and renting in itself; but by introduction of any noveltie, not ordourlie, nor as appertains, it may be miserablie rent, and our peace broken.

"Fourthlie, we have been at divers tymes sufficientlie secured from all suspicions of innovation, as by your Majestie, the last winter, sent doune to this countrey, to take away all feare of alteration whilk might arise upon your Majestie's lovinglie intended journey; whilk letter, by your Majestie's speciall will and direction of the specialls of your Highnes's Councill, was intimat in our pulpitts: As also by that proclamation, given out September 26, *Anno* 1605, when rumors of an intended conformitie with the Kirk of Ingland was spread abroad, when your Majestie sufficientlie avoyded all such suspicion, and the hearts of all honest men settled themselves in a confidence that no such thing should be attempted.

"These, and many other Reasons, have moved us, in all reverence, by this our humble Supplication, to intreat your Highness and honorable Estates not to suffer the forenamed Article, or any other prejudiciall to our liberties formerlie granted, to pass at this tyme, to the greeff and prejudice of this poore Kirk, whereby the universall joy of the many thowsands of this land who rejoyced at your Majestie's happie arryveing, shall be turned into mourning: Wherein, as we are earnest supplicants to God, to inclyne your Majestie's heart this way, as the most expedient for the honour of God and wealth of your subjects, so if we shall be frustrat of this our reasonable desire, then doe we, in all humilitie, with that ductifull acknowledgment of our loyaltie to your Majestie as becomes, protest for ourselves, and all our Brethren who shall adhere to our protesta-

tion, that, as we are free of the same, so must we be forced rather to incurre the censure of your Majestie's law then to admitt or obtemper any imposition that shall not flow from the Kirk, ordourly conveened, haveing power of the same."

When this Supplication was penned, redd, and considered, and finallie agreed unto, the brethren there present were desyred to subscryve the same, whilk they were content to doe; onlie, Mr Patrik Galloway devysed this overture, to nominat a clerk, who should subscryve it in all their names, and he for his warrand should have all their names written with their awin hands upon a sheet of paper *in mundo;* whilk was done, and Mr Archibald Simson, minister at Dalkeith, was content to be clerk, and Mr Peter Hewat,[1] one of the ministers of Edinburgh, being also a member of the parliament, promised to give in the Supplication upon the morrow to the King and Parliament, for he had almost penned the wholl Supplication himself: yit he failled in not giveing in the Supplication, excuseing himself some way, (but they who will not speak and utter their voyce for Christ and his cause when they have a calling to it, it is just with God to take their voyce from them,[2] that though they would they shall not be able to speak;) therefore, Mr Archibald Simson thought to have given it in, because he was in the Parliament-house, yit he was sought out and removed; and, therefore, he delyvered the Supplication (whilk he had coppied) to the Bishops, chargeing them, as they should answere to God, and to Jesus the King of his Kirk, to give it in.

[1] Here and elsewhere in Row's MS. his name is written "Ewart." Hewat had a seat in Parliament not as one of the ministers of Edinburgh, but in virtue of his appointment as Abbot of Crossregual, in Ayrshire. On the 28th June 1617, this Abbacy was annexed to the Bishoprick of Dumblane, with Hewat's concurrence, reserving to him the emoluments, honours, &c., "during his life, conform to his provision."—(*Acta Parl.* vol. iv. p. 553.)

[2] According to Calderwood, the Supplication was adhered to by Hewat, although he had hitherto been a supporter of the corruptions intruded upon the Church; and says, it was alleged his voice would not serve for preaching, and "he was content to be removed from the ministry for some honest cause, and to live upon the Abbacie" of Crossregual, to which he had been appointed.—(Hist. p. 680.)

All thir things were told the King aforehand, and he thinking that some man would give in that protestation, past from that Act at that tyme, and tooke him to Acts concluded before, touching his royall prerogative, whereby he thought he might doe whatever he pleased in the Kirk. At this Parliament was a warrand for a platt to give everie minister at least 500 merks.

The Parliament ended, the King, with advise of the Bishops, ordained some ministers to be written for to come to St Androes, that he might advise with them concerning some things belonging to the well[fare] of the Kirk. The day appoynted was Fryday the 10 of Julie 1617; yit the King, finding good pastyme in the park of Falkland, keeped not that day, but came upon the morrow, being Saturnsday, where the Bishops and sundrie ministers were awaiting on his Majestie, who first heard notable disputations both concerning theologicall and philosophicall theses; and then there were five Articles proponed:—

1°. Concerning Kneelling in the act of receaveing the elements of the communion.

2°. Privat Communion.

3°. Privat Baptisme.

4°. Fyve Holie anniversarie days to be keeped, viz. Yoole-day, or Christmas, Good-Fryday, or the Passion-day, Pasch-day, the Ascension-day, and Whitsunday, or Pentecost, in remembrance of the birth, death, resurrection, and ascension of the Lord, and of the comeing doun of the Holy Ghost on the Apostles in likeness of fyrie cloven tongues.

5°. Confirmation or bishoping of children.

The ministers there present desyred that maters of such importance should be referred to a Generall Assemblie, (not obscurelie insinuating this meeting not to be a Generall Assemblie,) whereunto the King consented.

At this same tyme the Bishop of St Androes keeped an High Commission, the King being present thereat; and three ministers were summoned to keep that day, Masters Peter Hewat, Archibald Simson, and David Calderwood, minister at Crailling, to whose

charge they had other things to lay then to the rest of the subscryvers of the Supplication and protestation. But Mr Archibald Simson, who had past out of St Androes, because he was diseased, and the King came not at the prefixed day, wrote back his excuse in Latin to the Bishops, promising to come to any other dyet whereunto he should be cited; whilk excuse the Bishops were so unsatisfied with, and his letter being putt in the King's hand, in great anger and hast they caused send for him to return. So all the three compearing and answering for themselves, both wiselie and zealouslie, especiallie Mr David Calderwood, who answering pertinentlie, was mistaken, and his answer thrown to another sense, as though he had denyed obedience to the King *simpliciter*, whilk was not his answere; they all three were deposed from their ministrie: to the whilk they replyed, That they hoped his Majestie would not take upon him to depose them, whilk he confessed was not his part to doe; and as for the Bishops, (said they,) no power is in their hands to depose us, seing we receaved not our ministrie from them, but from our severall respective Presbyteries and lawfull Assemblies. So the King caused putt them in ward, Mr Peter Hewat in Dundie, Mr Archibald Simson in Aberdeen; and Mr David Calderwood was instantlie taken by the Lord Scoone and putt in the Tolbuith of St Androes.

The King's Majestie, after he had finished all his gests in Scotland, returned to Ingland with great contentment, onlie miscontent that he had not gotten his will in the maters of the Kirk, blameing Mr David Calderwood thereof more nor any other minister; so that when he came home to his awin Bishops and churchmen in Ingland, he used commonlie to say to them, I hope you will not use me so indiscreetlie as did one Mr David Calderwood when I was comeing out of Scotland. And before the King past into Ingland, all the ministers of Edinburgh, and some others subscryvers of that protestation, declared their greeff to the King when they fand him offended at them, and so got a kisse of his hand before his departure. And by great dealling and moyen, the King sent

home word to releeve the other tuo ministers, and sent them to attend their awin flocks; but resolved to banish Mr David Calderwood out of his dominions, whilk was done, first by transporting him from St Androes to the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, and releeving out of ward, upon caution of 500 merks, that he should prepare himself to passe out of his Majestie's dominions before Michaelmas: whilk he did, and took voyage to Flanders,[1] where he remained a long space, and under the name of *Edwardus Didoclavius*, (being, as it were, the anagram of David Calderwood,) he wrote that excellent work, *Altare Damascenum*, &c., and under the name of Ἀνώνυμος, wrote and printed many excellent things, verie usefull for the Kirk of Christ: in mean while, Scottishmen were hounded out seeking even to apprehend him there, that they might bring him to Ingland and putt him in the King's will; but they were disappoynted, and found him not.

Soone after the King was come to London, sundrie of the nobilitie and the Bishop of St Androes went up after him, and with deliberation, because the Articles proponed at St Androes were referred to a Generall Assemblie, the King sent doun a proclamation, in which, by sound of trumpet, a Generall Assemblie of the Kirk was appoynted to be at St Androes, the 25 day of November following. The maner to hold it was this. In October preceeding all the Diocesan assemblies were to be keeped at one tyme, and there the Bishops to nominat commissioners such as they thought not to be opposit to their course, but no others. And a commandement came to the King's guard, and the Lord Scoone, their captaine, to be present at that Assemblie, that if any person should doe any thing amisse, they should be apprehended, and might be put in ward till his Majestie's will should be further knowne.

When the Assemblie mett, the Bishop of St Androes usurped the place of moderator, and after he had made an harrang, he spak many things whereof he had no warrand, alledging, that the Kirk of Scotland was guyded by Bishops many years, and would

[1] He did not leave Scotland till the 27th of August 1619.—(Hist. p. 732.)

have still continued so if a fyrie-spirited man (meaning Mr Andro Melvill) had not come into this countrey and inverted all; also, he alledged, that sundrie ministers had taken the contribution whilk should have supplied Geneva, and had given it to the Earle of Bothwell to fortifie him aganis the King. His harrang being ended, and the commissioners called upon, he began to tell how these five Articles were proponed, and now the King desyred to have them concluded. And after some reasoning, many ministers being present who were not commissioners, but verie learned and well-disposed men, it was desyred that some of them might be heard, and, particularlie, Mr John Carmichaell, minister at Kinnowhere,[1] was desyred to speak somewhat, who, libertie being granted, spake so wiselie, learnedly, and powerfullie, that all the Bishops and their followers were forced to keep silence. And then all ended in a privie Conference, and tuo Articles were condescended unto by pluralitie of votes. 1°. Upon certaine good respects and conditions to be sett doune, privie communion might sometymes be given. 2°. That when the publict communion were to be given, there should be a short table made in everie kirk, that the minister might give the bread and wine out of his awin hand to all and everie one of the communicants.

Thir conclusions were sent up to the King, the Bishops regraiting that at that tyme they could get no more done: At this the King was miscontent that no more mischief was done; whereupon reports came doun that the King would (*brevi manu*) invert the wholl ordour of our Kirk. (See the nullitie of this Assemblie at Glasgow, 1638, p. 10.) Alwayes, when the 25 of December came, being Yoole-day, all the Bishops were commanded by the King to teach in their awin cathedrall and principall kirks that day, and let the people know, by premonition, that they were to keep that day holie; whilk they did.

[1] From Calderwood, (pp. 738–740,) it would appear that the conference here mentioned took place at St Andrews in November 1619. Carmichael, in 1603, was translated from Newburn to Kilconquhar, (or Kinneuchar, according to the ordinary pronunciation,) in Fife, and died minister of that parish in 1622.—(Records of the Synod of Fife, pp. 208, 210.)

In the begining of the nixt yeare, 1618, came doun a sharp letter fra the King to his Councill, commanding a proclamation to be made that the Holie dayes spoken of in that last Assemblie at St Androes should be keeped by all ministers and professors under great pains, (this is prerogative-royall indeed!); and, therefore, Good-Fryday or the Passion-day following upon the third day of Aprile was keeped in many touns, as in Edinburgh and in Stirlin, good and worthie Mr Patrik Simson being now departed this life, March 31, as he had before prophesied in these words, "In comes March, and ends the play." In one of his books was found written thir words, "Remember! Remember! Remember! and never forget the 10 day of August 1601!" &c. How he had gotten a revelation of that whilk fell out August 11, and had seen a vision of angells in his awin yaird, shall, God willing, be told *in Coronide.*

Upon the 15 of Aprile 1618, the Bishop of St Androes keeped his Diocesan assemblie first in Edinburgh, and nixt in St Androes. In both assemblies he had many loftie speeches, and great threatnings aganis those who would not obey the injunctions concerning the keeping of holie days, and giveing the elements of the communion out of their awin hands; affirming, that the King would have a Generall Assemblie shortlie, which would not be guyded by the humours of unrulie men, as they had been before, but by lawfull autoritie.

In the moneth of Maie following, Patrik Forbes, Laird of Corse, who had the estimation of a good preacher, and an eager opposer of the autoritie and governement of Bishops, took on that unlawfull office upon himself, and was made Bishop of Aberdeen, but was consecrat in St Androes.

In the begining of August following, the King, by open proclamation at the Mercat Crosse of Edinburgh, appoynted a Generall Assemblie to be holden at Perth the 25 day of that same moneth of August. This Assemblie was not made up of commissioners sent from presbyteries, but of bishops, doctors, deans, and such ministers as were the Bishops' followers; then the King had his commissioners, and there were sundrie noblemen and gentlemen

who were written for by the King and Bishops to keep the said Assemblie, and sundrie commissioners sent from presbyteries were not called upon, neither got they any vote there, the moderator knowing what they would say. The Bishop of St Androes usurped the place of the moderator; and when some modestlie spoke that leets should be made, and out of them a moderator chosen by votes, he answered, "This toune wherein we are is a toune of my diocie; let us see who will take my place over my head." And so, whoever spoke a word to discontent him, he still alledged that it was spoken aganis the King and his authoritie. The King's letter to the Assemblie, presented by Doctor Young,[1] now Dean of Winchester, a Scottish man by birth, being often redd, and everie sentence of it often inculcat in the ears of all there present, the five Articles (of which p. 232, [310]) were all voted ūnto *in cumulo*, with advertisement to all the voters, Remember upon the King, the King will have thir Articles concluded; yea, if ye will not pleasure the King in this, we thirteen shall doe the turne by yow. Thus the affirmative votes prevailled. But that day there was such a fearfull storme of winde and raine, that, at the conclusion of this Assemblie, all were feared that the Kirk should have blowen doune upon them; but seared consciences takes no notice of warnings from heaven. (The nullitie of this pretended Assemblie, with the refutation of the five Articles learnedlie and well done, came out the nixt yeare, 1619, in print, from *Didoclavius*, but here Ἀνώνυμος. Ten pregnant reasons, proving this pretended Assemblie to be null, read at Glasgow, 1638, p. 10, 11. A re-examination of these

[1] John Young, D.D., sixth son of Sir Peter Young, (joint-preceptor with George Buchanan of King James the Sixth,) was born 25th of June 1585, and educated at Cambridge, in Sidney Sussex College, where he took his several degrees. After travelling through France and Germany, he was promoted by King James to the Deanery of Winchester. In July 1616, he presided at St Andrews, when the Principals of the three Colleges, and other ministers, were created Doctors of Divinity; and he again visited his native country in 1618, to assist in carrying through the Perth Articles.—(Tho. Smith, *Vitæ Illustrium Virorum*, Lond., 1707, 4to.) His immediate elder brother, Patrick, (better known by his Latin name, Patricius Junius,) was one of the most learned men of his time, and was successively Librarian to Prince Henry, King James, and King Charles. He died 7th of September 1652.

five Articles, at greater length, came to publict view in print, *Anno* 1636, from that same author, as we conceave, for he is also Ἀνώνυμος.) But it pleased God in this same yeare 1618, that there wes a worthie and famous Synod of divynes out of severall kingdoms, as Low Countreys, Germanie, France, and Britane, conveened at Dort, in the which the heresies and corrupt doctrine of the Arminians were refuted; whilk was a great comfort to all that loved the trueth of God.

But because we have now had Sixe pretended null and wrong constitut Assemblies, I will here sett doun the right constitution of the Nationall Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland.

1°. The Kirk of God hes hir libertie of Assemblies from Jesus Christ, the monarch of his Kirk, also from the lawes of the land, both ecclesiastick and civill; wherefore, the want of libertie in assembling, and the prelatts usurpation over Assemblies, is the first and great evill, and it were to be wished that men had courage to lay the axe to this root of the tree; that were indeed the way to cure the wound of this Kirk, for prelatts robbing the Kirk of hir liberties may bring in any errour or heresie they please; yea, the Masse or the Alcoran by process of tyme, seing they cause intrants subscryve to all the trash introduced alreadie, or to be brought in by them.

2°. None ought to be admitted without a commission from a presbyterie; and out of a presbyterie none but three at most.

3°. No ruleing elder, nobleman, or gentleman, out of the bounds of a presbyterie but one, and he also clad with a commission: when they had their commission from Provinciall Synods, it wes before the erection of presbyteries; but certainlie, seing the King's missive cannot make a barron a member of the Parliament, far less can it make any a member of Christ's court, the Generall Assemblie; yea, some hes come and hes voyced in our Assemblies not onlie without commission, but who in all equitie had forefeited their vote by practiseing aganis the established lawes of our Kirk before they were repealled.

4°. Everie burgh hes libertie of ane commissioner, and Edinburgh may send tuo, but the act at Dundie imports they should have their commission also from the Presbyterie, seing the words are, "And likewise," &c.; but if doubts be of this glosse, none doubts but the commissioner of the burgh should be chosen by the Councill and Session, as the Acts of Assemblies ordaine.

5°. Moderators of presbyteries are not for that members of Generall Assemblies, except they have a commission from the presbyterie; for even at Linlithgow, 1606, where constant moderators was concluded, this that the moderators should be still *ipso facto* members of the Assemblie, was not so much as once proponed or agitat in publict, let be concluded; for I was eye-witness to all [that] was done there; Demetrius, their clerk at that tyme, was not sworne, neither was he the ordinar clerk: let him take heed he fyle not his fingers with that whilk it may be others will foist in as concluded, whilk was never proponed. That meeting was never acknowledged for an Assemblie, it is beastlie servilitie in us to subject ourselves to conclusions of a null Assemblie. Now, though the constant moderators in presbyteries be nothing els in effect but the Bishops' deputts, and that they were obtruded by letters of horning upon presbyteries and provincialls; what means the Generall Assemblie to admit them as members without commission, seing that wes never concluded, no, not in that pretended and null Assemblie where the mischief was done? Yea, there is wholsome acts to the contrare, wherein perpetuitie of commissioners is condemned, and wherein the choiseing of a moderator, because he is moderator, is condemned.

6°. Doctors and professors in Universities ought to have a commission from the Universitie; but as for the new sort of Doctors, (whose *Doctoratus* is nothing else but a step to a Prelacie,) seing they are not resident members in Universities, they cannot vote in an Assemblie without a commission from the presbyterie, seing they are pastors.

7°. A Bishop, as bishop, hes no voyce in Assemblie, (let be to usurp the moderation,) without a commission from a presbyterie; for

at Montros, *Anno* 1600, it was expresslie inacted, that he who should vote in Parliament, should not for that vote in the Generall Assemblie without a commission from his presbyterie. There are cleare acts abolishing bishops, *ergo*, their vote in Assemblies is taken from them: yea, even at Glasgow Assemblie itself, 1610, (the break-neck of our Kirk,) it was not expresslie given to them as bishops to be members of all Generall Assemblies.

8°. Seing the King's Majestie, when he was present, had but one voyce, there ought not to be many voyces for the King; but onlie he who is first in the commission; for it hes been found that three or four voyces more may carie bussines.

9°. After doctrine had by the last moderator, the Assemblie proceeds to a free election of a new moderator, by choiseing a leet, and out of the leet one to moderat by pluralitie of votes. Many a tyme hes the Generall Assemblie sitten when the Bishop hes been present, but in the purer tymes of our Kirk, as the Bishop durst not usurp the place, so they never did choise him to moderat, no nor the Superintendent, because he was Superintendent, yea at Glasgow, 1610, no such thing is concluded; but he is admitted with cavcats, and is ordained to be countable to, and censurable by, the Generall Assemblie; if so, then he cannot overrule, overawe the Generall Assemblie, and usurp the moderation of that judicatorie which is to call him to an accompt.

10°. A clerk at his admission, after free election, ought to be sworne in presence of the Assemblie, and give his oath *de fideli administratione:* Also selected, judicious, faithfull, wise brethren, should, with the clerk, forme the acts, see them imbooked, and they ought to be all publictlie read before the dissolveing of the Assemblie. The want of this hes done much mischief; yea, in tymes of danger, schisme or difficultie, there should be two clerks.

11°. It cannot be a lawfull Assemblie when there is not lawfull and tymous intimation and premonition made to all the Presbyteries of Scotland, if one presbyterie was not warnit tymeouslie, all the rest conveening cannot justlie make any conclusion whilk may binde that presbyterie, or whilk may be a standing law: As in the Chapter

meetings, if all the members of the Chapter be tymelie warnit, the decreet holds, though some be absent; but if but one be neglected in the warning, the decreet of all the rest is null. At St Androes 1617, seven dyocies were absent, for want of tymous intimation; therefore, all concluded there is null, albeit there were no other reason to nullifie that Assemblie.

12°. Thir unordourlie Assemblies and wrong constitute, all honest men should discountenance and leave them, but with a publict protestation, and that is all the salve to the mater in corrupt tymes whilk we can have; but to slip from the mater in silence will not satisfie the conscience, and we are wanting to our duetie.

In the yeare following, 1619, in the moneth of March, the Bishop of St Androes keeped an High Commission, and called before them Mr Richard Dickson, minister at the West Kirk, called commonlie St Cuthbert's kirk, besyde Edinburgh, be-west the Castle; who, after he had boldlie, both in his doctrine, and practise in giveing of the communion, in the good old maner, according to the Scriptures and Covenant, (whilk his perjured challengers had turned their back upon,) he was removed from his ministrie, and warded in the Castle of Dumbritan. About this tyme also, Mr Robert Bruce, who had come in to dwell in Stirlin, they now haveing no minister, almost everie day, either preaching in the morning, or lectureing at even, because he was still upon the corruptions of the tymes, the King's Councill (by instigation of the Bishops) charged him to leave Stirlin, and dwell in Kinnaird, his awin house; which charge he obeyed.

In the end of the same moneth of March, all the Lords of Councill and Session, with the Advocats, were commanded to take the communion on Pasch-day, kneeling, in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh; but there were sundrie that came not. And Sir William Nisbet, provest, and sundrie of the councill of Edinburgh, absented themselves that day, and came not to the kirk. Shortlie after this, the King fell sick, and wes heavielie troubled both with goutt and gravell, so that his doctors thought he could hardlie put it off;

but by the help of Mackcullo,[1] (a profane atheist, but skilled in medicine,) he gott releef. In the tyme of the King's sicknes, the Bishops, at their Diocesan assemblies in Aprile, were verie calme, and spak modestlie to honest ministers, who refuised to conforme. Ye see their principle whereby they walk is the King, not the love of God, not his word, not their Covenant. Is the King sick? they are damped: Is he in health? they are sure to be in wealth, and so swell in pride, and tyrannizeth over their brethren, contrare to the oath of God.

About this tyme also, it is a pitie to heare what enormities fell out in sundrie kirks, because some conforme ministers begouth to urge their people to kneell at the communion; for in some parts all the people went out of the Kirk, and left the minister alone; in other parts, the minister and people fell in disputing and reasoning together, and the people not getting satisfaction, rose from the Table and went away, beseeching God to judge his awin cause betuix them and their minister, &c. At this tyme also, sundrie ministers, in severall parts of the countrey, preached vehementlie aganis thir new concluded Articles. Whereupon arose a new persecution, for many were summoned before the High Commission, whereof some were threatned, some removed from their ministrie; among whom was Mr Andro Duncan, minister at Craill,[2] who was, by the sentence of the Commission, confyned within the toune of Dundie; for he had given in a declinature, containing reasons why he could not acknowledge that judicatorie to be lawfull. But nothing that he said, with the greatest deall of reassone, prevailling with the Prelatts, he gave in this admonition to the Bishop of St Androes in writt, desyreing him to read it. Thir were his words:—

"Seing I have done nothing in this bussines, whereof I have

[1] John Macolo or Macculloch. In the older MSS. of Row he is described, without being named, as "a man of small skill."

[2] Duncan was admitted minister of Craill in September 1597, and had William Murray as his colleague. He was one of the six ministers against whom a sentence of banishment was pronounced by King James for adhering to the General Assembly at Aberdeen in 1605; but he was not formally deposed from his ministry till 1619.

been accused by yow, and decreeted against, but have been serving Christ Jesus, my Master, in rebooking of vyce; and thus in simplicitie and uprightnes of heart I protest (seing ye have done me this wrong) for a remead at God, the righteous Judge, his hands, to whom vengeance belongeth, and who will repay; and summonds yow before his dreadfull judgment-seat, there to be censured and punished for such an unrighteous dealling, at such tyme, and in such a maner, as his Majestie shall think expedient; and in the mean tyme declynes this your judgment *simpliciter*, now as of before, and appealls to the ordinare Assemblie of the Kirk, for the reassons before produced in writ. Pittie yourselves for the Lord's sake; losse not your deare soulls; deare indeed to Christ, and should be deare to yourselves: losse them not, I beseech you, for Esau his pottage. Remember Balaam, who was cast away by the deceat of the wages of unrighteousnes; and forget not how miserablie Judas lost himself for ever for a trifle of money, that never did him good. Fy on back and bellie that destroys the soule; better be pyned to death by hunger, nor for a little peltrie of the earth to perish for ever, and never to be recovered, so long as the days of heaven shall last, and the years of eternitie shall indure. Should ye be burrioes[1] to your brethren, the sons and servants of the Lord Jesus? This doeing is not the cariage of the sheepheards of the flock of Jesus Christ: if ye will not regard your soule for conscience sake, I beseech you look to your fame; why will ye be miserable, both in this life, and the life to come?"

When the Bishop had read some few lynes in it, he did cast it from him; and Mr Adam Bannatyne, another Bishop, took it up, and read it all, saying, "Ye have called us Esaus, Balaams, and Judasses." "No, (said Mr Andro,) read it over againe; ye mistake it. I exhort yow to beware that ye be not like them." But after many speeches he got no favour; neither Mr Thomas Hog, minister at Dysart, who was with him before the High Commission; onlie Mr Thomas Hog, who was appoynted to be banished to Orknay, and there to be confyned, because it was reported to the Bishop that

[1] *Burrioes*, executioners.

he had friends there, the report being found a misreport, he stayed at home in Dysart, depryved of his ministrie. But Mr Andro Duncan, after great persecutions and troubles at home, and long banishment out of the King's dominions in France, returned, King James being dead; and the Lord took him to himself *in Anno* 1626.

In the moneth of Maie following, 1619, the Ministers of Edinburgh, conforme men, raged against honest brethren who were nearest to them, and refused to conforme to the unlawfull conclusions of the corrupt null Assemblies, such as Mr Henrie Blyth, minister in the Canongate, and Mr David Foster [Forrester], minister in the north syde of Leith. The Bishop of St Androes being gone to Court, purchased a warrand and command from the King to Mr James Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, to hold the High Commission, and depose these two ministers from their callings, and to send Mr Henrie Blyth to be confyned in Invernes, and Mr David Foster in Aberdeene. When Mr James Law receaved this warrand, being convinced that the men were faithfull and honest, he declared his miscontentment; because also he had said, not long before, that he should never persecute any brother for these indifferent things, (for all the Romish trash obtruded upon this Kirk past under the notion of indifferent things, that so the prerogative royall might the better injoyne them, and the raxeing consciences of conforme men might the easilier practise them,) yit albeit he delayed a while, Pilat-like, wrestling within his breast, and washing his hands in water, when the King's second letter came, he held his commission, and execute the King's will. When these honest men were going throw Fyffe to the ferrie of Dundie, towards their severall warding places, they got notice that the Bishop of St Androes was come home, wherefore they went to Darsie to him, to see if he could help the mater; but he assured them no help could be now obtained, and their best was to give obedience. Thus, after they had stayed long in their respective wards, Mr David Foster, by the means of Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, (his wife's cousin,) a courtiour, was restored to his awin charge at Leith:

And Mr Henrie Blyth was transported to a ministrie in the Mers, not far from Berwick, called Eckells, (*i.e.*, as I conjecture, *Ecclesiæ*, for it is two Kirks, a kirk and a cross kirk, or four equall yles;) thus he is far removed from Edinburgh, and putt in a place, (as the Prelats thought,) scarse capable of puritanicall principles, hard upon the Border. It is remarkable that Mr Henrie Blyth had such antipathie aganis an ham, that no sooner did he heare a ham spoken of but he swarfed.[1]

Yit the rage of the ministers of Edinburgh ceased not here, for they wrot to the King an heavie complaint upon their awin people of Edinburgh; whilk occasioned the King to writ doune a verie sharp and boasting[2] letter to the Magistrats and Councill of Edinburgh; whilk when they had red and considered, they sent for their ministers, and inquyred what wrong any man had done to them, whereby his Majestie was thus irritat aganis them. Mr Andro Ramsay (though the oldest yit not the wittiest) said, "We care not[3] to lett you see what we wrot up to the King." To the whilk the Councill replyed, "That will content us, and we shall try and punish any man that has given yow just cause of offence:" But the rest of the ministers were offended at that whilk Mr Andro had said; and after severall speeches *ultro citroque*, some of the King's Councill dealt betuix them, and pacified that mater.

All the rest of that yeare, the King's Majestie was urging the Bishops to take ordour with ministers that would not conforme; albeit it was publictlie promised at the Assemblie at Perth, 1618, by the King's Commissioners and Bishops, in the King's name, *et in verbo Principis*, let these five Articles be inacted, pleasure the King that farre, never a man shall be troubled or molested for not obeying them. Therefore, the Bishop of St Androes held the High Commission in St Androes, in the moneth of August 1619, and called before them Mr William Scott, minister at Cowper-in-Fyffe, Mr John Carmichael, minister at Kinnowhere, and Mr Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchars, accuseing them sharplie, as though

[1] *Swarfed*, swooned, fainted.

[2] *Boasting*, threatening.

[3] *Care not*, have no objection.

they had been the authors and setters out of that book called "Perth Assemblie,"[1] proveing the Nullitie thereof; and that they had sought a contribution of monyes, wherewith to print it. But they answered for themselves so wiselie, that the Bishop could get no advantage of them, but dismissed them with threatnings.

Also in October, when the Bishop keeped his Diocesan courts in St Androes and Edinburgh, he used great threatnings aganis honest ministers who refuised to conforme. After this there was a meeting of some ministers in St Androes, who were thought most opposite to the obtruded conformitie, by the King's awin advise, that there they might be dealt with to conforme; but when they mett and spake with the Bishops, some desyred that there might be a solemne fast and humiliation intimat, whereby they might earnestlie intreat the Lord that he would be pleased to pacifie the troubles of this Kirk; but that could not be granted. It is knowen, their Lordships loves feasting better nor fasting; and, therefore, all things were delayed till Pasch-day in the nixt yeare, and then they would observe how that day was keeped.

About this tyme, Mr David Lindesay, minister at Dundie, now Doctor Lindesay, was made Bishop of Brechin. In Winter, an High Commission sat in St Androes, and Mr John Row, minister at Carnock, within the Presbyterie of Dunfermline, was summoned to appeare before them. But he not being well in health, and not able to travell in winter, and resolveing to confesse all that was lybelled aganis him, viz., That he continuallie did preach aganis Prelacie as an antichristian office, aganis the five Articles inacted at Perth 1618, and aganis the rest of the acts of the sixe pretended null Assemblies, did send Mr John Row, his son, then schoolmaster in Kirkcaldie, to the High Commission, to present his excuse: also desyred William Rig of Athernie, his nephew, to go to St Androes, and speak to the Bishop, for it was knowen that Bishop (a politick man) would have done more for the request of one honest

[1] The author of the anonymous tract, "Perth Assembly, &c., M.DC.XIX.," 4to, pp. 101, was David Calderwood, as well as "A Re-examination," &c, printed in the year 1636, 4to, pp. 237, as noticed by Row at page 317.

man, such as William Rig was, nor for an hundred conforme men, who were his awin alreadie. But it may be that Athernie marred the suit, for neither his uncle nor he would ever style a bishop Lord, looking on that text, "Ye shall not be called gracious Lords or benefactors:" So his censure was confyning within his awin pariosh. But after some few years confyning, by the moyen of the Earle of Morton, his pupill, and Mr John Skene, clerk of the bills and suspensions, whose wife was Mr Johne Row his neece, and to whom, as a verie liberall and obliging man, all the Bishops were much obliged, he wes liberat of his confyning, yit not licentiat to preach any where except in his awin pulpit; but he litell regarded that, never refusing to preache where he had ane call from neighbour ministers. The same Mr John Row did after this in Edinburgh meet with Mr Adam Bannatyne, Laird of Kinnowhere,[1] and Lord Bishop of Dunblane, in a strait place where was no shifting, betuix the Great Kirk and the back of the Luckenboothes. They had been verie familiare, as being condisciples at the colledge, and afterward ministers, both avowing one trueth of God. The Bishop holds forth his hand to Mr Johne Row, but he folding his airms, and putting his hands under his airme holls, replyes, "Mr Adam, I will shake no hands with you, till you confesse and mourn for your perjurie and apostasie. We were four yeares antagonists at the Colledge; it fears me now, we shall be antagonists whill we live, seing ye have quat Christ and his cause: and because it is knowen ye have done it, especiallie to free your lairdship of debt; remember, I tell you, God's curse will be upon you, and your lairdship both." "Well, Mr John, (said the Bishop,) I perceave ye are angrie: Fairwell."

Mr William Row also, of whom we heard before, brother to the said Mr John, and minister in Forgundeny, within the Presbyterie of Perth, would never call a bishop Lord; for when his son, Mr William Row younger, was admitted his fellow-helper in the ministrie, Mr Alexander Lindesay, Bishop of Dunkel, professed tuo things. 1°. He came there not as a bishop, but as a member

[1] See note to page 260.

of the presbyterie. 2°. Should not ask a word but what was in the Psalme book, (meaning the Liturgie prefixed to the Psalme book usuallie,) and so he did. The action closed, they go to dinner, and the Bishop comes without invitation (else he had not come there) among the rest. When the master of the familie is going to marshall his guests, he sayes to my Lord Bishop, "Mr Alexander, ye know ye and I were condisciples at the colledge, and Mr John Malcolme wes our master; wherefore, I judge it all reasone that your master be sett at table above yow." The Bishop acknowledged he wes exceeding right, whatever he thought within; and the trueth wes, that Bishop wes not verie proud, but being much given to conques, it was said of him, [p. 293,]—

Arva Caledonius fraterni ruminat agri.

Yit did he not know whither he that should injoy it after him should be a foole or a wise man, &c.

In the yeare 1620, the Archbishop of Glasgow got an High Commission to himself to take ordour with the ministers that would not conforme within his bounds. So he summoned many ministers before him, and (Hazael like) deposed some, and threatned others with banishment if they should not conforme; desyreing them to seek out and read books whilk would informe them of the lawfulness of these indifferent ceremonies.

There were also some honest burgesses of Edinburgh ordained, by the King's letter, to go to sundrie wards and confynes if they should not give contentment to the Bishop of St Androes; which purpose was stayed by the intercession of the ministers of Edinburgh; also, sundrie of the burgesses nominat went and spak with the Bishop of St Androes, and that contented him, so that he interceeded at the hands of the Councill for them.

This same yeare 1620, in the moneth of June, a proclamation was made, ordaining all the King's lieges of all ranks to obey the Articles concluded at Perth Assemblie, under the penalties following:—For Ministers, deposition fra the ministrie; for Earls, 100 libs.; for Lords, 100 merks; Lairds and other landed men, 40 libs.;

Craftismen and husbandmen, 10 libs., *toties quoties* they should not obey. Hence learn how *verbum Principis* is keept, whilk not a little wrongs the old Scottish proverb, "He will be a king of his word." (*Nota*, The ministers' penaltie is the far highest.)

At sundrie tymes of this yeare, there were sundrie privie meetings of ministers and other good christians in Edinburgh, setting apart dayes for fasting, praying, and humiliation, crying to God for help in such a needfull tyme; whilk exercises, joyned with handling of scripture, resolveing of questions, cleareing doubts, and tossing of cases of conscience, were verie comfortable, and proved verie edificative to those who were partakers of them, for they grew exceedinglie both in knowledge and grace. Thir meetings the Bishops and their followers (enemies still to the power of godliness, and life of religion) hated to the death; and sundrie ministers of Edinburgh inveighed aganis them, under the name of unlawfull conventicles, candle-light congregations, (because sometimes they continued their exercises for a great part of the night,) persecuting them with odious names of Puritans, Separatists, Brounists, &c. But I am sure the years 1637, 1638, &c., in this late blessed work of reformation, whilk hes even given a new life, as it were, to us who were born doun under prelaticall persecution, are the verie return of those fervent prayers uttered and sent up to Heaven at those most profitable ædificative meetings, when the publict meetings were, for most part now, corrupted for not a few years.

In the yeare 1621, the King laboured by all means to get the five Articles concluded in Perth Assemblie ratified by a Parliament, and, therefore, caused proclame a Parliament to be holden in June. The Marques of Hamiltoun was appointed his Majestie's grand Commissioner and Viceroy to hold this Parliament; but when he came to Scotland, the Parliament was delayed till the end of Julie, because that interim there behoved to be great dealling with persons of all ranks, to be sure before hand, that the Articles should be concluded. Many ministers being in Edinburgh, and knowing what dealling was used, and feareing the event for the wrack of

this Kirk, (a proclamation also being made that all ministers should remove off the toune within twenty-four houres, under the paine of horning, except such as obtained a warrand fra their Ordinarie, or one of the Archbishops, to remaine still in toune:) they conveened themselves, and after incalling of the Lord's name, and good advisement, thought it expedient and necessare to give in an humble Petition to the Parliament, containing in the end thereof a protestation, in case they should be refuised, or their petition not answered, whilk being large, and because it is alreadie printed,[1] we have here omitted; but because there was no possibilitie to gett it given into the Parliament, there were sundrie coppies thereof publictlie affixed upon the Parliament-house doore, upon the kirk doores, and upon the mercat-crosse, that ignorance might not be pretended. The King's Councill getting knowledge thereof, summoned some ministers before them, whom they suspected to be the doers of it, and of whom they were informed that in their preachings about that same tyme, they had inveighed against all who should alter the former good ordour of our Kirk, and they warded them. About the same tyme Mr Robert Bruce was first warded in the castle of Edinburgh, and then ordained to be confyned within the toun of Invernes, and Mr John Maxwell was made minister of Edinburgh in his kirk, and Mr Robert Boid of Trochridge nominat to be Professor of Theologie in the colledge, and minister of Edinburgh;[2] but the honest people of Edinburgh lyked him so well, that he was suffered onlie to remaine in Edinburgh fyve moneths; and at the King's commandement (*sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas*) was removed againe. Now, when the Parliament was ended on the fourth day of August, the five

[1] The proclamation, with the petition and reasons submitted to members of Parliament, are contained in the anonymous work called "The Course of Conformitie. Printed in the yeare 1622," 4to.

[2] This eminent divine having rendered himself obnoxious to King James for nonconformity, the Magistrates of Edinburgh were commanded peremptorily to deprive Boyd of these offices, to which he had been admitted in October 1622, and to cause him remove from the town, "unlesse he conform totally."—See Calderwood's History, p. 799; Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. p. 221.

Articles were concluded by pluralitie of votes, nyne votes being more for the affirmative nor was for the negative; what by proxies, (whilk the King had obtained in the former Parliament, holden by himself *in Anno* 1617,) what by causeing such commissioners as he knew would not grant to vote affirmative, severall of them to be absent, and not to vote at all, either in their awin person or by proxie: Thus the Parliament was little better constitute nor the Assemblie. *Notandum*, Just as the scepter was a laying to the cursed Act, the lowdest thunder-clap that ever Scotland heard wes just over the Parliament-house, whilk made them all to quake for feare, looking for nothing less nor that the house should be throwen downe with thunder-bolts. Haveing ended their black Parliament, they intended to have ridden with great pompe and joy, but the terrible fire-flaught[1] and hudge inundation of raine (far beyond that whilk was, 1618, at Perth, at the first inacting of the five Articles, pag. 235 [317]) marred all that purpose of ryding: That verie day made the greatest alteration of pryces of victuall within eight dayes that ever was heard of in so short a space in Scotland, (except the ill windie Bartle day[2] *in Anno* 159–;) and for that yeare the harvest was evill and rainie, whereby the cornes were destroyed, yea, inundations of waters took away to the sea wholl large haughs full of shorn corne, demolished also great and fair bridges, particularlie the bridge of Perth (where the fyve Articles were first concluded) and the bridge of Berwick.[3] And for three years, without intermission, as in David's dayes, the oath of God and Covenant now being publictlie broken, and mischief established by a law, there were vehement dearth and famine, so that many died in streets and on high way sydes, for verie want of food effamished. And now againe, *Anno* 1648, at a second Hamiltoun's black Parliament, the Malignants, by pluralitie of votes, haveing established mischief also by a law, contrare to the Covenant and treaties betuix the

[1] *Fire-flaught*, lightning.

[2] *Bartle's day*, probably for St Bartholomew's day, the 24th of August.

[3] For an account of the "unseasonable weather" in August 1621, and the destruction of the bridges at Perth and Berwick in October following, see Calderwood's History, p. 787.

Kingdoms, invadeing Ingland without premonition, refuiseing treatie when it wes offered, (when as the invader should offer the treattie,) we lye under a great dearth ever since that tyme, and this now is the third yeare. Nothing will be a document to wicked men.

The Parliament of 1621 ended, noblemen, bishops, and others, thought themselves happiest who might be the first reporters of glade newes to the King that at the Parliament he had obtained his intent. After this Parliament, both the King wrot doune to his Councill and Lords of Session, advocatts, writters, and all members of the Colledge of Justice, to take the communion kneelling, and the Bishops also were earnest with the ministers to doe the same. But the warres in Bohemia going aganis the King's son-in-law and his daughter, the King and Bishops also relented somewhat of their furie and vehemencie; yit notwithstanding, the Bishops all this yeare were calling ministers before their High Commission, putting some from their places, and threatning others with the like punishment if they should not conforme themselves.

In the yeare 1622, Mr William Forbes, minister at Aberdeen, was thought by the bishops a fitt man to be minister at Edinburgh; the Session dissenting, the Councill consenting, in the moneth of March he was admitted minister of Edinburgh; and in Aprile following the communion was given on Pasch-day in the Great Kirk and in the Colledge Kirk. All the actuall ministers were in those tuo kirks helping to give the elements to each one out of their awin hands; also, all were desyred to kneell in the act of receaveing the elements. Mr Patrik Galloway haveing kneelled and prayed, (I would say, haveing read the prayer of consecration, wherein there is not one word of Lord blesse the elements or action,) the cupps being standing full of wine upon the table, he preassing to rise off his knees, taking a grip of the table to help himself up, it not being surelie fixed, he drawes over the table, spills all the wine in the cupps upon the table-cloth; so that they were forced, after they had sett up the overturned table, to get clean cloths, and fill the cups againe with new wine.

It is memorable that in this yeare, in the moneth of June, a Commentarie of Paræus upon the Romans, printed 1617, came into men's hands here: Upon the 13th cap., he declares what obedience subjects ought to their magistrats, and how magistrats, kings useing the sword for the defence of the vicious, and punishing of the vertuous, overturning religion and the liberties of the subjects, may and ought to be resisted. A minister in Ingland, teaching according to that doctrine, being examined, and confessing that he had the grounds of his doctrine out of that commentarie, the King caused the Universitie of Oxfoord refute that doctrine, and did cause burne Paræus's book openlie: This made more men to seek after the book than otherwise they would, that they might see what was in it, and learned men finding Paræus's doctrine to be solidlie founded upon the trueth of God, his works, after that, came in greater estimation nor ever before they had been. The honest man heareing that King James VI., Defender of the Faith, had caused ignominiouslie burn his book, through depth of displeasure, was hastened to his grave.

Few remarkable things fell out in the yeare following, 1623, except that maine one that the Prince of Wales, Charles, the King's eldest son, past to Spaine throw France quyetlie, to obtaine the King of Spaine his sister to be his wife: whilk was a voyage both hazardous for his awin person, as also for the estate of religion in all thir dominions, as the many sad effects did declare: He took his journey in the beginning of March, and being in Spaine, wrot a letter to the Pope of Rome, giveing him the blasphemous style of Holiness *in abstracto*, told his resolution for defending that faith, and avowing he would never sute in mariage a woman whose religion he dislyked. In Aprile following, at the Diocesan meeting of St Androes, all the Bishops almost meeting there, concluded that it wes expedient, that a fast should be appoynted to pray to God for the preservation of the Prince, and that he may returne home in safetie; but that the Lord would keep this Kirk and thir dominions under one King from Poperie, was not appointed a cause of the fast, honest men

did not forgett it, but antichristian prelatts scarrs not much at Poperie. It was a wonder to many what the Prelates meant, to appoint a fast in Aprile, and delay the celebrating of it till the last Sabbath of June, and the first Sabbath of Julie, and in burrow-touns also to keep it in the week dayes betuix these tuo Sabbaths, havcing preaching everie day: but sure our Bishops loves no fasting, and evill (we say) is good of trust; it may be they thought that the Prince's safe return ere that dyet would spair them the labour of fasting. Some expected that that marriage should have been accomplished; but it fell out otherwise. Upon Monday immediatlie after that first Sabbath of Julie, at the break of day, there was such a fearfull face of the heavens, joyned with extraordinare thunder and fire-flaught till the sun arose, that the lyke hes not been seen in our dayes: but (alace!) few can make good use of God's wonderfull works; and secure sinners does not observe the operation of his hands.

In the tyme of the Prince his being in Spaine, the King haveing proponed to his councill and nobilitie a toleration of Poperie for peace cause, and a further union among christians; the Bishop of Canterburrie, George Abbott, had a worthie speach to the King:

"May it please your Majesty, I have been too long silent, and I afraid, by my silence, I have neglected my duetie of the place which it hath pleased God to call me unto, and your Majestie to place me in. But now I humblie crave leave, that I may discharge my conscience towards God, and my duetie towards your Majestie; and, therefore, I beseech you, Sir, to give me leave freelie to delyver myself; and then let your Majestie doe with me what ye please. Your Majestie has proponed a toleration of religion: I beseech you, Sir, to take into consideration what your act is, and what the consequences may be. By your act you labour to sett up that most damnable and hereticall doctrine of the Romish church, the whoore of Babilon. How hatefull will it be to God, and how greivous to your good subjects, the professors of the gospell, that your Majestie, who hes so oft disputed, and so learnedlie written aganis that wicked heresie, should now show yourself to be

a patron to these doctrines, which your pen hes told the world, and your conscience hes told yourself, are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable. Add hereto, what ye have done by sending the Prince to Spaine, without the consent and privitie of your Councill, and approbation of your people: And, Sir, although ye have a large interest in the Prince, as the son of your flesh, yet has the people a greater, as the son of that King, upon whom (nixt after your Majestie) their eye is affixed, and their welfare depends; and so tenderlie is his going apprehended, that, beleeve it, Sir, however his return may be saif, yet the drawers of him unto that occasion, so dangerous to himself, and so desperat to the kingdome, will not passe away unquestioned and unpunished. Besyde, the toleration which you think to sett up by proclamation cannot be without a Parliament, unless your Majestie will let your subjects see that ye will take to yourself a libertie, to throw doune the lawes of the land at your pleasure: What dreadfull consequences these things may draw after them, I beseech your Majestie considder: and above all, that by this toleration, and the discontentment of the true professors of the gospell, wherewith God has blessed us, and under which these many years this kingdome has flourished, your Majestie draw not on yourself in particulare, and on the kingdome in generall, God's heavie wrath and indignation. This, in discharge of my duetie towards God and your Majestie, and the place of my calling, I have taken humblie boldness to delyver my conscience, and now doe with me as ye please, *Liberavi animam meam.*"

After that the Spanish Ambassadour, Don Diego de Mendoza, Governor of Balearides, had proposed the conditions of the marriage betwix the Prince and the Spanish ladie, the most of the nobilitie being assembled in the councill-chamber, where my Lord Keeper, Bishop of Lincolne, desyred the Archbishop of Canterburie to yeeld his obedience to his Majestie's will, unto whom the Archbishop replyed, Whither urge ye that as Lord Keeper, or as Bishop of Lincolne? If as Lord Keeper, ye doe your duetie to his Majestie; if as Bishop of Lincolne, you are an antichrist. But this intended proclamation of the King's for toleration of religion,

or (as they call it) libertie of conscience, with his sending of his son, and heir of the crowne, to match with the house of Spaine, was verie disonant to the King's speech in his first Parliament in Ingland, Monday, March 1603.

"First, I could not tolerat or permit the increes and growing of their religion, (Poperie,) without first betraying myself and my awin conscience: Secondly, This wholl ysle, alswell that part I came from, (Scotland,) as the part I remaine in, (Ingland,) by betraying their liberties, and reduceing them to the former slaveish yock, which both nations had casten off before I came among them: Thirdlie, The libertie of the croune, in my posteritie, which I should leave againe under a new slaverie, haveing found it left free to me by my predecessors."

In the moneth of October, the Prince returned safelie from Spaine by ship; and great rejoyceing was in all thir countreyes for his home-comeing, for in his absence in Spaine, the Papists were very insolent; for our Papists in the north would not have their children baptized but by masse-priests; and when complaint thereof was heavilie made to the Bishop of St Androes, he answered, That he would writ and complaine to the King that he may take ordour with them. Also in Ingland, a Jesuite took upon him to preach aganis some points of true doctrine, uttered in London by an honest minister there; many resorted to heare the Jesuit preach. But God visited the preacher and many of his auditors with a fearfull judgment; for the house fell doune upon them,[1] and smothered many of them; many not killed were terriblie crushed and hurt, yet a minister, who in his heart was a Jesuite, and had heard the preaching, being wonderfullie preserved, in the midst of so commone a calamitie, observeing the finger of God in it, was converted to the trueth, and wrot a booke, which he called Foote

[1] Among the tracts printed at the time, in reference to this accident, one is called "The Dolefull Even-Song, or a True Narration of that fearefull and sudden Calamity which befell the Preacher, Mr Drurye, a Jesuite, and the greater part of his Auditory, by the dowenfall of a floore of an Assembly in the Black-Friers, on Sunday the 26th of October last, in the afternoone." Lond. 1623, 4to.

out of Snaire ;[1] in the whilk he revealled many cruell plotts devysed aganis true christian reformed religion.

In the moneth of November, Mr John Guthrie, who had been but two years minister of Edinburgh, after his transportation from Perth, was made Bishop of Moray, and instantlie removed from Edinburgh, went and made his residence there in Moray.

In the year 1624, the ministers of Edinburgh vehementlie inveighed against the best of their people, because they heard that the people spak aganis urgeing of them to take the communion kneeling; and laid also other heavie imputations upon them, as censurers of their ministers, for poynts of doctrine uttered in their sermons, whereof they neither could nor would give any warrand; for it was then a custome in Edinburgh, that once in the yeare, about the tyme of communion, the ministers did remove, and the session did tell what they knew of their ministers' doctrine or life; and Mr William Forbes being removed, some poynts smelling of Arminianisme,[2] some of Poperie, being given in aganis him, saying, These poynts agree not with our Catechisme and Confession of Faith, we desire our minister explaine himself, and cleare us in these particulars, whilk he uttered in publict. But after he was called in, all the explanation, cleareing, and contentment given to his people, was railling and upbraiding of them as going beyond their lyne. After that, the ministers of Edinburgh never used that forme any more. About that tyme also, a minister wrot a letter to Mr William Struthers, desyreing him to give him some satisfaction, if he had uttered such doctrine as he was informed of, specifieing eight

[1] "The Foot out of the Snare, or Detection of Practises and Impostures of Priests and Jesuits, by John Gee." Lond. 1624, 4to. This tract is said by Anthony à Wood to have been printed four times in that year, the copies being bought up by the Roman Catholics.

[2] As stated at page 331, Forbes was brought from Aberdeen to Edinburgh; but he returned again to Aberdeen. Having been promoted to the See of Edinburgh, upon its first erection in 1633, he was consecrated in February 1634, but died on the 11th of April following. His posthumous work, *Considerationes Modestæ et Pacificæ*, exhibits sentiments approaching to Popery and Arminianism. See Baillie's Letters, vol. iii. p. 390, and Dr Irving's Lives of Scotish Writers, vol. ii. p. 1.

poynts of uncouth and misapplyed doctrine, when he taught a part of the 145th Psalme, ver. 7, asking this question, at everie particulare poynt, Sing you God's righteousness when you say this, or teaches that? beseeching him to use him in a brotherlie manner, and send him a plaine answere. But yet he received none; albeit being convinced in his awin conscience, he made some forme of excuseing himself in his nixt sermon, and after that was some calmer in his speaches.

Notwithstanding, all the ministers continued in their rage aganis the people, and complained upon them to the Bishop of St Androes; their Ordinare also wrot up a letter of heavie complaint to the King, making mention of some particular persons, whom they thought to be their greatest enemies, namelie, William Rig, then one of the baillies of Edinburgh, Johne Hamiltoune, apothecarie, Johne Meen, merchant, Johne Dickson, a flesher, and some others. The King wrot doune to his Councill to call them before them; and after examination and conviction, to punish them severelie to the terror of others. The Councill called them, but they answered so wiselie, punctuallie, and modestlie, that the Councill admired them: their answers the Councill sent up to the King, nevertheless, the King commanded to cause ward them, and fyne them in their substance. The Councill thought that a dangerous preparative, yet to satisfie the King they were all warded *respective*, William Rig in Blacknes, Johne Meen in Elgin of Moray, Johne Hamiltoun in Aberdene, and Johne Dickson was incarcerat in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh; and remained there, till by great dealling, pains, and moyen, they were releeved againe, the Bishop of St Androes being spoken unto, and made sensible how wrongouslie they were dealt with, for no fault at all. At this tyme also, Mr Robert Bruce got libertie, upon strict conditions, to come home to his awin house, Kinaird, to doe his necessarie affairs, and go back againe to his place of confynement when he should be charged.

In November this year, the Bishop of St Androes keeped his Diocesan assemblies, both in St Androes and Edinburgh, and made

sundrie acts, ordaining that no minister should give the communion to any of another congregation, without their ministers testimoniall: The intention of this act was, that none should have a testimoniall from a conform minister to go and communicate elsewhere, except he did take the communion with his awin minister kneeling; that all persons, of whatsoever rank they be, should present themselves to the examination before the communion; that expectants should be tryed what knowledge they had in the tongues before their admission, &c.

In the end of November, the King wrot doun commanding the ministers of Edinburgh to give the communion to their people upon the 25 day of December, that is, upon Yoole-day, being Saturnsday, or the last day of the week, charging also the Lords of Councill and Session to take the communion in Edinburgh on that day; but the pest breaking up in the toune, the Session rose, and all the Lords left Edinburgh, and went to their awin housses. The King hearing of this, was exceedinglie enraged, for he did not think that indeed it was a pest, by reasone that so few were alledged to die of that sickness, and because it continued so short tyme.

In lieu of this misse, the King determined that all the ministers of Scotland should give the communion on Pasch-day following, *in Anno* 1625, and whosoever would refuse to give the communion that day, or to kneell in the act of communicating, or whoever was not conforme in all things, he should be deposed from his ministrie, without respect of persons: This fearfull storme of persecution aryseing lyke a black cloud, was dissipat, and the evill prevented by the Lord's providence; for, in the beginning of March, the Marquess of Hamiltoun died before Pasch; shortlie after, the King taketh sickness, and is removed by death on the 27 day of March 1625, being the Lord's day. Upon the Tuesday after, being the 29 of March, there was a most fearfull tempest of winde, joyned with the highest ryseing and flowing of the sea that ever any man liveing did see; whereupon, it came to passe that many ships were crushed and broken even in harbours, many persons

were drouned in their housses, coall-heuchs also were drouned, salt-pans throwen doune, and more harme done by sea and land than can be easily expressed.

The King, James VI., being dead, his son, Charles I., was proclaimed King of Great Britain, &c., that same day, at five houres at night. The report of the King's death comeing to Scotland, the spirits of all men were on a sturre throw hope or feare, joy or grief, as they were affected; some feared inconveniences, some hoped for gaine or preferment: wherefore many of all sorts and ranks of people, nobles, bishops, gentrie, went up to Court to make moyen about the King, everie one to doe the best he could for himself and his friends. The late King, James VI., was buried in a most statelie, princelie, and magnifick manner, Maie 7, 1625; and the manner of his funerall was put in print.[1]

In the following moneth, June, the King of France his sister, Marie, came to Ingland, and was receaved as Queen of Great Britane, &c. The King, hir husband, went to Dover to meet hir, whilk was done with great solemnetie; and when advertisement thereof came to Edinburgh, there were many cannons shot from the castle, and many bonfires sett out.

It is verie remarkable that the Queen's masse, the pest of the soule, and a most rageing pestilence, killing bodies, came to London together, (O that men had eyes in their heads to see, and hearts to considder, the Lord's wayes!) The King had sent a great navie to the sea, whilk was prepared in King James his tyme, whereupon advertisement came to Scotland that the King had appoynted a solemne fast to be keeped in all his dominions for to stay the plague of pestilence, and to prosper the airmie that was gone to the sea to take in *Cales Males* (*olim Gades*) neare the Straits; whilk was keeped: the servants of Jesus Christ added other causes as they thought meet, and as the tymes called for. Yet there was no re-

[1] In Nichols's Progresses of King James (vol. iv. p. 1036) is inserted, "The true order," &c. of the King's interment, from a MS. in the British Museum, but no notice is taken of any printed account.

lenting of the pestilence in haste, for in the moneth of August following there died above 4000 everie week in London, wherby it was almost desolat and dispeopled, for all the people that could fled out of it. Yet notwithstanding of all the Lord's mercies unto, and judgments upon the King and his people, he caused make a proclamation in the same moneth of August, at the Mercat Crosse of Edinburgh, with sound of trumpett, intimating to all his subjects of Scotland that he would execute the lawes of the countrey aganis Papists and all recusants; as also he would have all to conforme to the present establyshed ordour of this Kirk in giveing obedience, and observeing the five Articles concluded in Perth Assemblie, and ratified in Parliament, and that the disobeyers should be exemplarlie punished. Whilk proclamation of this straine, and at such a tyme, made many honest people to have harder thoughts of the King than they had before.

In the moneth of September, there was sett out in print a Declaration of the King's mynd concerning Papists and Not-Conformers, and coppies thereof were affixed upon mercat crosses and kirk doors within burghs, after that proclamation had been made thereof publictlie: all these proceedings greeved good Christians, that the most precious and most gracious Christians in the land (who could not burie the memorie of the Covenant and oath of God, as the perjured Prelatts and their followers had done) should be ranked in with Papists; yea, as experience had proven, and did afterwards prove, our Queen now being an avowed jesuited Papist, still worse used and more borne doune nor Papists were, albeit in all proclamations and declarations they got the first brunt of the boast.

In the moneth of October, there was a Convention of Estates mett in Edinburgh. The Earle of Nithsdaill was comeing doune from Court with sundrie articles to be proponed to the Convention of Estates; but they, feareing the inconvenience of them, granted to the King willinglie a taxation of 400,000 marks, together with the annuitie of the annuel rents that wes condescended unto before. But when the Earle came and proponed the King's articles,

they were judged not to be reasonable, and, therefore, were not yeelded unto. At this tyme also the King made a great alteration in Councill and Session, for he would have no counceller upon the Session except the Chancellour onlie and his awin Advocat.

In the moneth of November, a solemne proclamation was made at the Mercat Crosse of Edinburgh, wherein the King revoketh all things done by his father, or his father's mother, in prejudice of the Croune; causeing this Revocation passe throw the scalls, whilk bred great feare of a great alteration to come, as indeed the effect proved. About this same tyme, the King sent for some of the Nobilitie and some Bishops to come to him, that he might advise with them how his Revocation should be prosecute.

In the moneth of December, the Toun of Edinburgh was divyded in four quarters, makeing a severall congregation of each quarter, and assigning two ministers to each congregation, that so the Word, the Sacraments, and Marriage, might be administred to everie congregation by their awin minister.

In the moneth of Februarie 1626, the King's Majestie, Charles I., was crouned in Ingland with great solemnitie. And now, he haveing made a great alteration in the Session, or Colledge of Justice, haveing putt out sundrie noble men, and putt in others in their places, Sir James Skene (eldest son to Sir Johne Skene, my Lord Clerk-Register, who wrote *Regiam Majestatem*,[1] *De Verborum Significatione*, &c.) is chosen President of the Session, in the roume of the Earle of Melros, Hamiltoune. In the moneth of March, the King sent doune a catalogue of those that he would have Lords of his Privie Councill: some Earles, sundrie Bishops, Lords, Officers of Estate, forty-seven in all, seventeen to be a quorum; provyding the Chancellour and Officers of Estate, his Advocat, with the Director of the Chancellarie, were of that number: Then there were seven-

[1] "Who wrote *Regiam Majestatem*." It is scarcely necessary to remark, that Skene was the collector and editor of the Ancient Laws of Scotland, which he published under that title, in 1609. His treatise, *De Verborum Significatione*, was subjoined to his edition of the Acts of Parliament from 1424 to 1597, Edinb. 1597, folio.

teen commissioners nominat for redressing of all greevances, (whilk was in stead of that whilk in Ingland they call the Court of Conscience,) or any ten of them, the Chancellour alwayes being one of the ten, or in his absence, the eldest councellour present. Then fifteen commissioners were nominat for the King's Exchequer, or any six of them, the King's Thesaurer or his depute being alwayes one of the six. In all thir commissions sundrie Bishops were nominat to be of the number, that their credit and preferment might be the greatter.

In the moneth of Julie there was a great Convention of Estates appoynted by the King to be holden in Edinburgh: The result was this, that the King would have everie man to have his awin teind, and all the teinds to be holden of the King; and there were four noble men, four bishops, four barons, four burgesses, to sitt ordinarlie upon this commission whill it should be brought up to some good conclusion: Whilk commission they accepted on them, and satt doune in August following, summonding before them all the possessors of teinds to declare what teinds they had, and how they held them. About this tyme also, all the Lords of erections almost, who had the teinds of abbacies, went up to Court, and agreed with the King that they might have satisfaction for their teinds, and so they would dimitt them to the King. Whereupon, the ministers of Edinburgh, and other ministers in the countrey, being informed that the King was to gett in all the teinds, and was to provyde greater stipends to ministers than they had, many of the ministers began in their sermons to inveigh aganis noblemen and others who would not quyt their teinds, being the Kirk's patrimonie, and would not put them over into the King's hands, to be imployed for the maintenance of ministers, and the poore, and schoolls, and other pious uses.

In the end of this yeare, there was a convention of Bishops and other ministers (whom they were pleased to send for) in Edinburgh: The result was, to send up to Court tuo Bishops, Rosse and Moray, and tuo ministers, Mr Walter Whitefoord and Mr William Struthers, to the King, to intreat his Majestie to have

mynd of the provision of the kirks of Scotland, and to take ordour with insolent Papists, who regarded not the ordour of the Kirk. There went up also three noble men, Rothes, Linlithgow, and Lowdoun, about this same tyme, to make overtures to his Majestie, whereby he might agree with his subjects in the mater of his revocation, but they came small speed. Yet there were twenty-five articles sent doune by the King to the commissioners, to see what everie man who had teinds would doe, according to these articles.

The Commissioners and almost the wholl countrey conveened in Edinburgh, by a proclamation made for that effect, in the beginning of March 1627. But no good was done, because the Bishop of St Androes would not take upon him to be moderator in that meeting, but delayed till the home comeing of the Chancellour out of Ingland, whereat the ministers of Edinburgh and others ministers also were offended, seing they thought the King's purpose towards them was so good. About this tyme also conveened the barons, and sent up to Court Balcomie and Leyes,[1] to intreat the King's Majestie that they were not hurt in their teinds by the nobilitie, who were agreeing for themselves.

This yeare, the 25 of March, was Pasch-day, the communion was given in the Great Kirk; that day there were not above six or seven persons in all the toun that kneeled, also some of the ministers kneeled not.

In the moneth of Aprile there was a proclamation sett out and printed, ordaining all Ministers, with the help of two or three of their parishioners of best skill, to try out the estate of everie Parish, according to the articles proponed; and dyetts were appoynted to everie shyre to come in to such and such places according to the presbyteries of Scotland, and to put their tryell in writ,[2] and give it

[1] Sir James Learmonth of Balcomie, and Sir James Lockhart of Lee. The former of whom was raised to the Bench 8th November 1627, and the latter 2d July 1646.

[2] A number of these Reports were accordingly made, and 49 of them preserved in the General Register-House, being the earliest attempts at a Statistical Account of the Parishes in Scotland, were printed for the Maitland Club, Edinb. 1837, 4to.

in to such commissioners as were nominat, to conveen in the places where the presbyteries mett, that ministers and schoolls might be the better provyded, and the King also might get a yearlie writ off the teinds.

In the moneths of Maie and June following, the valuation of sundrie teinds and lands were given in by the ministers and parishioners foresaids to the commissioners appoynted; but yit not without disagreement betwix the noblemen and inferiour barons and gentlemen; while in end, it was concluded by commune consent, that two of the nobilitie, and two barons, and two bishops, should go up to Court, and that they should meet at such a toune upon the 13 day of Julie nixt, that none should proveen another, and refer all differences betwix them *simpliciter* to the King. At this tyme also, there was a meeting of some Bishops and ministers (that were written for) holden in Edinburgh, (thir were all the Generall Assemblies in thir corrupt tymes and dayes of apostasie and defection from the Covenant, now buried, and precious cause of God now deserted,) to conferr anent the affairs of the Kirk: some feared that it should stand for a Generall Assemblie; but the Bishop of St Androes came not to it, but wrote his excuse, and desyred the Bishop of Rosse to moderat that meeting in his stead. The result was, to send up commissioners to the King to desire his Majestie to appoynt a free Generall Assemblie to be holden, whereof there was so great need. The commissioner nominat was the Bishop of Rosse and Mr Robert Scott, minister at Glasgow. Now, the Lord knowes if the Bishops ever desyred a free Generall Assemblie, seing the first thing incumbent to be done there was to have deposed and excommunicat their Lordships for their perjurie and apostasie, betraying of the Kirk of Christ, and breaking all their Caveats. Also, there was a fast appoynted to be keeped two Sabbaths following, but the causses were not sett doune nor agreed upon: bellie-god bishops hes little will of that work by any, that they have little witt, if they devise not somewhat either to frustrat the fast or delay it. It was also condescended that there should be twenty shillings Scottish taken off

everie hundreth merke of everie minister's stipend to beare the charges of thir commissioners, to be payed at their returne.

In the moneth of October, the King now haveing gotten many submitting their teinds to him, he declares that he will have also all heretable offices, all regalities, and all blench holden lands submitted to him, and appoynted his Advocatts to see all mens rights and evidents concerning thir, that he might the better resolve what to doe. The ministers were all charged *de novo* to give in the valuation of the teinds and lands of their parishes more exactlie then at the first they were given in; and because the King came not great speed with all this dealling, he resolved that everie man should have his awin teinds upon a reasonable pryce, and, therefore, all were ordained to come in to the commissioners for that effect.

So, in the beginning of the yeare 1628, all men desyreing to have their awin teinds came in willinglie, and so the revocation went fast fordward.

When Pasch came this yeare [1628] in Aprile, the communion was not given in Edinburgh at all, be reason that there was a meeting agreed upon, wherein the wholl ministers, and two out of everie Session that were alreadie conforme, had agreed to meet with twelve or sixteen of such in Edinburgh as were not conforme, to advise what way the distraction that was among them might be removed; for the ministers that were last come to Edinburgh, Mr Alexander Tamson [Thomson] and Mr David Mitchell, were earnest that the communion in Edinburgh should be given in the good old maner without kneeling: So great reasoning being on all hands, they all appeare to be content that the communion shall be so given, but yit they think two things needfull to be done:—One, that some be sent to the Bishop of St Androes to see what is his judgment, seing the half of the toune of Edinburgh came not to the communion the last yeare; yet he would not consent to their conclusion: The other was, a letter to be sent to the King by all the ministers, beseeching his Majestie to give them leave to celebrat the communion without kneeling, whilk, say

they, we must doe; but yet if the King consent not, we shall give you all satisfaction, for neither shall we urge any to kneell, neither shall we kneell ourselves. When this letter came to the King's hands, he was greatlie displeased, and would not daine the ministers of Edinburgh with an answer, but wrot a letter to the Bishop of St Androes to this effect:—

"HAVEING receaved a letter from the ministers of Edinburgh, wherein they have desyred us to give way for exempting their parishioners from kneeling in taking the sacrament, contrare to an Act of Parliament, in that case we cannot but be exceedinglie offended that they durst presume to move us aganis that course that was so warrantablie done, and that without your knowledge, who are intrusted in a charge over them. Therefore, Our speciall pleasure is, that ye conveen those persons before you, and haveing tryed the trueth of this bussines and chief authors thereof, that ye inflict such condigne punishment as may, by this example, make others forbeare to doe the like hereafter, and continue your best indevours to settle that ordour whilk was formerlie established, whereby ye shall doe us most acceptable service. Whitehall, the 21 of Aprile 1628."

Thus the communion was not given in Edinburgh that yeare, and in Ingland arose great appearance of alterations, be reasone that the Parliament there got not libertie to keep their wonted forms, in trying of poynts of treasone, such as were laid to Buckinghame's charge, who went to Spaine with the King, (then Prince of Wales,) and who wes thought accessarie to the death of King James VI.,[1] the now King's father. The King also was much bussied in getting releef to the besieged Rochell, the chief Protestant toune in France: but Buckinghame, a Papist, (who had been minion to King James, and was minion to King Charles,) marred all

[1] He was publicly accused of this by Dr George Eglisham, a physician, who published "Prodromus Vindictae in Ducem Buckinghamiae, pro virulenta Caede potentissimi Magnae Britanniae Regis Jacobi; necnon Marchionis Hamiltonii, ac aliorum virorum principum." Francofurti, 1626, 4to. It was afterwards more than once published in English under this title, "The Fore-runner of Revenge."

that bussines: Rochell was taken, and its strong walls and fortifications demolished. In Maie, this yeare, came out a poesie with this inscription, *GeorgIVs DVX BVCkInghaMIæ*, prophesieing that George Villers, Duke of Buckingham, would make an ill-end that yeare; for he was a patron of all Papists, and a great enemie to all that had any smak of religion. The verses begouth,

> Thy numerous Name doth with this Yeare agree,
> The 29, Heavens let thee never see!

for the numerall letters in his name, whilk are MDCXVVVIII. make up 1628. And so it was as foretold, for in that same yeare, in August, Johne Felton sticked the Duke of Buckingham; professing, that onlie love to the publick put him out to that fact, that such a monster may be removed from the face of the earth. Like unto this is *LVtetIa Mater, sVos DeVoraVIt natos:* That is, the Massacre of Paris, that cruell butcherie was acted *Anno* MDLVVVVII. or 1572.

In the beginning of the yeare following, 1629, the King wrot doune a letter to the Councill, ordaining Mr Robert Bruce to be confyned in his awin house of Kinaird, and two myles about it. It was thought that the ministers of Edinburgh were the procurers of this letter be reasone that Mr Robert Bruce preached in sundrie kirks neare to the toune of Edinburgh, and desyred earnestlie to have taught in Edinburgh itself; for, said he, "I may avow that there is not now a lawfull minister of Edinburgh liveing except I, for they have all entered in a corrupt way, contrare the good ordour of our Kirk; and I verilie think, that thir ministers that are in Edinburgh are greatter enemies to the gospell of Christ then the Bishops are." And so it was, for in verie deed they stirred up the Bishop to doe many things aganis honest ministers, whilk otherwise he would not have done. At the same tyme when Mr Robert Bruce was confyned, word came that the King of Bohemia, Prince Palatine, his eldest son, was drowned, comeing by sea from the sight of a great pryse, which the Hollander had taken from the Spainard.

In the moneth of Februarie this yeare, the ministers of Edinburgh resolved to give their people the communion, because they had not gotten it the yeare preceeding; but it was given with such confusion as was pitifull to behold; some of the ministers kneeling, some sitting, some standing, and such confusion among the people also: The minister giveing the elements out of his hands to each one, and the reader reading, or the people singing at that same tyme, &c.

This yeare, in the moneth of Julie, there being many complaints of ministers given in aganis Papists, the bishops and some ministers meeting in Edinburgh, to take ordour with such Papists, whose names were given up to them, (for at this tyme the Marques of Huntley had been at Court, and the King had written to the Bishop of St Androes to spare him a while, till he should gett better resolution of his doubts.) The result of their meeting was this, to send up to Court Mr Johne Maxuell, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, to see what was the King's will towards thir Papists; and at his returne, he brought with him thir Instructions following, subscryved by the King, and Sir William Alexander, his Majestie's Secretarie for Scotland.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CLERGIE OF SCOTLAND, TO MR MAXWELL THEIR COMMISSIONER.

1°. That they use the Marques of Huntley, and the Earles of Angus, Nithsdaill, and Abercorn, with discretion, indeavouring by fair means to reclame them to the professed religion, and not to process them till his Majestie be first acquaint therewith; and if any of them give offence by their insolence and contempt, his Majestie will not suffer the least wrong in that kynd.

2°. That the Archbishop of St Androes considder the deduction of the processe led aganis Patrick Dickson, servant to the Earle of Angus, that it be formallie deduced.

3°. That noblemen's wyves that are popishlie affected be not excommunicat, provyding their husbands be answereable, that they shall not receave Jesuits or Papists in their companie, nor give any

publict scandall, but admitt conscience, as the church shall appoynt. At Whitehall, November 6, 1629.

In that same moneth of November, there fell out a thing not to be omitted: Mr Adam Bannatyne, Bishop of Dunblane, returning to Edinburgh from the buriall of a nobleman, whose funerall sermon he had made, lodged in Culross, where Mr Robert Melvill was a fellow-helper to the actuall minister,[1] but Mr Robert, without a free and lawfull entrie, would not be admitted to that calling. The Bishop heareing that Mr Robert was to preach to-morrow morning, said, "I will go and heare him, for I heare much good of him, of his learning, zeall, painfullness." The minister of the place desyred Mr Robert not to make any particulare application to the bishops, as he had done to some others in tyme of sermon both there and otherwhere: A little before his going to pulpit, there is suggested to him by the Lord a pertinent application, (and thus he reassons with himself,) while I utter this, I need never to look for favour at this or any other bishop's hands; but how dare I conceall God's undoubted trueth? and thus went to pulpit, begging direction from heaven, as the Lord saw it most for his glorie and the edification of his people. His text was, Acts viii. 32, "Now the place," &c. After severall good observations, he concluded his sermon with this, "We see the way whereby our Lord went to his glorie was by humilitie and suffering, Phil. ii. 5, 6, &c.; his humilitie and sufferings were for a short tyme, his glorie is eternall: so must Christ's members doe; they must enter into glorie by humilitie and sufferings, and by the contrare, the way to endless shame is when men takes honoures to themselves, contrare to God's word: As ye, Sir, and the rest of your brethren, who hes taken lordships to yourselves in God's Kirk, ye enjoy honoures indeed for a short tyme, but your shame and paine shall be eternall, except ye repent. I speak it in love, and sayes it againe, though I should never speak more from this place, that you and the rest of you, who beare doune God's servants, and

[1] The minister of Culross was Robert Colvill, who died in 1630, and was succeeded by John Duncan.—(Synod of Fife, p. 236.)

counts them fools, for suffering for such things as they doe suffer for, that one day ye shall count them wise, and yourselves fools, that for so short preferment and small profitts, hes brought yourselves to endless shame and torment in hell's fire, except in tyme ye and they repent, whilk we would be all glad to see, if it were the Lord's will." In the tyme of the delyvering those words to the Bishop, he lifted up his eyes to heaven as if he had been moved with them; but after he came from sermon, he kythed exceeding angrie, seeing sundrie persons there who were opposit to bishops, and one whom the bishops had silenced; and though he discharged him to preach againe, yit shortlie after, he was content to oversee and misken him; albeit (said he) I know the rest of the Bishops will be discontent with me. And it was no great mervell that he did so: 1°. Because some tyme he was a great opposit to Bishops himself; and, 2°. The minister that uttered the doctrine, professing also that all was in love, had no stipend, nor ordinarie provision for his pains.

In the moneth of December following, upon the 25th day, being Yoole-day, Mr Johne Maxwell taught in the Little Kirk, useing not onlie bitter invectives, but curses also, aganis all such as would not keep such holie days: Yit Mr David Foster [Forrester], in Leith, that same day taught the contrare doctrine. It was sad to hear pulpit aganis pulpit; but we should blesse the Lord, that still there were some to stand in the gap, and to speak for trueth and for the cause of God freelie.

In the yeare 1630, little alteration was in our Kirk. Maie 29, the Queen was delyvered of a man-childe, and there was great joy thereat: This is his Majestie who now reignes, the Lord blesse his reigne, Charles II., wherefore, at the writting of this, *in Anno* 1650, he is twenty years old.

In Julie, at a great Convention of Estates was concluded, a great taxation to be given to the King. There were also greevances given in to the convention by noblemen, barons, and burgesses, in relation to Kirk effairs:—1°. That Bishops should not

take oathes of intrants, for by this means the patrons could gett none that were good and well qualified young men for the ministrie; yit the Bishops doeing had neither law nor reasone for it; 2°. That honest ministers casten out of their places for nonconformitie might be restored to their places, and unworthie men might be removed from places; 3°. That seing the five Articles concluded in the last Parliament are called things indifferent, the practise of them may be left to the arbitriment of the subjects; and no man pressed in those to practise contrare to his conscience. Other articles also were spoken off, in great modestie, and well backed with a great deal of reassone, so that the Bishops might perceave, there were many good subjects who lyked not their proceedings. Yet after that, the Councill, and the King's Commissioners, the Earle of Monteeth and Sir William Alexander, had conferred together, the Convention dissolved, and the greevances were deferred to another tyme.

In the end of this yeare there was a book printed, intitled "Sion's Plea against Prelats:"[1] There were great search made in Ingland who should be the author of it; in end, it is found he is a Scottish man by birth, Mr Alexander Lightoun, whom the Bishops had silenced, and now by profession he was a Doctor of Medicine. At first the Bishops gave him fair words and promises not to deall rigorouslie with him, if he would confesse the trueth; but after that he had confessed, they imprisoned him, dealt verie severelie with him in scourging him throw a part of the citie of London, in defaceing his face, and in nailling his eare to a poast. Yit, after long imprisonment, moyen was gotten to releeve him, when they thought he could not live throw sickness; yit, by the blessing of God on the means used, being a man of skill, he recovered health, and keeped himself quyet. This persecution made many seek

[1] This anonymous work by Dr Leighton was printed in 1628. It is entitled, "An Appeal to Parliament; or Sion's Plea against the Prelacie, &c. *Printed the year and moneth wherein Rochell was lost,*" [October 1628.] The inhuman sentence of the Star-Chamber against him, as the author of this work, was pronounced the 4th of June 1630. See Irving's Lives of Scotish Writers, vol. ii. p. 117.

after "Sion's Plea," whereby they were informed of many things they knew not before.

As for the estate of our Kirk at home, Edinburgh hath now four severall kirks, and two ministers in everie kirk hes adjoyned to them all the housses within their ports; for some within the West Port belonged to St Cuthbert's kirk, some dwelling within the East Port at that end of the Cowgate, belonged to Haliroodhouse, or the Abbay-kirk. The names of Edinburgh ministers at this tyme are these:—For the South-west kirk, called commonlie the Grayfriers kirk, Mr Andro Ramsay, Mr James Fairlie; for the Great kirk, called commonlie St Geill's kirk, Mr William Struthers, Mr Alexander Tamson [Thomson]; for the Little kirk of St Geills, or the Easter kirk, Mr John Maxwell, Mr David Mitchell; for the North-east kirk, called commonlie the Colledge kirk, Mr Thomas Sydserf, Mr Harie Rollock; forby[1] the Principall of the Colledge and Professor of Divinitie.[2]

In the yeare 1631, the King's Revocation was going fast fordward, and all men were agreeing with the titulars to have their awin teinds, and the King was resolved he would have his annuitie off them this same yeare. There was also a report that the King would have the Psalms of King David translated and paraphrased by King James his father, to be receaved and sung in all the kirks of Scotland; and some of the books were delyvered to presbyteries, that ministers might advise concerning the goodness or badness of the translation, and report their judgments (not to the Generall Assemblie, for, oh! that great bulwark of our Kirk was demolished, but) to the Diocesan assemblies; yit that mater was laid asyde for a while. The work was commonlie thought to be rather Sir William Alexander's of Menstrie than the King's;[3] howbeit, it is most

[1] *Forby*, besides.

[2] Mr John Adamson was Principal of the University, and Dr John Sharp, Professor of Divinity, at this time.

[3] Sir William Alexander was employed during the life of King James to complete this version, which, however, was not printed till the year 1631. See the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. pp. 225–250, and Baillie's Letters, vol. iii. p. 530.

probable that both hes had an hand in it. In the first impression, there was some expressions so poeticall, and so far from the language of Canaan, that all who had any religion did dislyke them, as calling the Sun, *the Lord of light*, and the Moone, *the pale Ladie of the night*, &c.[1] But surelie now, *in anno* 1650, we have, throw the rich blessing of God upon the long travells of many faithfull and painfull brethren, expert in the Hebrew and poesie, the most exact, neare, and smooth paraphrase of the Psalms (a part of the intended uniformitie) that ever the Christian world did afford.[2]

In this yeare, 1631, there was great talking of the King of Swaden his ingoing to Germanie with an armie to help the princes there, and to vindicat them from the tyrannie of the Emperour: his many and rare victories were spoken of far and neare, and were putt in print; and no doubt the verie report of them did much good here in thir countreyes, and held us in the greatter peace and quyetnes both in Kirk and commonewealth: the Emperour wracked all that he could. At that tyme many ministers and professors, with their wyves and children, were forced to flee out of Bohemia; their housses being brunt, and they redacted to great necessitie, a supplication from them was given in to the King's Councill, to gather a contribution throw this kingdome for their support; whilk was done, and by their testimonie of the recept of it sent back, they declared that it much refreshed them, beseeching us to send them farther support. But that was slowlie done, or rather not at all, because it was supposed and reported that the King of Swaden had obtained releef, and procured safetie to them all.

Upon the 22 and 31 dayes of Julie, Mr Johne Maxwell, in per-

[1] The poetical expressions here objected to were changed in the editions subsequent to that printed at Oxford in 1631, small 8vo.

[2] This refers to the metrical version of the Psalms approved of in the year 1650, and still in use by the Church of Scotland. See notices by the Editor, respecting the history of this Version in the Appendix to Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii. pp. 526–551.

formance of a promise made often and long before, had two sermons, wherein, upon these words, Eph. iv. 11, "And he gave some apostles," &c., he did undertake to prove that a Diocesan lord bishop or prelat, a pastor sett over pastors, not over a flock, was *Juris Divini et Apostolici:* his arguments by all unprejudiced hearers were counted stark naught; he abused many places of Scripture: as, "Lo, I am with you to the end of the world;" *Ergo,* a Diocesan lord prelat is *Juris Divini,* for no other succeeded to the Apostles but Bishops. It is much to be marked that in former sermons he had proved that there was no primacie among Apostles, for he sayes, He gave some apostles; he sayes not that he gave Peter primat among apostles, and the rest under apostles; wherefore, all the apostles were equall in jurisdiction and autoritie, whatever inequalitie there was in age or gifts, just so he had proven that there was no Evangelists above Evangelists. Now, let the text run on to pastors that there are not pastors above pastors, and it will conclude handsomlie; *Ergo,* a Diocesan lord prelat, a pastor sett over many pastors, is *Juris Divini et Apostolici!* But at that tyme there was much more corrupt preaching in Edinburgh, for one upon these words, "Be not unequallie yoked with infidells," inferred, the King might marie a Papist; another, on these words, "Sixe dayes shall thou work," inferred, that if Yoole-day fell to be a week-day one of these sixe, yit they behoved not to work; a third upon these words, "It shall not be so among you," inferred, with Bellarmine, a warrand for Diocesan lord bishops; forby much preaching for Universall grace, Christ dieing for all, the Saints not persevereing, Christ's locall descending to hell, and diverse others heterodoxe doctrines. But Mr Maxwell for his two sermons got no thanks even from the prelats, who send for him and said to him, "Ye wrong us, for this is not our opinion, and it cannot be proven; we only say that *Episcopatus* is *Juris Positivi Ecclesiastici.*" But shortlie after, when Bishop Laud grew great, they were all forced to adhere to Mr Maxwell his divinitie, that it was *Juris Divini.*

On the third day of November the Queen was brought to bed of a daughter, called Marie. In December the 25 day, or Yoole-

day, being that yeare on the Lord's day, some of the ministers of Edinburgh haveing examined their people before, thought it best to give them the communion that day; but other of their colleagues and their ruleing elders were against them who were of that mind; so they failled of that interprise, but they inveighed bitterlie against them, as if a good turn had been opposed, or as if they had done some notable ill turne.

In the yeare 1632, in the moneth of March, the Bishops who had been at Court, and Mr John Maxwell, returned. Their purposes were keeped closse, yit in the moneth of Maie following there were some of the most zealous and godlie ministers in Ireland putt from their ministrie, as Masters Robert Blair, John Livingstoune, George Dumbar, Josiah Welch, and others, aganis whom the King was informed that they were liklie to bring in a new sect of religion in that kingdome; (I doubt not to affirme they were all guiltie of the heresie of Aerius, viz. *Idem est Presbyter qui Episcopus,*) the people of their congregations being so unlyke to prelaticall conformists, wonderfullie drawen to God, and so moved by God's Spirit to take sin to heart, to walk in such a blameles and holie way, that there were few or none in their congregations but they were professors of religion, and blameles for outwards: This made the Bishops afraid, that, if religion and reformation of life so flourished among that people, they would be altogether disesteemed, and puritanisme (for so they nicknamed reformation) would abound in all the King's dominions. There was great moyen made for those honest worthie men whose labors the Lord had so stamped and sealled, to gett them reponed to their places; and the Primat of Ireland, James Usher, (a Bishop not so fyrie and violent as many others of that crew,) would have showed them favour, but he could get no good done to them, partlie for the other Bishops more popish, more antichristian, and so more superstitious, craftie, and cruell; partlie be reasone that the King's Majestie was so informed of them beforehand.

In the moneth of August this yeare, the Toune of Edinburgh be-

ing earnestlie desyred by their ministers to provyde another house for a Parliament House, and where actions of law may be impleaded, than a part of the Kirk where God's word should be preached, and whilk should be an house of prayer, began and founded a fair and great house for the uses aforesaid. In October following, on a day of fasting and solemne humiliation, a bairn playing on the walls of that house, fell doun and was deadlie wounded, and was shortlie removed; whilk was thought to be ominous that that house should be founded with blood, and on such a day.

When the 25 of December came this yeare, it was Mr Thomas Sydserf his *vice* to have sermon that day in the Grayfrier kirk; and many admired that he taught so modestlie that day, who used to be so vehement, violent, and virulent at other tymes; whilk some imputed to one thing, some to another. A little after this word came of the King of Swaden's death.

In the yeare 1633, King Charles I. came to his native kingdome (for he was borne in Dumfermline in that Abbay) to Scotland to be crouned: He caused make a proclamation for a Parliament to be holden in June after the solemnitie of the Coronation.[1] In the proclamation it was appoynted that all who had any greevances to give in should delyver them to his Majestie's Clerk-Register, Sir Johne Hay, by whom they might be given into the Lords of the Articles, to be considered before they were presented to the Parliament. Mr Thomas Hog,[2] sometymes minister at Dysart, but now violentlie and unjustlie (as we heard) putt from his ministrie, penned some Greevances and petitions to be given in as follows:—

[1] Charles the First was crowned at Holyrood on the 18th of June 1633. See p. 362; and Sir James Balfour's account of the ceremonial, (Hist. Works, vol. iv. p. 483.)

[2] Hogg was admitted "as fellow-labourer in the ministrie" at Dysart, with Mr William Nairne, in 1616; but for non-conformity to the Articles of Perth, he was deposed by the Provincial Synod of Fife, at the meeting held at St Andrews in April 1620. He appears to have obtained no settled charge till 25th June 1640, when he was admitted minister of Kennoway, where he died 21st June 1652.—(Records of the Synod of Fife, pp. 89, 94, 122, 229, 230.)

GREEVANCES AND PETITIONS CONCERNING THE DISORDERED ESTATE OF THE REFORMED KIRK WITHIN THIS REALME OF SCOTLAND, presented upon the 24 day of Maie, by me, Mr THOMAS HOG, Minister of the Evangell, in my awin name, and in the name of others of the Ministrie likewise greeved, to SIR JOHN HAY, Clerk of Register, to be presented by him to such as ought (according to the order appointed) to considder them; that thereafter they may be presented to his Majestie and Estates, which are to be assembled at the next ensueing Parliament in June.[1]

THE opportunitie of this solemne meeting of your gracious Majestie and the Honourable Estates, conveened in this High Court of Parliament, and the conscience of our duetie to God and the Reformed Kirk within this realme of Scotland, where we serve in our ministrie, constrains us to present in all humilitie to your Highnes and Estates presentlie assembled, these our just Greevances and reasonable Petitions following:—

1°. Seing vote in Parliament was not given absolutelie to ministers, but with caveatts and limitations to such as were provyded to prelacies, and all these caveats agreed upon in his Highnes's presence, of happie memorie, by the Generall Assemblie, and the Act of Parliament 1597 expresses the provision in a remit; and all the particulars of the maner of their admission was ordained to be insert in the bodie of the Act of Parliament, to be made ratifieing that Act of Assemblie, yit they doe vote als absolutelie as if there had been no caveat or limitation, though most of them be depending on the verie law of nature, and that upon paine of infamie,

[1] This copy of the Grievances is somewhat abriged, and differs from other copies. Instead, however, of pointing out the variations, it may be sufficient to refer to Stevenson's Church History, vol. i. p. 91, new edit. p. 134, where the paper is inserted from a more entire copy, and corresponds pretty closely with an edition which was "printed in the year 1635," sm. 8vo, and also with Sir James Balfour's Annals, vol. ii. p. 107, and a MS. in the Advocates' Library.—(Wodrow MSS., Fol. vol. xliii. no. 130.) All these copies are dated the 29th of May 1633.

perjurie, deposition, excommunication, as that they shall not voyce in name of the Kirk without a commission from them, that they shall be countable to, and censurable by, the Generall Assemblie, &c.: Seing thus the Kirk has sustained great hurt and prejudice in her liberties, We humblie supplicat the suspension of any execution of those lawes wherein they have voted without warrand from the Generall Assemblie till the Kirk be heard, and that in tyme comeing they be enjoyned to keep all their caveats.

2°. Seing all ratifications of Acts of the Kirk should passe in Parliament according to the Kirk's meaning and true tenor of the Kirk's Acts, without omission, addition, or alteration, else it cannot be construed to be a favour or benefite to the Kirk, but must turn to a great prejudice and hurt. Now, in the ratification of the Act of the Assemblie at Glasgow 1610, past in Parliament 1612, many things of importance are omitted, added, altered, whereby the Kirk is highlie prejudged in her liberties and discipline; all that requyred the Bishops to be subject to censure and excommunication is omitted, other things are added, as distinction of bishops and archbishops, and sundrie things concerning their power; yea, some words in the verie oath are changed:—Our humble petition is, that the Kirk may be liberat from these additions, omissions, alterations, in the Act foresaid.

3°. That seing this Kirk constantlie had her Generall Assemblies at least once a yeare ever till 1603, and oftener, *pro re nata*, and this was established in Parliament 1592, Provinciall Assemblies twise in the yeare, presbyteriall meetings weeklie, whereby the trueth was maintained in peace and puritie; yea, at Glasgow, 1610, all this was ratified. Now all this is overturned: We have no Generall Assemblies; our Provinciall Assemblies and presbyteries are so confused that no good is done; corrupt doctrine publictlie vented in pulpitts and schoolls without any restraint or censure; atheisme, poperie, and profanitie, growes exceedinglie; ignorant and debosht ministers are tolerated; the godlie, learned, and painfull, are greeved and persecuted; commissioners voters in Parliament lye untryed and uncensured:—Our humble desire is,

that the Act of Parliament 1592, holden at Edinburgh in Januarie, made in favour of the Kirk assembled, may be ratified and renued at this present Parliament.

4°. Seing the five Articles inacted at Perth have been formerlie rejected by our Kirk and reformation, since the beginning thereof, and we are bound by oath and subscription; and in the Act of Parliament 1567 none was acknowledged members of this Kirk but such as did participat the sacraments as they were at that tyme administered, whilk was without kneeling, and immediat dispensing of the elements to everie communicant by the minister: and at that Parliament, it was statute and ordained, that, in all tymes comeing, all Kings of Scotland should give their oath at their coronation to maintain the religion then professed, and the forme of the ministration of sacraments which was then used; nevertheless, pastors and professors adhereing to their former profession, oath, and covenant, and warrantable practise, are nicknamed Puritans, threatned and persecuted not onlie without any good warrand, but besydes the verie tenor of the Act at Perth 1618, which contains no strait injunction, but contrarie to the declared meaning of the voters and the proceeding of the Assemblie, where it was professed and promised that none should be pressed with obedience to that Act:—Our humble petition is, that former Acts of Parliament may be ratified and renued as seems good to your gracious Majestie and honourable Estates assembled in Parliament, that your Majestie's good subjects, pastors, and people, may be freed from fowll aspersions of nicknameing, and that all may be freed of dangers, fears, and snares, which may occurre by occasion of that Act at Perth.

5°. Though it be ordained by the Generall Assemblies of this Kirk, what are the oaths shall be taken of intrants to the ministrie at their admission or ordination; yit, without warrand either from Assemblie or Parliament, new oaths are coyned, together with subscription to certaine new devysed articles, whereby entrie to the ministrie is shutt upon the best and best qualified expectants, and others not so conscientious, and not so qualified, are obtruded upon

the people, to their great greef and manifest hazard of their soulls: —Our humble petition is, that all such oaths and subscriptions at ministers entrie or transplantation be discharged.

"A COPPIE OF THE BISHOP'S OATH.

"I, *A. B.*, newlie admitted to the kirk of *C.*, by thir presents solemnlie sweares, and faithfullie promises, to observe and fulfill the articles and conditions following: They are to say,—

1°. That I shall be leill and true to my most gracious Soveraigne, the King's Majestie, and his Highnes's successors, and to my power shall maintain his Highnes's right and prerogative in causses Ecclesiasticall.

2°. That I shall be obedient to my Ordinare the Bishop of *D.*, and to all other my superiors in the Kirk, speak of them reverentlie, and in all my privat and publict prayers commend them and their estate to God's mercifull protection.

3°. That I shall, in all places, by conference, and where ever I have occasion by publict preaching, maintaine the present government of the Kirk and jurisdiction Episcopall; and shall be carefull, by reading, to informe myself of the true and lawfull grounds thereof, to the end I may stand for the samyne against the adversaries opposit to the same.

4°. That I shall be diligent to my power in the dueties of my calling, be resident with my flock, and not divert therefra, without the licence of my Ordinare the Bishop of *D.*

5°. That I shall studie to advance the estate of the Church in generall, and, particularlie, the estate of the Kirk of *C.*, whereto I am now receaved, in all profits and commodities that possiblie I can.

6°. And lastlie, that I shall live a peaceable minister in the Church, subjecting myself to the orders that are in it, or shall be established, and shall, by all means that I can use, procure others to doe the samyne. Whilk things if I contraveen, (as God forbid,) I am content, upon tryall and cognition taken, to be depryved of my ministrie, and be reputed and holden an infamous

and perjured persone for ever. Subscryved with my hand, at *C.*, the day of Im.Vjc. years, before thir witnesses."

(1°. Where observe, that the taker of this oath doeth subscryve to *Papatus politicus*, and maks the King the head of the Kirk. 2°. He swcares to pray, speake, and preach for antichristian Prelacie, whilk he hes abjured in the Covenant, whilk binds the posteritie alswell as the takers of it at first. 3°. Learn a reasone why so many ministers in Scotland are loth to have or to read late papers and books emitted for cleareing the wickednes of the Prelatts apostasie, and the antichristian nature of that office, and how readie they are and earnest to read any malignant pamphlet whilk may seem to make any thing aganis the trueth, viz. even the conscience of this wicked oath, whereas they make no conscience of the oath of the covenant. 4°. To the Bishop (an antichristian ordinance) is ascribed all due to the Presbytery, (Christ's ordinance.) 5°. He swears to all the trash that is entered, and all that the Devill, and the Pope of Rome, and Bishop Laud, shall suggest to our Bishops; as shortlie, the Book of Canons, the Book of Ordination, and the Service Booke, were obtruded on this Kirk. But this generall will fathome and comprehend the Masse, the Alcoran, and what not. 6°. He obliges himself to be an incarnate devill, (Mat. iv. 3): for the tempter is one of the devill's names, and he obliges himself to tempt, and seduce, and pervert others, so far as ever he can, and all this under the paine of infamie and perjurie for ever, and subscryveing to his awin deposition if he contraveen: This by the way.)

6°. The sixt and last greevance:—That notwithstanding that there be Constitutions of the Kirk, and Lawes of the countrey for censureing of ministers before the ordinarie judicatories ecclesiasticall; yit, contrare to that ordour, ministers are silenced, suspended, deposed, and that for matters mearlie ecclesiasticall, before other judicatories, which are not established by the ordour and authoritie of the Kirk and countrey:—Our humble petition is, That ministers deserveing censure be no otherwayes censured than

the ordour of the Kirk doth prescryve; and that ministers put from their places otherwayes may be suffered to serve in their ministrie as of before.

Thir Greevances, penned by Mr Thomas Hog, and allowed by sundrie faithfull ministers of this realme, he gave them in first, in due tyme, to the foresaid Clerk of Register; who had no will to receave them; but clearlie uttered his miscontentment, and disaffection to the cause of God; and, therefore, it being feared that he would slight the mater, Mr Thomas Hog brings a notare with him, and before witnesses gave in the Greevances to the Clerk-Register, takand an instrument and document in the notare's hand of his doeing. And perceaveing clearlie that the Clerk-Register was no wayes willing to further this good cause, he resolved to await upon the King's Majestie, in comeing to the countrey, and at his best opportunitie to present thir Articles unto himself, whilk he did when he came to Dalkeith, the 13th day of June. But the King looked not upon them, but gave them to some that stood besyde him; and then made his entrie to Edinburgh, on Saturnsday the 15th day of June, *anno* 1633, where he fand great contentment in all things; for Edinburgh had made great preparation for his Majestie, with great coast and expenses, and certainlie he was verie royallie receaved.

Upon the morrow, being the Sabbath, June 16, he remained in his Palace of Haliroodhouse, and heard sermon there. On Moonday, the 17th of June, he came from his palace, and went up to the Castell, and stayed there all that day and night. Upon Tuesday, the 18th of June, he came from the Castell to the Abbey-Kirk of Haliroodhouse, whilk was magnificklie prepared and adorned for the purpose; and there he was solemnlie crouned with such rites, ceremonies, and forms, as made many good Christians admire that such things should be used in this Reformed Kirk: But, alace! at this tyme the Kirk was sore deformed, so that the wonder was the lesse. At the King's coronation, Dr Lindesay, Bishop of Brechin, taught a sermon, wherein he had some good ex-

hortations to his Majestie, for the well of this Kirk and kingdome; but uttered in so generall and ambiguous a way, that they might have been applyed diverse wayes. Upon Thursday, the 20th of June, the Parliament did ryde in great pompe: Lords of the Articles were chosen: but there was no mention of any greevances given in by Mr Thomas Hog, as said is; this made many conceave a feare that God's Kirk would get little comfort at this Parliament. Therefore, some noblemen, well affected to religion, went to the King and spake to him in a wise and godlie maner, that he might be informed of the right estate of the Kirk and Kingdome within this countrey; whilk he took (as seems) in good part. But after he had spoken with some Bishops, (for he had brought two out of Ingland with him,) he was discontent with himself that he had so listened to the noblemen who spoke to him.

On the Sabbath, June 23, the King came to the Great Kirk of Edinburgh to heare sermon, and after he was sett doun in his awin place, the ordinare Reader being reading the word and singing psalms (as the ordinare custome was then) before sermon, Mr John Maxwell, minister of Edinburgh, but now made Bishop of Rosse, came doune from the King's loft, caused the Reader remove from his place, sett doune there two Inglish chaplains, clad with surplices, and they with the help of other chaplains and Bishops there present, acted their Inglish service. That being ended, in came Mr John Guthrie, Bishop of Moray, clad also with a surplice, went up so to pulpit and taught a sermon. At thir things many marvelled, to see and heare such things openlie avowed and done in this Kirk, without any warrand or pretext, either of law or reassone, or occasion offered to them to alter the settled ordour of this Reformed Kirk; and (as was reported) the King himself gave the Bishop small thanks for his doeing. Sermon being ended, the King and all his nobles goes in to the banqueting-housse, prepared by the Toune of Edinburgh, that there they might feast him: The banquetting-housse was so neare to the Kirk, and so great noyse in it of men, musicall instruments, trumpetts, playing, singing, also shooting of canons, that no sermon was had in the afternoon, either in the greatter or lesser Kirk of St Geill's.

In the week following, the Lords of the Articles sat daylie, and the King came up daylie and sat with them. The Commissioners from shyres, barrons, and Commissioners from burghs, were inhibited by the King to have any meeting or convention, contrare to the forme practised in all other Parliaments before: whereat they conceaveing a feare that matters should not go right, and heareing that the Lords of the Articles had concluded among them sundrie things that were an evident hurt both to Kirk and countrey, they penned an humble Supplication, whilk was to be subscryved by many, both of the nobilitie, barrons, and burgesses, to be delyvered to the King before the last day of the Parliament; yit the matter being known they were prevented, and the Supplication was not given in at that tyme, but their number that were supplicators were well knowen in their votes in open Parliament. Followes a coppie of the Supplication:—

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE, THE HUMBLE SUPPLICATION OF THE LORDS AND COMMISSIONERS OF PARLIAMENT UNDER-SUBSCRYVEING.

Forasmuch as your Majestie's Supplicants, being ignorant of most part of the conclusions taken by the Lords of the Articles, and not acquainted with the reasons of such of the saids conclusions as they have gotten notice of, feare to become obnoxious to your Majestie's dislyke, and possiblie also to the censure of their awin second conceptions, are constrained, without any sort of advysement, to expresse of a sudden their opinions in the saids purposes: Seing likewise, if your Majestie should remaine either still unacquainted with, or possessed with a prejudice of the reasons for whilk they cannot but disassent from some of the conclusions, whereof they have gotten notice, till there be showed to them more reasons for the samyne then as yit your Majestie's Petitioners hes heard, or doe conceave, your Majestie might be in danger to losse that love of your subjects which is founded in their confidence of your Majestie's approbation of such their actions and opinions as are justifiable in reason. The supplicants, therefore, humblie beseeches your Majestie to vouchsafe to read and considder what is hereto annexed,

for which they cannot consent to the Articles, whereof they have gotten information, concerning some church bussines, annuel rents, and the extraordinar taxation; and give ordour, that notice and coppies be given to the Petitioners of the remanent conclusions taken, before their votes be craved in Parliament; that they may give the samyne als consideratlie, as becomes the greatnes of the bussines, and the duetie of honest men assembled in Parliament by your Majestie's autoritie: So shall your Majestie's Petitioners be incouraged (as in duetie they are bound) to pray for your Majestie's long and happie reigne:

1°. The Petitioners are informed, that the articles concerning church bussines doe beare the ratification of diverse particulars, which have bred great division and many evills in this Kirk; and also the imposition of other things, rejected at the Reformation, and never since receaved, whereby, undoubtedlie, the forsaid division and evills shall be increased. The Petitioners, therefore, think that the inacting of such things would seem injurious in itself, as also it would diminish in the hearts of many good subjects that affection to your Majestie, which is founded in their opinion of your goodnes and wisdome, not to ratifie such acts, nor to innovat any thing in the church, without the consent of churchmen lawfullie assembled.

2°. As for the act touching annuel rents, seing by the conditioning of a fyft-part of all annuel rents to your Majestie, no ease is granted to any of your Majestie's subjects; and so many evills are introduced, as are obvious to everie one, and we are readie at large to represent unto your Majestie. The Petitioners cannot consent to that article touching annuel rents, till their reasons be heard and satisfied.

3°. As for the extraordinare taxations of annuells, begun *in anno* 1621; forsamekle as the then commissioner at that Parliament promised in the King's name, that after that tyme that it should never be craved; and it was then granted for supplie of the Palatinate; notwithstanding whereof, it hes ever been continued since; and it is found by experience that it hath yeelded little benefite to

your Majestie. That it is such an inquisition in men's estates, as is not practised in any other nation in Christiandome, and makes our nation contemptible by the discoverie made thereby of the povertie thereof, and gives occasion to the distresse of innumerable persons of good respect, hurried up and doune by the occasion of commissions for concealled annuells; for those reasons the Petitioners cannot see how they shall consent to the Article made for continuance of the said taxations.

These Reasons the Supplicants humblie submitt to your Majestie's judgement, with protestation to forgoe the same, whensoever they shall see better reasons for consenting to the saids Articles than those they have here sett doune; and are readie to expresse farther for their opinions aganis the expediencie of them at this tyme. Wishing also, in all humilitie, your Majestie would be pleased to considder, whether it be expedient that such persons as hes no interest in the good or evill of this kingdome should have proxies for the making of the lawes of this nation; and that such as by Acts of Parliament are incapable to be members of any court or judicatorie, within this kingdome, should be admitted to be members in this highest court of Parliament.

By the expectation of many, and before this Supplication could be subscryved by so many as were willing to have done it, the Parliament did ryde and end upon Fryday the 28th of June: And when the Articles came to be voted, the King perceaveing that there would be some contrare to them, taketh a pen, and with his awin hand (an uncouth practise) noted the votes, whereby (no doubt) many were afraid to vote, as otherwise they intended to doe: Albeit, some (as by an holie 'Αντιπερίστασις) were the more incouraged to vote according to their conscience. Some of the nobilitie voted speciallie aganis the Articles concluded anent the Kirk's bussines; but would have consented to other articles anent annuel rents and taxations, &c.: Yit being all putt together, (a frequent Satanicall trick of Bishops,) they behoved either to vote aganis all, or then consent to all. My Lord Melvill, an aged nobleman, said,

both wiselie and gravelie, "I disagrie from those articles concluded aganis the former ordour of this Kirk, because your Majestie's father, (of good memorie,) after he had sworne himself, caused me and all the kingdome to sweare and subscryve to the Confession of Faith that was then sett doune, wherein all thir things that now are comeing in are rejected by our Kirk." Whilk speech made the King pause a while, but he could make no answere. So in end, what by the King's acting the part of the clerk to overaw the Parliament, what by his sharp speeches to sundrie of the well affected nobilitie and gentrie, what by proxies, and other lyke means, by pluralitie of votes, all the articles concluded by the Lords of the Articles were concluded also in open Parliament; but the negative votes were thought by some to have equalled the affirmatives; and a worthie gentleman[1] stood up and quarrelled the Clerk-Register for not marking the votes rightlie: but the King (who also had marked them himself) commanded the gentleman to be silent; or else, upon the perill of his life, make that good whilk he had spoken: whereupon the gentleman satt doune and was silent. Thus the Parliament ending to the King's contentment, the cannons shott in abundance from the Castell, and the Parliament did ryde doune to the Abbay againe.

In all this tyme of the Parliament there were many ministers in the toune; they were of three sorts:—Many doctors and deans, and others of their judgment, waiting on bishops:—Many were (few in comparison) crying to God for hēlp at such a needfull tyme; whilk, no doubt, wanted not the awin good effect, as appeared in many honest voters, at that same tyme, as a return of their prayers, and within four or five years after, a more full return in a blessed work of Reformation:—A third sort there were of neutrall men, who, not knowing which way to inclyne, did adjoyne themselves to neither of the other two sorts, but were idle spectators, awaiting to see which way maters would goe.

In all this tyme, and whill the King past out of the countrey,

[1] According to Bishop Burnet, and other authorities, it was John Earl of Rothes who called in question the state of the votes.

the ministers of Edinburgh were great courteours with the King, and with the Bishop of London, who was ever with the King, counselling him in all things: and by their moyen they made other countrey ministers to get a kisse of the King's hand, alledging they were both wise men and good schollers, and able to doe his Majestie good service; yit, shortlie after, they were ashamed of their speeches, because they were disappointed of their expectation, at least in the persone of some.

In the beginning of Julie, the King's Majestie goes out of Edinburgh to his Progresse throw the speciall touns of this kingdome which he resolved to see, and where he had his palaces and parks. Out of Falkland, returning to Edinburgh, he came to Bruntiland, and passed over to Leith in a pinnage of his awin; the day being tempestuous, a boat was drouned in the King's sight, wherein were sundrie Inglishmen, the King's servants, with sundrie rich coffars: that night the King was sad and melancolious; and returning homeward out of Edinburgh, he made mention, that at his entrie he had mett with fire; for some housses in Dalkeith were burnt, and now about the tyme of his removeall, the water in his awin sight had drouned some of his servants. He went to Ingland out of Seatoun; and when he was past Berwick he rode poast, that he might be the first reporter of these things to his Queen himself.

Soone after his Majestie comeing to Ingland, George Abbots, Archbishop of Canterburrie, departed this life. He was a man not violent againis honest ministers and professors in his tyme, and was a great friend to Scotland; and William Laud, Bishop of London, (who had bene in Scotland with the King all the tyme of his Majestie being here,) was made Bishop of Canterburrie: What a man this was, let *Canterburiensium* Αυτοκαταχρισις[1] speak it out; for certainlie if ye part his religion in four, twa parts was Arminian, a third part Poperie, and scarse a fourth part was Protestant. Being in Scotland with the King when he was made burges of St Johnstoun, he

[1] The well known treatise, "The Canterburian's Self-Conviction," by Robert Baillie, then minister of Kilwinning, which appeared in 1640.

refuised to sweare to defend the true Protestant Reformed Religion, (as their constant custome is to exact that as a part of the burgess oath,) shifting it with this, "It is my part rather to exact for religion of you an oath, than you of me." When he was in the kirk of Dumblane, he affirmed it was a goodlie church: "Yes, my Lord, (said one standing by,) this was a brave kirk before the Reformation." "What, fellow! (said the Bishop,) Deformation! not Reformation:" counting the casting doune and demolishing of some kirks and abbacies, &c., a greatter evill nor the pure preaching of the gospell and banishing of antichristian darkness was a good. Any man may think it ominous that the Bishop of Canterburrie, *alterius Orbis Papa*, his name VVILL. LaVD is just 666,[1] the number of the name of the Beast, Apoc. xiii. 17, 13. This man, a Popish-Arminian-Protestant bishop, being made Archbishop of Canterburrie, made a great alteration both in Scotland and Ingland: for in Ingland conformitie begouth to be more urged than before it had been; whilk made sundrie both ministers and others good professors to leave Ingland, and goe dwell in New-Ingland in America. And now in Scotland, who ever would be at preferment, he behoved to vent in publict some Popish or Arminian doctrine, or ells no preferment for him; for Bishop Laud ruled the King fullie, so that in effect he was Primat, Patriarch, or Cardinall, (call him what ye will) of all Britaine and Ireland.

In the end of this yeare, the King sent doune a charge to the magistrats of Edinburgh to cast doun the partition wall of St Geill's kirk, (whilk divyded the Greatter Kirk from the Lesser, whilk wall had been builded fifty yeares before,) that the Kirk of Edinburgh might be one fair spacious Cathedrall kirk, (antichristian Bishops had a great care of all gorgeous and pompous outwards; but unpreaching prelats was never carefull to fitt kirks for the heareing of the word of God,) seing he was to erect (doubtless by VVILL. LaVD his suggestion) and make a severall Bishop to be in

[1] This is rather a forced method of proving an "ominous" coincidence. Had the whole numeral letters in his name (VVILLIaM LaVD) been reckoned, the number represented, instead of 666, would be 1667.

Edinburgh, as many thought in imitation of London, whilk had its owne Bishop. With this there came a warrand to all the Lords of his Majestie's Councill, to the Nobilitie, to the Lords and members of Session, that all these, everie first Sabbath of everie moneth in the yeare, should take the communion kneelling, in the Chappell-Royall, under great pains. Yit when the first Sabbath of December came, and the sermon of preparation on the Satturday preceeding was taught, the celebrating of the communion was delayed, while word should come back from the King's Majestie; whilk word came in a letter to the Bishop of Dumblane,[1] who had taught the doctrine of preparation, and who gave the communion on the 15 of December; but there were few either councellours or sessioners that came unto it; yit such as came took the communion kneelling.

This yeare the King's second son, the Duke of York,[2] was born.

In the beginning of the yeare 1634, the magistrates of Edinburgh, as they were commanded, did cause demolish the partition wall betuix the Great and Little Kirk. Neither ministers nor magistrats in Edinburgh did show tokens of greeff and sorrow for this; but many good christians, both in Edinburgh and in the countrey, did heavilie complaine of it to God, knowing it to be an evident beginning of an hudge desolation to come, for Edinburgh had too few kirks before, and now this was unfitter for hearing nor it was before. And in the end of Januare, Mr William Forbes, who had been minister at Edinburgh, and finding himself to be in small favour with many of the best in the toun, who were beginning to absent themselves from his sermons, had left Edinburgh and gone back to Aberdene againe, came now back againe to Edinburgh, and, at the King's speciall commandment, was made Bishop of Edinburgh, solemnlie consecrat by the rest of the Bishops in the King's Chappell-Royal at Haliroodhouse: This was a great novation, there never haveing been a Bishop there before, no not in

[1] Adam Bellenden, or Ballantyne, who was also Dean of the Chapel-Royal.

[2] James Duke of York was born 14th of October 1633.

tyme of Poperie. He, the Bishop of Edinburgh, had his first sermon in the Great Kirk, now made more ample and greatter nor ever it was since the Reformation of religion in this countrey, upon the first Sabbath of Februarie; but he being sicklie, and his voyce weak, albeit there were many hundreds conveened, yit one hundreth of many heard not his sermon.

About the beginning of March the new Bishop of Edinburgh wrot a letter to the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, and to other Presbyteries whilk now he reputed to be under his diocie, and imperiously he urged all the brethren of these Presbyteries to conforme to the present established ordour of the Kirk. Some of the brethren answered, both wiselie and modestlie, that they could not conforme, and gave in reasons for their refusall; some excepted aganis him as not being their Ordinare or Bishop, and therefore they would (said they) answere to their awin Bishop; others tooke the matter to advisement; and some few utterlie refused to conforme, neither thought they it expedient, or advantagious to the cause of God, to take the matter to advisement. Now Pasch was drawing neare, when both ministers and others should have given a proof of their conformitie; but the Bishop of Edinburgh preassing to give the communion on Pasch-day, was so unmeet for doing of any thing, that he could not, without help, putt the cup to his awin head; and being so sick, after he had served two tables, he went out of the kirk, behoved to take bed, but apprehended not that death was approaching, albeit his weakness was told him. Thus he departed this life on Saturnsday after Pasch, the 12 of Aprile 1634, so that he enjoyed the sweet fruits of that new coyned dignitie (whilk never grew on the tree of life, as Cowper, Bishop of Galloway, his brother, had said) onlie but two moneths and an half. He was buried on Wednesday the 23 of Aprile, and his Dean, Mr Thomas Sydserf, made his funerall sermon: his text was, Johne v. 35, 36, &c., wherein he extoled the Bishop above Johne Baptist, and compared him to Christ in sundrie things. If this man had left in legacie a Confession of his faith, ye would have seen a strange miscellanie, farrago, and hotch-potch of Poperie, Arminian-

isme, Lutherianisme, and what not. Maxwell, Sydserf, and Mitchell, was never heard to utter any unsound heterodoxe doctrine (except in relation to prelacie and the ceremonies) till Forbes came to Edinburgh. But then it was taught,—The Pope is not antichrist;—a Papist living and dying such may be saved;—Christ descended locallie to hell;—Christ died for all, intentionallie to redeem all;—there is Universall grace;—the Saints may fall from grace finallie and totallie;—Christ is reallie present in the sacrament;—*Verbum audimus, motum sentimus, modum nescimus;* so they would neither (as yit) speak out Consubstantiation nor Transubstantiation;—*In honorem Sacerdotii,* why not a minister meddle with seculare effairs, [or] be on Parliament, Court, Councill, Session, Exchequer, Commission, &c. ?—Ministers' doctrine should not be examined by [the] people, but seing they watch for their soulls as they that must give account, the people should beleeve what they preach to them: All thir doctrines, and many more, we heard with our ears uttered in that most eminent watch-towre of this Kirk.

But because there fell out a great work of God before this Bishop died, I will sett down both his boasting letter whilk he wrot to the Presbyterie of Edinburgh and other presbyteries, and the mervellous effect that followed, according as it was foretold in a Speach uttered by a faithfull servant of God.

A COPPIE OF THE LETTER SENT BY MR WILLIAM FORBES, BISHOP OF EDINBURGH, TO THE PRESBYTERY THEREOF, MARCH 5, 1634.

BELOVED BRETHREN, It is not unknowen to you what evill effects this long-continued schisme brings forth in our Kirk: all good christians among us are touched therewith, and so they should, but none more than you, whose calling in particulare it is to keep Christ's bodie from renting, and to build up the breaches thereof. Herefore I desyre you earnestlie to think upon all good means for bringing back of our peace; and being persuaded, that, for the present, one of the most powerfull means will be your conformitie in your awin persons to the laudable acts of our Church, in giveing

the Sacraments, I require you, by thir presents, that ye all, who are the Brethren of the Exercise of Edinburgh, faill not to give the communion this nixt ensueing Pasch-day, (whilk will be the sixt of Aprile,) everie one of you, in your awin churches; and that ye take it yourselves upon your knees, giveing so a good example to the people; and lykewise; that ye minister the elements out of your awin hands to everie one of your flocks. I have desyred the Moderator to cause you signifie your consent hereto by writt in a paper, whilk he shall present unto you, that ye putt your names thereto, and report me an answere within fourteen dayes; certifieing yow, that whose names I finde not in the writt, I will take them as refusers to conforme, and maintainers of our schisme, aganis whom I will be forced to proceed with ecclesiasticall censures, seing both ye had so long tyme to informe yourselves, and also many of you are bound to conformitie by your promise and oath at your entrie to the ministrie. I desyre you lykewise, whenever ye administrat the Sacraments after this, to admitt none to it but those of your awin parochin, for the want of which there hes been great profanation of that holy mysterie; and for this cause I have willed you to give it all together at one tyme; and I pray you see to this, for the breach of it I account it als worthie of censure as the other. And, last of all, I require yow to preach of Jesus Christ his passion, for our redemption, upon the Frydday before Pasch, and that according to the Canon of our church. So, expecting your answere, I commit you to God's best blessings, and rests,

Sic subscribitur, GULIELMUS EDINBURGH.

Dated from Haliroodhouse, this morning.

In this letter observe, all that adheres to the Covenant and oath of God, and who will not perjure themselves by apostatizing with perjured prelatts, are separatists, schismaticks, maintainers of a schisme, enemies to the peace of the Kirk. Three men entered in an oath and covenant to go to London by the high roadway, and not to quyt that way either for terrour or allurement; yit shortlie after, tuo of the three heareing of some gaine to be had at a mer-

cat, leaves the roadway, forgoes their oath, forgetts their covenant, mocks, nicknames the third man, who would not for any gaine quyt the remembrance of his oath and covenant: it is applyed alreadie. Nixt observe, the Bishops buries the memorie of Presbytery, haveing sett up Prelacie in its rowme, and they onlie tearme them the Brethren of the Exercise. And, thirdlie, ye see how tyrannicall and imperious is this late Lord Bishop, boasting men if they will not consent to perjure themselves.

Followes the coppie of the ministers' consent, and the names of the consenters:

"THE within written Letter being produced, from the Right Reverend Father in God William Bishop of Edinburgh, we, the Brethren of the Presbytery thereof, undersubscryve, and oblishes and promises to obey the wholl contents of the said letter, by thir presents, subscryved with our hands, day, yeare, and place above written, (as after followes:)—

"THOMAS SYDSERF, ANDRO RAMSAY, ALEXANDER THOMSON, HARIE ROLLOCK, DAVID MITCHELL, JAMES FAIRLIE, WILLIAM WISHEART, JAMES HANNA, WILLIAM MYRTOUN, JOHN ADAMSON."[1]

As for the subscription of the brethren of other presbyteries, there were either few or none that subscryved; yea, there was a moderator of one of those presbyteries, Mr David Hoome, minister at Grinlay, in the Merse, who, at the command of the brethren of the presbytery, returned an answere to the Bishop, wherein he denunced the Lord's wrath to come certainlie upon him, if he should insist, in such a vehement maner, to urge brethren of the ministrie to doe any thing in the work of God, whereof they had no warrand from God's word; neither could be answerable to God in a good conscience, to doe that whereof they were sufficientlie informed of the contrare.

At this same tyme also there was an Admonition penned to

[1] Four other ministers took this matter to advisement, but William Arthur, minister of the West Church or St Cuthbert's, and James Thomson, minister of Hailes, or Colinton, absolutely refused to consent.

warne this new Bishop of Edinburgh not to be so violent in his courses, and the Brethren of the presbyteries not to yeeld to any corruption, proveing, by many good reasons, that they would hurt their awin consciences if they did so; and after many reasones, putt in this as most forcible, saying, "Why should ye so feare a mortal man? What can ye tell nor he may shoot to dead before he can get any of those wicked designs accomplished?"—And, in the Lord's good providence, it so fell out as here I have declared.

This new made and first Bishop of Edinburgh being dead and buried, many rumors past who would succeed to him; the sincerest sort feared that Mr Thomas Sydserf, a violent virulent man, a great urger of conformitie in Edinburgh, should have gotten that place; but after long delay, Mr David Lindesay, Bishop of Brechin, was installed Bishop of Edinburgh, and Mr Thomas Sydserf was consecrated Bishop of Brechin, Julie 29, 1634. At this solemnitie there were many rich and coastlie gloves distributed to noblemen, bishops, gentlemen, doctors, and ministers, with others, present and invited thereto. There were also two great feasts made; the one by the Toune of Edinburgh for their new Lord Bishop; the other (a greatter one) made by Mr Thomas Sydserf for his consecration, with great joy, carroussing, and jubilation.

Now falls in the historie of a processe led aganis my Lord Balmerino, whilk was procured by the dealling of the Bishops against him, and the occasion thereof was this:—The Noblemen, Barons, and Burgesses, who had voted in Parliament not according to the King's contentment, feareing the King's anger, caused forme an humble Supplication to be presented to the King to informe his Majestie of the trueth of things whilk he knew not, that the King might also know their loyaltie and willingness to please his Majestie in all things godlie and lawfull. Mr William Haig,[1] a gentleman who had been in service with one of the Lords of the Colledge of

[1] According to Sir James Balfour, this William Haig was a brother of Haig of Bemersyde. In some MSS. of Row the name is erroneously given as "Mr William Layng."

Justice, first penned that Supplication, and after it was read and considdered by some noblemen and others, it was thought meet to be presented to the King's Majestie; but the King heareing what it was, receaved it not. Followes a coppie of the Supplication:—

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE, THE HUMBLE SUPPLICATION OF SOME LORDS AND OTHERS COMMISSIONERS OF THE LATE PARLIAMENT: HUMBLIE SHEWING,—

THAT the Notes whilk your Majestie made of the names of the number of your Supplicants in voyceing these Acts whilk did imply a secret power to innovat the ordour and governament long continued in the Reformed Churches here; and your Majestie refuising to heare some of your Supplicants their Reasons for disassenting from the saids acts, did breed a feare of becomeing obnoxious to your Majestie's dislyke, if your Highnes did remaine unacquainted with the Reasons of our opinions delyvered concerning the saids Acts. And seing your Majestie's Supplicants are confident that your Majestie vouchsafeing to take notice of the saids Reasons, will be pleased to acknowledge, that no want of affection to your Majestie's service, but a carefull indevour to conserve to your Majestie the heartie affection of a great many of your Majestie's subjects, who are apt to greeve at the introduction of any novation in this Church, made our voyces appeare in opposition to the saids Acts; and that onlie a predominant desyre in us to have all your Royall designes and desyres here to prosper, was the cause that made us forbeare to make use of such Reasons as could have been proponed aganis many of the conclusions taken in the late Parliament. We doe therefore humblie beseech your Majestie to be graciouslie pleased to ponder the Reasons and considerations after wreatten, so shall we be incouraged, as in duetie bound, to continue our prayers for your Majestie.

1°. We humblie beseech your Majestie to considder, that though these acts, as they are conceaved, concerning your Majestie's prerogative and liberties of the Kirk, had never been moved or con-

cluded, as they are, your Majestie could have suffered no prejudice in your benefit, honor, or power.

2°. That your Supplicants are much more free from all suspicion of privat ends in disassenting, than the contryvers of the saids acts are in offering them to the hazard of contradiction, or soliciting an assent thereto.

3°. That in deliberation about matters of importance either in Councill or Parliament, opinions doe often differ, and they that have been of a contrarie mynde to a resolution carried by pluralitie of voyces, have never hitherto been censured by a prince of so much goodness as your Majestie.

We doe also beseech your Majestie to beleeve that all your Supplicants doe in most submissive maner acknowledge your Prerogative in als ample forme, as is contained in the Act made thereanent *anno* 1606; and withall to considder, that the long experience and incomparable knowledge that your Royal Father had in matters of governament, alswell in church as in commonwealth, is the verie cause expressed in the Act 1609, for which power was given thereby to his Majestie to ascribe apparrell to kirkmen; and since, in all the tyme of his life and governament, in the space of sixteen yeares thereafter, he did forbeare to command any change of their former habitts, we are bold to presume, that, in his great wisdome, he thought fitt that their apparrell used in tyme of divine service should be continued, as decent in the Church, whilk hes ever been used since the Reformation of religion to the tyme of his decease, and so continues to this day, as is most agreeable to the hearts and mynds of your Majestie's good subjects as of before.

We also beseek your Majestie to considder, that, under the Act intitulated, "A ratification of the liberties of the Kirk, &c.," the acts ratifieing the Assemblie of Perth in the Parliament 1621 was declared to be comprehended, that most part of us being then in Parliament did oppose the samine; that experience has shewed how much these Articles of Perth hes troubled the peace of this Kirk, and occasioned innumerable evills and distractions in it; that there is now a generall feare of some innovation intended in

essentiall poynts of religion; and that this apprehension is much increased by the reports of an allowance given in Ingland for printing of books full of Poperie and Arminianisme, and by preaching of Arminianisme in this countrey without censure, and by the admission of diverse Papists to the Parliament, and upon the Articles, who, by the lawes of this kingdome, cannot be members of any Judicature in it. That most of the mynds of your good people being in this perplexitie, your Supplicants had great reason to suspect a snair in the subtill conjunction of the Act made *in anno* 1609 concerning Apparrell, with that of 1606 anent your Royall Prerogative, whilk, by a sophisticall artifice, should oblish us either to vote unduetifullie in the sacred point of Prerogative, or unconsionablie in the church novations; whilk blessed King James would never have confounded, as appeared evidentlie in the Parliament 1617, honoured with his awin presence, when his Majestie haveing, by the Bishops' instigation, urged and past in Articles a ratification of his Prerogative, inacted in Parliament 1606, with addition of a clause authorizing all things that hereafter should be determined in ecclesiasticall effairs by his Sacred Majestie, with consent of a certaine number of the Clergie, to have the strength and power of a law: When this Act came to be heard in open Parliament, his Majestie gave ordour to read onlie the rubricks of it; and then compassionating the tender affections of his subjects, fluctuating by that occasion betuix love and feare, declared that it was his princely will and pleasure, for reasons knowen to himself, to have that Act suppressed, although past in Articles, because his soveraigne Prerogative being of itself inviolable, was alreadie established sufficientlie; and, in the depth of his wisdome, he thought fitt absolutelie to prefer the peace of the Kirk to the appetite of kirkmen. And seeing we do presume, that none of these things lawfullie rejected at the Reformation of [religion in] this kingdome should be introduced againe, without consent of our clergie lawfullie assembled, and fearing that a forcible introduction thereof would diminish in the hearts of many loyall subjects that affection to your Majestie, that is founded in their opinion of your goodness and wis-

dome, we did therefore disassent from the saids Acts, as imposeing a servitude upon this Church, and giveing a ground for introduction therein of infinit other new devyces.

We doe farther beseek your Majestie to considder, that your Supplicants would have represented, that albeit, in the Convention of Estates of this kingdome, *in anno* 1625 and 1630, promise was made of remedie of the heavie Greevances of your people, and the persons chieflie intrusted by your Majestie in the said Convention undertook to acquaint your Majestie therewith, and procure help of the samyne by your royall authoritie, or in your first Parliament; yit there hes been no notice taken at this tyme; and that your Majestie's prohibitions of meeting of your Nobilitie among themselves, or with the committee upon the Articles, may seem aganis the constitution of a free Parliament under such a lawfull Prince; and that the humble supplications of the ministrie to your Majestie and Estates of Parliament have been supprest; and that the meeting of the gentrie, peradventure to have represented to your Majestie the unspeakable sufferings of your countrey, be the abuse of coyne and incress of thift and oppression in diverse parts thereof, and other things worthie of your Majestie's consideration, were in your Majestie's name interupted. And that before *anno* 1609 the Nobilitie did alwayes choose of their awin rank and qualitie, to be upon the Articles, there being no Parliamentarie Bishops from the Reformation of Religion till then: and the Bishops did verie unduetifullie, and also bred a suspicion of their mysticall ends, in choiseing noblemen upon the Articles knowen either to be popishlie affected, or, for the most part, of small knowledge of the estate or lawes of the countrey.

And albeit your Majestie was graciouslie pleased, by your former and latter speeches in the Parliament house, to declare, that your Majestie had no purpose at this tyme to lay any burthen upon this nation, according to the wise counsell of King James in his Basilicon Δωρον, treating of the right use of Subsidies, and according to your severall proclamations, beareing that the course taken by your revocation for the settling of the patrimonie of the Croune was,

that your Majestie should not be burthensome to your people, albeit the present condition of your subjects is worse, and the patrimonie of your Croune greatter than when King James the First remitted to his people a great part of the taxation granted for that good King's ransome. And albeit your Majestie knoweth that none, but either men presumptuous of knowledge, or senseless in themselves, will adventure to trust their first conceptions in matters of so great importance, as are the conclusions of a Parliament; notwithstanding we would, for the ease of your subjects, and other reasons, (which would have found respect enough, alswell amongst most members of Parliament as amongst your Majestie's other good subjects,) have refuised to have yeelded to the taxations now granted, yit have we, (not so much as once inquyring in the reasons for the which so hudge taxations have been now granted,) all as one man, consented to all the acts made by the Lords of the Articles thereupon; without representing how the forme hes been, or craveing that the ease may not be bestowed upon diverse persons whose wastes and wants your good subjects are not obliged to supplie; without so much as remembering the promise made by him that was Commissioner in the Parliament 1621, that the taxation of annuel rents first then granted here, should not be continued any longer than the terms of payment then condescended upon; without telling that some of those subsidies are likelie to afford more matter of debate and processe betuix your subjects and Thesaurers than matter of profit to your treasurie; without putting your Majestie in remembrance of the importunitie you have suffered by diverse men's ambition for places in the Session, which none have hitherto refused or renunced by reasone of the small fees due to them; and without contradicting the exception of your officers' pensions, or alledging their fees to be als sufficient for maintaining the dignitie of their places now, as they were before your Majestie's Father succeeded to the Croune of Ingland.

These things have we done, and forborne to doe, to testifie our ingenious affection to your Majestie, and our obsequious resolutions to give you full content in everie thing that maketh not a

breach in our religion and lawes, or occasioneth offence to the weaker sort in the way of God's worship here established, albeit we were not acquaint with any of these Articles before their publict voting in Parliament. We are therefore confident that your Majestie, takeing the præmisses to your consideration, will be unwilling, upon any suggestion of such as are (or hopes to be) sharers of our voluntarie contributions, to introduce, upon the doctrine or discipline of this our Mother Kirk, any thing not compatible with the honour and freedome thereof, and your good people's conscience, or that has been rejected by acts and publict lawes of our Reformed Kirk.

This Supplication foresaid not being receaved by the King, remained in the hands of some noblemen; and my Lord Balmerino had also a coppie of it in Barntoun, his place besyde Edinburgh. Upon a certain day a notare, who dwelt at Dundie, called Mr Johne Dunmure,[1] being in Barntoun, and homelie in the house, abyding there for the tyme, he got a sight of the Supplication above written, and desyred to read it; whereof my Lord was content, knowing that the man loved the trueth, but when he read it, he coppied the same, (whereof my Lord was ignorant,) and gave back the principall. After this, the said Mr Johne Dunmure, talking with the Laird of Naughton,[2] a papist,[3] who was blyth that the Bishops were so risen, and riseing to preferment in this countrey, Mr John Dunmure, to let the Laird know that the Nobilitie and others were not content with their preferment, gives him a sight of the Supplication whilk he desyred to read, assureing that he should instantlie give the samyn back againe; yit also he coppied it; and

[1] In Row's MS. "Dimmure." Sir James Balfour calls him "Dinmure, a common scrivener in Dundee."—(Hist. Works, vol. ii. p. 219.)

[2] Peter Hay of Naughton. [3] Sir James Balfour (Hist. Works, vol. ii. p. 219) more correctly designates him "a sworn servant of the hierarchie," judging from Hay's work, entitled "An Advertisement to the Subjects of Scotland," &c, Aberdene, 1627, 4to. This work seems to have excited considerable attention at this time, (Records of the Synod of Fife, p. 107): one portion of it was answered in verse, by David Primrose, in "An Apologie for Advocates." Edinb. 1628, 4to.

to gratifie the Bishop of St Androes, putts the said Supplication in his hand; who being miscontent therewith, sends it up to the King, with such information as he thought meetest. Whereupon the King sends doune a commission to the Earles of Mortoun, Roxburgh, and Traquair, the Bishops of St Androes, Glasgow, Rosse, and the Clerk-Register, to call before them my Lord Balmerino, and examine him if he was the author or allower of that lybell; and finding him to have any interest in the bussiness, sends doune a warrand to ward him in the Castell of Edinburgh, till his Majestie's will were farther knowen. Whereupon the Noblemen and Bishops above nominat being conveened in Edinburgh, Balmerino was sent for to appeare before them on Saturnsday, Junij 7, 1634, airlie in the morning. He appeared before them about eleven houres, and answered to their demands, subscryves all his answers, and delyvered to them the coppie of the Supplication whilk he had; whereupon they dismissed him peaceablie. Yit soon after, the Bishop of St Androes sends to him, desyreing his Lordship to come and speak with him; and when he came, he showes to him his warrand from his Majestie to enter his persone in ward, in the Castell of Edinburgh, hopeing that it should not harme him in any case; whereupon my Lord Balmerino obeyes, and enters into the Castell of Edinburgh, no other cause being showen to him, but onlie his Majestie's will and pleasure.

When Mr William Haig, the penner of the Supplication, heard of this incontinently he fled out of the countrey, feareing danger; wrot home letters to his friends in Scotland, to know how matters went, and to send him something out of his coffers whilk he had in Edinburgh: Whereupon the King's Councill ordained all the men who had receaved letters fra Mr William Haig to present them to them before they were read; also they seazed upon his coffers, yit could finde nothing relating to my Lord Balmerino. The Earle of Rothess also was called before this committee, and after he had answered for himself, he was dismissed peaceablie, Julie 3, 1634.

From this moneth of Julie, to the moneth of March in the yeare following, 1635, there were sundrie dyetts of examination and tryell

of my Lord Balmerino before the committee; and in end, the Noblemen and the Bishops agreed not, for Maxwell, Bishop of Rosse, in speciall, was verie vehement in his speeches aganis Balmerino, as guiltie of great crymes. In August and September, Balmerino was keept in strait ward, so that his ladie got no accesse to him, except some of the committee had been present. In October, the Bishop of Rosse went up to Court, and my Lord of Mortoun followed soone after him. In November, when the Bishop of Rosse came from Court, it was noysed that Balmerino would be putt to an assyze, if a formall processe could be led aganis him: and so, after long advysement, Sir Thomas Hope, the King's Advocat, formed a dittay aganis Balmerino, whilk he founded upon the first act of the tenth Parliament holden by King James VI., whilk act is inlarged and amplified in an act of his fourteenth Parliament, wherein it is inacted, "That if any subject shall speak aganis the King or his councill, or nobilitie, or have any infamous lybells or writts aganis them, tending to their dishonour, they shall incurre the paine of death." This Supplication was alledged to be such a lybell; and, therefore, seing my Lord Balmerino revealled it not, either to King or Councill, he was to be holden the author of it, or ells behoved to present the maker thereof to be punished. The King also sent doun a warrand, when my Lord of Balmerino should be arraigned, that the Earle of Erroll should be Chief Justice, and with him the ordinare justice-deputts, Mr Alexander Colvill, and Mr James Robertoune, should also sitt, and Sir John Hay, Clerk-Register, Sir Johne Spottiswood, (the Bishop's son,) President of the Session, and Balcomie, one of the Lords of Session, should be assessors.

My Lord of Balmerino knowing all this, and finding maters to go so hardlie aganis him, desyred that, according to the custome in such cases, he might have procurators to speak for him; whilk was granted by the Councill. But he desyreing those who wes thought chiefest to procure for him, they perceaveing the matter to go so hardlie and so deep, refused; therefore, he choised those advocats, (who were content to doe their part,) Mr Alexander Pearson, (who had procured well for my Lord Ochiltrie in the lyke case,) Mr

Roger Mowat, Mr Robert Mackgill, and Mr Johne Nisbit,[1] who, suppose he was but a young man, spoke so pertinentlie in that cause, that he purchased to himself a great commendation. So in end, the Justice and his assessors being conveened in the Neather Tolbuith of Edinburgh, December 3, 1634, the dittay read, and the advocats playing their parts, first excepted aganis Sir John Hay, Clerk-Register, that he could not sitt as a judge in that matter, because he had given partiall counsell aganis my Lord Balmerino; but he, being putt to his oath, swearing, did cleanse himself, and so the process went on. This first day the Toune of Edinburgh was in their airms, partly to convoy my Lord Erroll Chief Justice to the Tolbuith, partlie to convoy and bring with a guard my Lord Balmerino fra the Castell to the place of justice; and this forme was keeped many dayes, according as dyetts was prorogat. In all thir dayes the commone people avowedlie, with loud and high lifted up voyces, were praying for my Lord Balmerino, and for all those that loved him and his cause, and prayed for a plague to come upon them that had the blame of his trouble; and from doing of this the Magistrats could not possiblie get them stayed.

The manifold reasonings, disputtings, and speeches, used on both sydes, made the matter to be delayit to sundrie dayes and dyetts, for all was putt in writ which was spoken on either syde:[2] But the thing that the Lord Justice and his assessors, with the King's Advocat, most aimed at, was to have my Lord Balmerino putting himself in the King's will, nothing doubting but the King would show him favour; and otherwise threatening him that it would go hardlie with him. Whereupon my Lord of Balmerino penned an humble Supplication, and put it in the Chief Justice's hand, who after he had read it, advysed my Lord Balmerino to joyne some words to that whilk he had written; whilk he did,

[1] This eminent lawyer is best known as Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton, Lord Advocate in the reign of Charles II., and at the same time one of the Senators of the College of Justice, being the last person in whom the two offices were conjoined.

[2] A full report of Lord Balmerinoch's trial, with the pleadings and letters connected with the process, will be found in the State Trials, vol iii. pp. 591–712.

with the advyse of his procurators; and then the Chief Justice said openlie, That he was out of doubt that the King would therewith be content, and that he would use his awin moyen for that effect. Yit this purpose was altered by the counsell of some Bishops; so that an assyze being nominat, in end it was concluded, that he behoved to undergo an assyze; so the Noblemen and others who were nominat upon his assyze were requested not to wearie, but to attend patientlie, till they saw what end that bussiness would come to.

In the end of December, after many delayes, my Lord of Traquair, who thought to have taken up my Lord of Balmerino his Supplication to the King, gave him back his Supplication, and past to Court, taking up with him to the King the wholl processe in writ, that the King's will might be declared in the mater.

At this tyme, the Chancellour of Scotland, Sir George Hay, Earle of Kinnoul, being at Court, departed this life, and many rumours past concerning his succession; and, by all men's expectation, in the begining of the yeare 1635, in Januarie, there fell out ane rare thing, the lyke whereof had not been seen since the Reformation of Religion, for, on the 26 of that moneth, the Bishop of St Androes, by the King's patent, was made High Chancellour of Scotland. It was thought by many, that he now being an old infirme man, and very unmeet for so great charges, both in Kirk and commonwealth, that this was onlie done for a preparative, that some aspyreing bishop of younger years (as Maxwell, whose motto might well be *Asperius nihil est humili dum surgit in altum*) might succeed to him; yit the old man undertaks both. This antichristian deportment, how unlike it is to the cariage of Christ's Apostles, who being called immediatlie of Christ himself, and gifted extraordinarlie, so as they had never any to succeed to them as Apostles, their charge being the wholl world; yit they founde it no reason to leave the word of God, and serve tables, which, notwithstanding, was an ecclesiastick imployment, but they must needs give themselves continuallie to prayer and the ministrie of the word; yit wicked, worthless, graceless, gift-

less men, (being compared with apostles,) had shoulders broad enough, even in decrepit old age, to beare the burthen of both Kirk and State, (take you their *Jus utriusque gladii !*): And now the Bishops pryde being come to an hight, (*nec quo progrediatur habet,*) it may be hoped it is neare to a fall.

This yeare the King's second daughter, Elizabeth, was borne.[1]

But to return to my Lord Balmerino his processe, the 8th day of March was appoynted by the Justice and his deputts, and assessors for him, to compeare before them againe; for before that tyme, they thought the King, haveing the processe, he would declare his will: whilk was, that he should be putt to an assyze. And, therefore, the 15 were nominat out of the number that were putt in the roll, Earls Marshall, Moray, Lauderdaill, Dumfriese, and Traquair; Lords Johnstoune, Foster, Viscount of Stormonth; Barons, Sheriff of Galloway, West-Nisbet, Thorntoune, Bukkie, Lag, Hempsfield; and Sir James Bailyie, knight, gentleman.[2] In the tyme of this processe, severall things of importance had fallen out; the sicknes of the Earle of Erroll, Chief Justice, the death of the Earle of Marre, and the Chancellour. Also many privie meetings were kept by good christians in Edinburgh, crying to God for help to his Kirk at such a tyme, and in particulare for comfort to the Nobleman who was presentlie in such danger; also some of the assyzers spake their mynds freelie, showing what a preparative it were to putt a Nobleman upon the pannell for such a cause. Also my Lord Balmerino, perceaveing the assyze going fordward, did think it high tyme to speak for himself; and therefore had a grave and modest yit pithie oration to the judges and assyzers, showing how he was verie

[1] On the 28th of December 1635.

[2] The names of the assize or jury on Lord Balmerinoch's trial were, William Earl Marishal, James Earl of Moray, William Earl of Dumfries, Mungo Viscount of Stormont, John Earl of Lauderdale, John Earl of Traquair, George Lord Forrester of Corstorphine, James Lord Johnstone, Sir Alexander Strachan of Thornton, Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, Sir John Charteris of Amisfield, Sir Alexander Nisbet of West Nisbet, Sir Patrick Agnew of Lochnaw, (Sheriff of Galloway,) Sir James Baillie of Lochend, and John Gordon of Bukkie.

willing to suffer any punishment that his Majestie would inflict upon him, for any cause whatsomever; but behoved to regrait his evill usage in his ward for nine or ten weeks, in all whilk space he never got libertie to take the aire, as other prisoners before him had gotten; and, albeit he was diseased and called for physicians, he could gett none that durst come to him; and, whilk was worst of all, he could never get any one minister to comfort him, by the hearcing of God's word taught to him, albeit he payit sundrie ministers their stipends; beseeching the judges and assyzers to tak heed what they all did, that his innocent blood might not be craved at their hands; for he protested, in the Lord's presence, before all that honorable meeting, that he never knew any offence that he had committed aganis his Soveraigne Lord the King, but laboured continuallie to be als loyall a subject to his Majestie as ever he could be. Thus, after many speeches on all hands, the assyzers were removed and inclosed, as the use is, and the Earle of Traquair made Chancellor thereof: the votes being asked, seven did cleanse him absolutelie, viz., Moray, Lauderdale, Foster, Bukkie, Lag, Hempsfield, with Sir James Bailyie: other seven fylled him, viz., Marshall, Dumfries, Johnstoune, West-Nisbet, Thorntoun, Sheriff of Galloway, and Viscount of Stormonth, and that onlie for concealling of that Supplication, and no otherwise; also Marshall did sweare afterhend that he had not fylled him at all, but confessed that he was sleepie, and spak not out: and so he was noted as if he had fylled him, for the assyze sat all night, and it was morning before they had ended. Thus, the one-half of the assyze being aganis the other half, it behoved the Chancellor to cleare it by his vote; and he fylled him, that he might put him in the King's will; alwayes mynding to purchase als great favour to him as he could. My Lord of Balmerino being convicted by the greater part of the assyze, when it was read to him, he, with a smyle, accepted of the sentence, and with a low curtesie; and so was carried up to the Castell againe, where he was keept in strait ward, till his Majestie's will should be declared. But if some men had gotten their will, (Antichristian Bishops are meek lambs, and great friends to puri-

tans,) and if the justice would have followed their counsell, he had been put to great extreamitie before the King had declared his will; whilk came not to the Councill till the moneth of Julie following.

In the interveening moneths, namelie in Maie, there came a warrand from the King, that his Councill should nominat some ministers out of everie presbytery, to be conjunct justices of peace, with them who were alreadie nominat of the gentrie: This was certainlie devysed by the Bishops, that ministers and others should not think it an uncouth thing, that Bishops should have so great preferment in the commonwealth and governament of the countrey. Whereas ministers could be both ministers and justices of peace, whilk is a civill magistracie, why not also a bishop, a chancellour, a courtiour, a councellour, and what not? But when the dyetts of the conveening of the justices of peace came, many ministers refuised to come to their meetings; others came, and in their presence refuised the office and imployment; yit some prelaticallie-disposed ministers came, accepted of the office, and thought it a degree of preferment to them.

In the moneth of Junii, two bishops being dead, other two were transported to their places; for Dumblane (Bannatyne) was made Bishop of Aberdene, and Brechin (Sydserf) was made Bishop of Galloway, and Doctor Whitefoord, named Mr Walter, was consecrat Bishop of Brechin, and Doctor Wedderburn was consecrat Bishop of Dumblane, his name Mr William.

In the moneth of Julie, the Earles of Stirlin and Traquair came from court, and declared his Majestie's will concerning my Lord Balmerino, viz., that he should be releeved from his waird in the Castle of Edinburgh, and go to Balmerino, in the north syde of Fyffe, over aganis the east end of the Carse of Gowrie, and there remaine confyned within sixe myles about him, till his Majestie's will were farther knowen. Whilk warrand being intimat to my Lord of Balmerino, he came in a quyet maner out of the Castle (where he had been incarcerated thirteen moneths and nine dayes) upon the 16 day of Julie, and went (not out to Barntoun, but)

directlie over the water to Balmerino, (a return of the prayers of God's people,) and there remained, abyding the King's farther pleasure, and expecting farder favour.

It was constantlie reported that the Bishop of Canterburrie (whose help in all this processe the Bishops of Scotland had used) was a chief instrument of procuring libertie to Balmerino; for haveing perused all the processe, and seen all the voyces of the assyzers, and finding that the one half had assoylled him, and those by the King's confession the best men, and the cryme alledged being onlie the not revealling of that Supplication; and looking to the law and practise of Ingland in such cases, that they put no man to death, except the matter be so cleare as that among judges and assyzers there is no one contrarie vote, he said, It had been a great wrong and injustice to have taken this noble-man's life: Thus he was releeved.

About this tyme there was a great report that it was the King's will that Bishops and ministers should be provyded to Abbacies; and some got gifts, and essayed to have their gifts passing the Scalls: But my Lord Traquair, thesaurer-deput, made his Majestie understand what an hudge prejudice it would prove to the rent of the Croune; thus, that intention of Bishops was stopped.

In the end of Julie, the Bishop of Glasgow caused summond the Goodman of Earlstoun[1] before the High Commission, for holding out a minister out of a kirk of his diocie, the Bishop haveing sent him to preach there; intending to intrude him in that kirk aganis all the parishioners' will, that he preaching there on a Sabbath after the death of their late pastor, and serving an edict, citeing the parishioners to appeare before the Bishop on a certaine day, to object, if they had any thing aganis him, why he might not be their minister. And because my Lord of Lorn (appearand of Argyle) was patron of the kirk, he compeared with Earlstoune, affirming that what he had done was done by his direction, as patrone; so that matter was deferred to another day.

[1] Alexander Gordon of Earlston. Baillie refers to his being fined and imprisoned by warrant of the Bishop of Galloway at this time.—(Letters, vol. i. p. 16.)

At this tyme also, Mr William Livingstoun, minister at Lanark, an aged brother, had imployed his awin son, Mr John Livingstoune, (who had bene a minister in Ireland, but now silenced by the Bishops there,) to assist at the celebration of the communion in Lanark; for this cause he was summoned before the High Commission, that they might tymeouslie obviat such dangerous preparatives in tyme comeing. But the Lord so assisted him with wisdome, zeall, and courage, that, in defending his awin deed from all just offence, he laid their haynous offences to their charge; so that they repented that they had caused summond him, and were faine to dismiss him, saying, That they would beare with him, because he was an aged man.

Also in the moneths of August and September, the Bishop of Edinburgh caused summond Johne Meen, a merchant, before the presbytery, he being present himself, and accused him, that he wilfullie refuised the magistrats of Edinburgh their autoritie, in refuiseing to come to the kirk upon a day appoynted for a solemne fast, whilk was also to refuise obedience to the Kirk. Johne Meen answered, That the day appoynted for that fast was a day appoynted for an anniversarie fast; and he did not understand that any such day, either fast or feast, in the dayes of the gospell, could lawfullie be appoynted, but as the Lord in his providence poynted out the occasion; otherwise we may be feasting when God is calling to fasting; fasting, when God is calling to publick joy and thanksgiveing. And after many speeches, and delayes, and diverse dyetts calling him before them, at last they leave off to trouble him any further, seing the ground of their accusation was naught.

In the moneth of November, the Earle of Traquair brought home the King's warrand to the Lord Balmerino, whereby his Majestie gave him his awin escheit, and inlarged his libertie, to doe his awin effairs in any toun or place of the kingdome.

In the end of November, the Bishop of Edinburgh being in the presbyterie, and the ministers of Edinburgh being to give the communion to their people in the first tuo Sabbaths of December, many thought (not without cause) that this was done to the end they might

draw the communion to be given at Yoole in the years following; and now feareing lest the people should not, in frequent numbers, communicat with them, they complaine to the Bishop that the neighbouring ministers gave not the communion kneeling; and, therefore, if he would not make them to conforme, they would also leave off their conformitie. To the whilk complaint the Bishop answered little, but bade them persist in their doing, and he should take ordour with the rest when occasion served.

In the end of the yeare, in December, the Bishop of St Androes caused summond Mr Walter Greig, minister at Balmerino, before the High Commission; he had been minister there fourteen years, and with the Bishop's awin consent was first admitted fellow-helper to Mr Thomas Douglas,[1] an aged minister, and after his death, served that cure without any lett five or six years: Yit, because he was not conforme, they lay this fault to his charge, that he had not taken on that ministrie lawfullie upon him, because he had never receaved collation fra his ordinare the Bishop. And, therefore, for intruding of himself into that place, he behoved to remove; but the Bishop gave him Pasch nixt to provyde himself, by removeing to some other place, for he was a married man and had sixe children. And albeit Mr Walter cleared himself of any intrusion, yit they would not alter their wicked conclusion. So this yeare 1635 ended.

In the yeare 1636, the Bishops caused print a Book of Ordination, wherein, (according to Christ's ordinance, 1 Tim. iv. 14,) what is done to the Presbytery and Assemblies of the Kirk, is given to a diocesan Lord Prelat, (an antichristian ordinance,) provyding he adjoyne to him three ministers; whilk caveat severall of them could transgresse when they pleased.

[1] Walter Greig was admitted assistant and successor to Thomas Douglas, as minister of Balmerino, about the year 1622. Douglas had been minister of that parish from 1581, and was alive in 1626. Greig however long continued in this charge; and after the Restoration he conformed to Episcopacy, and died in 1672.—(Records of the Synod of Fife, p. 217.)

Also, they caused a Book of Canons to be printed in Aberdene,[1] in the which these impieties and absurdities are remarkable:—1°. They are imposed, being Ecclesiasticall Canons, onlie by the sole and mere prerogative-royall, not by a Generall Assemblie, nay, not by a conventicle of bishops and doctors; and they ascribe to the King (as head of the Kirk) supreme autoritie in causes ecclesiasticall, whereas all sound divynes here have ever distinguished betuix the oath of Supremacie and the oath of Allegeance, counting this lawfull, but that unlawfull. 2°. That all acknowledge the Service Booke, (that is, the Masse in Inglish as we shall heare,) and the governament of the Kirk by Archbishops and Bishops, &c., under his Majestie (the head) to be lawfull, that is, subscryve himself perjured; if he teach or speak otherwise, to be excommunicated, &c. 3°. It speaks of Holie orders even as heartilie welcomeing the popish sacrament. 4°. Ordination is tyed to the four moneths, two equinoctialls, two solstices. 5°. All must subscribe the oath of Supremacie and Book of Canons. 6°. A new office of a preaching Deacone is introduced. 7°. Libertie given to the Bishop to dispense with the exercises publict of the Sabbath. 8°. Christ's minister may not preach Christ's trueth, if a loun minister neare by him have taught lies, except the Bishop give him leave so to doe. 9°. Though mischief and iniquitie be established by a law, (though but a pretended one,) none must presume to preach aganis it. 10°. Seing cards, dyce, tables, are reckoned among unlawfull games, what meanes Bishops to keep their awin Canons so ill as ordinarlie to imploy the afternoone of the Lord's day at cards. 11°. No presbyter or diacone must converse with a schismatick: in their sermons they exponed this, for all who opposed the cursed Hierarchie and ceremonies borrowed from Rome,

[1] Under the following title: "CANONS AND CONSTITVTIONS ECCLESIASTICALL, Gathered and put in forme, for the Governament of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. Ratified and approved by His Majestie's Royall Warrand, and ordained to be observed by the Clergie, and all others whom they concerne. Published by Authoritie. Aberdene, Imprinted by Edward Raban, dwelling upon the Market-Place, at the Armes of the Citie, 1636. With Royall Priviledge." 4to, pp. 43. The Royal Warrant is dated 23d of May 1635.

were preached aganis under the name of Puritans, Schismaticks, Separatists, Brounists, &c. 12°. Baptisme to be administered at any houre, (of night or day,) before two witnesses or three, does much foster the popish opinion of the necessitie of baptism, and also the celebration of it in privat corners as a witch's charme; so spake our old Liturgie. 13°. Communion must be at Pasch, whereby Papists are much confirmed in their superstition. 14°. They will not as yit speak out Auriculare confession, but that the presbyter be diligent before communion that none be guiltie of any greevous sin unrepented of; for which cause inquyre carefullie into their maners. 15°. If the Elements be commone before and after the action, what means all this circumspection in handling them? and after the action is closed, everie one may not eat of them but such as have receaved that day, and that they be eaten and drunken of those poore people before they go out of the church: If they be not transubstantiated, what needs all this? or why ells to be receaved kneeling? 16°. The Bishop may give licence to marie without proclamation of banns, and that by a diaconc, whereby one may get to wife his awin sister. 17°. The innocent partie, divorced or separated *a thoro et mensa*, is discharged ever to marie dureing the nocent partie's life. 18°. All dueties of mutuall edification discharged under the name of Unlawfull Conventicles. 19°. No Nationall Assemblie except called by his Majestie's autoritie, so that if the Kirk were never so much necessitated to meet, yit no meeting except the King call them. 20°. No minister shall presume to conceave a prayer *ex tempore*, under paine of deprivation. 21°. That all teachers of the youth be conformists, and teach their schollers the oath of supremacie alswell as of alleagance. 22°. No fast without licence of the Ordinare; *Jejunium Sabbaticum* is declared unlawfull. 23°. A font is commanded to be neare the entrie of the church, (stay a little, and annon we shall come to the sprinkling of holie consecrated water upon everie intrant,) as ancientlie it used to bee: See with what reverent respect the antichristian prelat speaks of dayes of antichristian darknes or poperie, as ancientlie it used to bee. 24°. The Communion is discharged to

be before the pulpit, in the bodie of the kirk, where people might heare and see, (for that were not so Masse-lyke,) but at the upper end of the chancell, far remote fra the people, where they may mumble their Masse, and that it may the better resemble *Sanctum Sanctorum* in the far end of the temple of Jerusalem, for it is knowen that Poperie (to whilk now we was fast posting) is nothing but a miscellanie farrago of Judaisme and Paganisme, *mutatis nominibus*. 25°. One of the popishlie-affected Bishops, at the contryveing of the three books of Ordination, Canons, Service, said, try them first with some of Rome's words, and if they skar not at the words, they will probablie take with the thing; as here the cup is also called the chalice. 26°. When alms are to be distributed, it is to be done before sixe chief men of the pariosh; mention of the Session is buried. 27°. A singulare care had, that the house of God be no wayes profaned, nay, nor the church-yard; *Ergo*, the Bishops counted the place holie; they will not have it profaned. 28°. The Bishop in rare cases is to get help (not from a Generall Assemblie, but) from the High Commission. 29°. They doe not professe to censure drunkenness, except it be commone. 30°. No summare excommunication at all, how odious and how noture so ever the atrocious cryme be, yea, no excommunication at all, except my Lord Bishop approve it; yea, no absolution, how penitent so ever he be, till the Ordinarie say Amen to it. 31°. Deposition of ministers, whilk belongs to the presbyterie and other Kirk judicatories, the Bishop takes to himself, calling to him, to be witnesses, three presbyters. 32°. Frequent useing of the popish words the Clergie and Laitie. 33°. If a man finde himself injured by his Metropolitane, let him appeall to the King, that is, to the head of the Kirk. 34°. When they speak of the Church, (as a Bishop imployed by the Church, cap. 18, sect. 15,) they mean nothing but the fourteen Bishops. 35°. Finallie, in all the Canons not once mention of an Ruleing Elder, an office whilk Bishops detest, because they love to see profanitie grow, incress, abound, that theirs may be the less taken notice of; no word of a Session or congregationall consistorie; no word of a Presbyterie or classicall

judicatorie; yea, now also the Brethren of the Exercise is buried in deep oblivion; instead of a Provinciall free Synod, ye have twise a year a Bishop's court, where he not onlie usurped moderation, but also a negative voyce, and many tymes would command the whole to writ what he pleased, though the voyces had carried otherwise; yea often would not refer the matter to voyceing; and, lastlie, the Generall Assemblie (the great bulwark, under God, of this Kirk, from which onlie ecclesiasticall canons can, by the law of this land, flow, and not from some particulare persons) is in effect abolished; for now, since 1618, that is, for eighteen years, we have had no Assemblie at all, because the King was not pleased to call one; yea, no free and lawfullie convocat Assemblie since 1605, that is, for thirty-one years; yea, seing the Assemblie of Aberdeen mett not, and inacted nothing, we may reckon since 1602, at Haliroodhouse.

Now of thir Canons, one said merrilie, that all the Bishops' cannons were poysoned, they would misgive, and shoot nipshot; and so it was: for at Glasgow 1638, the mouth of thir cannons were by the Lord turned aganis the Bishops themselves, for they ordaine Bishops to be deposed in sundrie cases, as Simonie, &c.: now our Bishops, many of them were guiltie of Simonie, (at least being poore, in debt, or greedie, they were glad to See money,) therefore most justlie, themselves being judges, deposed, depryved of their antichristian offices.

This yeare,[1] Anna, the King's daughter, was borne.

In the moneth of Maie, the Earle of Traquair, Treasurer-Deput, was now (by the Earle of Morton his dimission of the place) made High Thesaurer of Scotland; whereat Bishops were but litle contented, for he had hindered their grand designe in getting the abbacies to them and their successors; so that Maxuell, Bishop of Rosse, (that proud and paughtie peece,) who thought he had greatest

[1] This is an evident mistake: She was born on the 17th of March 1636–7, and died on the 8th of December 1640, not having attained the age of three years and nine months.

moyen with the King, vowed, that either Traquair should break his neck, or he his; wherefore, when Traquair, understanding of this, did complaine to the King of the Bishop, the King took away the quarrell, and reconceeled them: *Sed Magnatum iræ sunt immortales.*

In the moneth of Julie, Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway, after that, at sundrie dyetts in privat, he had conferred with Mr Samuell Rutherfoord, minister at Anwith, within his diocie, and could by no means draw him to conformitie, caused him, by a decreet of the High Commission, to be confyned within the toune of Aberdene, and a little about it, durcing the King's will. Great moyen was made by noblemen and others, especiallie by his awin congregation, to see if they would confyne him within his awin congregation, yet nothing could availl. So he removed, and sundrie of his awin congregation convoyed him to Aberdene, with a great regrait of the want of such a pastor, so holie, learned, and modest. But the trueth was, that Sydserf now being turned an Arminian, and Mr Samuell haveing this same yeare, 1636, sett out a learned book aganis Arminians, intitled, *Exercitationes Apologeticæ pro Divina Gratia;*[1] whereat the Arminian bishops might well gnaw their tongues and gnash their teeth, for bitterness and indignation of spirit, but could make no answere to it, (for Maxwell, when he had read it, said, He did not expect that any puritane in Scotland had had so much learning;) this, with the want of conformitie, hightened and hastened his persecution. Mr Samuell Rutherfoord wrot from Aberdene very many letters to his awin people, [and] to many others of all ranks; whilk, by the blessing of God, did great good not onlie to those to whom they were written, but to others to whose view in providence they came; so that sundrie begouth to gather them together, and have wholl books full of them, whilk if they were printed,[2] I am confident, throw the Lord's rich mercie and blessing, would not faill to doe much good; for in them there are handled

[1] Rutherford's work was printed at Amsterdam, under the above title.

[2] His letters were collected and published in Holland after his death, by Robert Macward, in 1664, and the numerous republications attest their continued popularity.

many necessarie cases of conscience, wherein perplexed soulls might get resolution; also they speak much to the tymes and Bishops' tyrannie; also there are in them some prophecies, whilk the Lord caused his servant utter by pen, and now since that, hes fulfilled by prooff and experience, concerning the dounfall of the Bishops, the restoring of the Kirk of God, the work of reformation, the League and Covenant of Scotland and England, whilk he compared to Judah and Israel, useing the words of the prophet, Jer. l. 4, 5. It has been a worthie remark, that all the Bishops and enemies of the cause did, plotted, practised aganis the cause, the Lord (that admirable Alchymist) has turned that verie same to the promoveing of his work, he thus extracting light out of darknes: Among the rest, it was so here in Mr Rutherfoord his confynement in Aberdene, where he, in some Arminian poynts, put the chiefest of the Doctors there to silence by exchangeing of papers; but especiallie, by carefull heareing and observeing of their corrupt doctrine, whilk afforded ground and matter of challenge, and just cause of deposition to such as were guiltie, *anno* 1640, at the Generall Assemblie holden at Aberdene in Julie.

In the moneth of August this yeare, there came to our hands a worthie book, called, "A Re-examination of the Five Articles inacted at Perth, 1618;"[1] wherein also was a treatise concerning the Sabbath, because a Bishop of Ingland, Dr White, Bishop of Elie,[2] had sett out a book about the lawfulness of useing of pastyme upon the Sabbath day, after the preaching or service.

In the moneth of September, the Bishops of Ireland haveing removed sundrie ministers from their places for non-conformitie, and haveing excommunicat them, that they might put them in prisone; some ministers, as Mr Robert Blair, Mr Johne Livingstoune, Mr Johne M'Lellan, and sundrie godlie christians, haveing caused big a ship, they with their wyves, children, and families, takes voyage

[1] By David Calderwood, *vide supra*, pp. 317, 325.

[2] Dr Francis White, Bishop of Ely. Among other works he published a "Treatise of the Sabbath day against Sabbatarian Novelty," Lond. 1636, 4to, (to which Calderwood's tract refers;) and a vindication of his Treatise in 1637.

to *Nova-Anglia;* but the weather being tempestuous, and the ship not tight enough, being leck, haveing also lost her rudder, with great danger (after their voyage was advanced midway and more) returned to Ireland in the beginning of November.

About this tyme came from Court Mr Johne Maxwell, Bishop of Rosse, and with him the Deane of Edinburgh, and brought doune with him a new Service Booke, to be injoyned to all ministers and readers by vertue of the vast prerogative-royall. The bussie Bishop presented it to the King's Councill that they also might approve of the same; whilk was done by proclamation.

This Popish-Inglish-Scotish-Masse-Service Booke,[1] (printed at Edinburgh, by Robert Young, *anno* 1637,) is to be rejected of the Kirk of Scotland for these Reasons:—1°. The sincerer sort in Ingland did never agree with the Service Booke, or Booke of Commone Prayer, but had many just exceptions aganis it, as being but (as King James VI. said of it) an ill-said Masse in Inglish, haveing many things of the Masse in it, and Pope Pius IV. haveing made offer to approve and confirme, by his sacred autoritie, the Inglish Liturgie and Service Booke, provyding Elizabeth would acknowledge his primacie. The Councill of Trent was not opposit to this, when the Popish nobilitie in Ingland asked solution to this case of conscience, If it was lawfull for them, being Roman Catholicks, to be present at, or to countenance their Liturgie? They got no word of discharge, albeit a positive act of approbation was not made; yea, Pope Gregorius XIII. renewed Pius IV. his offer to the Queen upon the fore-mentioned condition. But our new Service Booke is much more Popish nor the Inglish Booke, and much less Protestant, for severall words in the Inglish Booke, whilk seem opposit to the corporall presence in the sacrament, is left out in the Scottish Booke, and severall most Popish expressions are found in our Booke whilk are not at all in theirs, as any compareing the one with the other may evidentlie perceave.

2°. This Service Book containeth not a few things whilk would

[1] "The Booke of Common Prayer," &c. Edinb. 1637, fol.

breed a great change in sundrie articles of doctrine and discipline of this Kirk, which is both warranted by Scripture, inacted by Acts of Generall Assemblies, ratified and confirmed by Acts of Parliament, and solemnlie sworn and subscryved unto by all in our solemne Covenant with God. Now, it seemeth to be als well aganis State-wisdome as it is evidentlie aganis religion, and perjurie in relation to our oath, to change any thing either in the matter or forme of the said doctrine and discipline, except the changer first show some evill or some defect, or some culpable blemish in the things to be changed. Secondlie, what good and benefite it is that the said Service Booke will afford, tending more to the edification of the Kirk of God, or true and pure worship of Almightie God, than the poynts of doctrine and discipline, which the new coyned Liturgie would breed a change of. And, thirdlie, the changer must show his authoritie to inforce, command, and injoyne such a change.

3°. In the pretended Communion it hath all the substance and essentiall parts of the Masse, and so brings in the most abominable idolatrie that ever was in the world, in worshipping of, and devouring, a breaden god; and makes way to that Antichrist of Rome to bring this land under that bondage againe, as may be seen at large by the particulars of that pretended Communion, wherein some things that were putt out of the Service Booke of Ingland, for smelling so stronglie of the Masse, are here restored; yit all is laboured to be covered and couched. It hath the commemoration of the dead; prayer for them and purgatorie will follow quicklie; the table is sett altar-wayes; and the priest must come and turne his back to the people; though his face were towards the people, they would not heare, he being removed to the end of the chancell; and, at other tymes, he is to speak with lowd voyce, but not injoyned now when he is to stand at the verie far end of the kirk with his back to the people; and what languag that be in whilk is not heard it matters but little, for *Missa non mordet:* how neare I am at the mumbling and muttering of the Masse in Latin, let any judge. It hath the oblation of the bread and wine to God before the consecration; it hath the verie popish consecration,

that the Lord would sanctifie, by his Word and Holie Spirit, "those creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the bodie and blood of his Son;" and then repeatts the words of institution to God for that purpose;—it hath an oblation of it againe after it is consecrat;—it hath the consummation by the priest kneeling and adoreing before the consecrate bread and wine;—and in relation to those holie things, it hath takin away the spirituall eating and drinking by faith mentioned in the Inglish Liturgie; it hath the Patine and chalice;—it hath tuo Pater Nosters in Inglish before the Masse; and severall other particulars, whilk would be tedious to rehearse:—in a word, let any compare it with the Missale, and they shall misse verie litle.

4°. Though they would take out of it the idoll of the Masse, (whilk is a masse of idolatrie,) yit it hath not a small number of popish, superstitious, and idolatrous Ceremonies; as twenty-nine holie dayes equalized in holiness to the fifty-two Sabbaths, or Lord's dayes, (but the Service Booke loves rather the pagan word Sunday.) Of thir twenty-nine holie festivities, (England's Service Booke has but twenty-seven,) some are dedicated to Christ, as Nativitie, Circumcision, Epiphanie, or the apparition of the starre to the wise men, the Ascension, the Passion, or Good Fryday, is omitted, but that Perth, 1618, supplieth that defect; some are dedicated to the blessed Virgin, who, being sometymes styled Our Ladie, and not being a ladie to christians on earth, it must be in heaven: is not this to make hir Queen of Heaven, or a goddesse? one to Michael the archangell; one to each apostle and evangelist; one to the proto-martyr Steven; one to the Holie Innocents; but I intreat, remark, one of All Saints. Now, it is noture that Papists have November 1, All-Hallow day, or a day to the honour of all their canonized Saints, whilk are of three sorts,—*Bona Entia*, as St Peter, St Paull, &c.; *Mala Entia*, as St Thomas Becket, St Francis Raviliake, traitours, murderers; *Non Entia*, as St Christophore, &c. onlie to be read of in *Legenda Aurea*, and so a mere chimæra: So the Bishops will have us to keep one anniversarie day to the memorie of all popish Saints, without exception. It hath fourteen

fasting dayes, and some wholl weeks; it hath the superstitious and idolatrous ceremonie of crosse in baptisme; bishopping, or the popish sacrament of confirmation, by the laying on of the Bishop's holie hands upon little children of seven or eight years old; a ring for an outward seall in mariage, seing everie sacrament must have an outward signe; a sanctified font, holie water, holiness of churches and chancells, private baptisme, private communion, ceremonies for buriall of the dead, and purification of women after childbirth; the priest, some tymes standing, some tymes kneelling, some tymes turning to the people, and, consequentlie, some tymes from them; some tymes speaking with a lowd voyce, and, consequentlie, some tymes with a low voyce or mumbling; the people must stand up at Gospells, *Gloria Patri*, and at Creeds; their answereing to the minister with *Responsoria* and *Antiphona;* and many many such lyke, above fifty in number. And besydes, any religious ornament that the King or his successors shall prescribe, by virtue of an hereditarie prerogative-royall; and ceremonies that Bishops shall determine, or that shall be found contained in the Books of Homilies to be sett forth hereafter; which, when it shall be, yow shall have so perfite a church, that any boy of eight years of age, who is taught to read Inglish, may be a kirkman good enough, for he can read a prayer, a chapter, the Service Booke, a printed Homilie or sermon.

5°. Though they would take out of it both the Masse and all those superstitious Ceremonies, yit it hath a number of other materiall errours, as the leaving unread about 120 chapters of God's word, and the neglecting of the Lord's undoubted trueth, acknowledged Canonick Scripture by both protestant and papist, was not blasphemous enough sacriledge to the beastlie bishops; but they would needs put a reproach upon those chapters of the Holie Bible, that they are least edifieing, and might best be spared: And, to make up the Bishop's new Bible, they read sundrie chapters out of Apocrypha, under the style of Holie Scripture of the Old Testament: and two things more are remarkable hereabout; 1°. The Apocryphall chapters, considdering their number, are large more

nor the canonick; 2°. The Apocryphall chapters are appoynted to be read, many of them, at more solemne tymes and festivities, when the congregation (as they well knew) would be most frequentlie conveened.

How Apocrypha thus is equalized in style to God's word; how it is preferred to God's undoubted trueth, severall wayes, is also manifest; for Apocryphall chapters are reputed more worthie to be read in publict, (contrare to that word Apocrypha,) nor 120 chapters of Canonick Scriptures, whilk, by the course of this new Bible, the people of God shall never heare in publict. Now, Apocryphall books are humane writts, not Holie Scripture:—1°. They are neither of the Old nor New Testament: not of the New, whilk begins with Johne Baptist's preaching is confessed; not of the Old, for to the Jewes were committed the oracles of God, (*i. e.* the Old Testament,) who affirm, all in one voyce, that in their canon they have just als many books as letters in their alphabet, viz. 22; for reckon the Pentateuch for one, Ruth with the book of Judges, the Lamentations with Jeremiah, and the 12 Lesser Prophets as one book, and all the rest of the Canonick books, each of them as one, (for so the Jewes reckon them,) and you have just 22 books; yit no reckoning made of Apocrypha at all, which the Jewes never did acknowledge, seing they were not written in Hebrew:—2°. They are not the foundation of prophets and apostles, as neither been written by prophet or apostle, 2 Macc. xv. 39, with 2 Pet. i. 21:—3°. They containe many errours, Ecclesiasticus 46, 20, and 48, 10; 2 Macc. xii. 44, 45, and xiv. 41, 42:—4°. They containe many fabulous things, 2 Esd. xiv. 19, &c.; 2 Macc. ii. 4, 8; Tob. v. 11, 12, 13, with xii. 15; 1 Macc. vi. 4, 8, 9, 16, with 2 Macc. i. 13–16, and ix. 1, 5, 7, 9, 28, 29:—5°. They containe magick, Tob. vi. 6, 7, 8, and viii. 2, 3, with iii. 7, 8:—6°. They containe blasphemie, Tobit xii. 12, 15, compared with 1 Tim. ii. 5; and Rev. viii. 3, 4:—7°. And lastlie, they containe manifest contradiction to canonick scripture, Judith ix. 2, 3, 4, compared with Gen. xlix. 5, 6, 7. Esther Apocryphall, xii. 5, with Esther Canonicall, vi. 3; Apocryphall, xv. 9, 10, with Canonicall, v. 2; Ecclesiasticus xlvi. 20;

with Eccl. xii. 7; and Isa. lvii. 2. *Ergo*, Apocryphall writts are not Holie Scripture, and so not to be equalized with, much less preferred unto, God's holie and sacred trueth.

The Service Booke hath a Letanie more like unto conjuring nor prayers. It hath some places out of whilk any popishlie affected may prove that sacraments are necessarie to salvation:—As in appoynting baptisme in private, and that with such haste, that if necessity requyre, he that baptizeth needeth not so much as to say the Lord's prayer:—Some places out of which one popishlie affected may prove that sacraments give grace *ex opere operato*, by their verie work wrought; as in saying, "Children baptized have all things necessarie to salvation, and be undoubtedlie saved:" It hath some places out of which may be proven more sacraments nor two; as when they say, "Everie parishioner who is alreadie baptized shall communicat, and shall also receave the sacraments;" *ergo*, There are some other sacraments besyds baptisme and communion:—When they say, "Two sacraments are generallie necessare to salvation;" *ergo*, There are some other sacraments not so generall, or not so necessare:—It hath other places out of which the Arminian may prove his universall grace, saying, "The Son of God redeemed me and all mankinde:" some of which errours, as namelie the last tuo, the Bishops haveing latelie foisted into the Catechisme, which little children did learn at schoolls; for whilk cause the Generall Assemblie, 1648, discharged that Catechisme. One Collect pretends to begg from God that which they dare not presume to name: now what may this (strange thing that dare not be named) bee? Sure it is not Christ, grace, remission, heaven, happiness, the pearle of pryce, comfort, direction, protection, the Spirit, guard of angells, daylie bread; for all these being promised, a child of God dare ask them; but it is most likelie to be the satisfieing of some unlawfull and burning lust.

6°. Though they amend all those errours, and that in all the Service Book there were no materiall errour at all, neither masse nor popish ceremonie; and though they should read nothing but Canonicall Scripture, yea say that all their prayers and exhortations

were merelie words of Holie Scripture, yit it is not lawfull to introduce a reading ministrie, and to stint men, (gifted of God, who has the spirit of their calling, able ministers of the gospell, who hes the Spirit of adoption teaching them to pray, Gal. iv. 6; Rom. viii. 26; and to whom God hes opened a doore of utterance, to speak the gospell with boldness, haveing touched their lips with a coall from his awin altar,) to such a Liturgie as is to be made the onlie forme of God's publict worship. For though I confess good use may be made of a formed Liturgie and publict service, to serve for a rule to other kirks to fall on the like way, finding it warranted by the word, and to be as a monument to the posteritie, who thence may learn what forms have been, are, and ought to be used; and that it may lead the way, and be a directorie to those that are beginning in the ministrie; yit certainlie reading of prayers and exhortations is not the way, whereby the Lord in his word has appoynted his servants of the ministrie to worship him, or to convert, edifie and comfort, or strengthen soulls; but seing they have receaved gifts for praying and preaching, they ought to stirre up the gift of God, and putt the talent to use; and though in their privat studies they may borrow some help from other men's gifts and labours, yit neither is it lawfull for a man to tye himself, or for bishops to tye all ministers to a prescript and stinted forme of words in prayer and exhortation:—

For, 1°. We read not in all Scripture any that ever did read a prayer or exhortation:—2°. It stints God to such a measure and doze of service daylie; binding up all other spirituall petitions and praises whilk otherwise God should have; neglecting new cases of conscience, new passages of providence:—3°. What will a rat-ryme of words work upon an hard unrenewed heart? And what is done there in publict whilk they cannot get done at home in privat? for they can read a prayer, an homilie: but faith is wrought by heareing of the word preached, whilk hes ever been contradistinguished from reading:—4°. It fosters a lazie, ydle, careles ministrie, for without any preparation, studie, prayer, meditation, wrestling, application, he can come straight from the ail-house, from

the bordell, read his Book of Commone Prayer and homilie, and so he hes acquytted himself sufficientlie, for all that the antichristian prelat requyres: For unpreaching prelacie mynds thus to shoulder out preaching, and so to introduce ignorance and profanitie; though they will not (as yit) speak it out, that ignorance is the mother of devotion; yit I hope they were verie neare it, when, in Ingland, afternoone sermons on the Sabbath being discharged, that the people might recreat themselves with lawfull and liberall games and pastyme. When a minister begged earnestlie leave at least yit to catechize some in the afternoone, the Bishop answeres, "Why will ye thus wearie and torment the people? but and if ye will catechize, see that it be nothing but the verie words of the 'Who made man,' without any explication or inlargment; for I tell you the trueth, it is no matter how little the commons know." Now, whether that Bishop be Papist or Protestant, let the world judge; but that it was their aime to shoulder out preaching, is most cleare by their contryveing of the Service Booke in such a prolixe forme, that in numerous congregations where in one day there would be baptisme, mariage, communion, (now to be once a moneth,) buriall, &c.,—or if not all those yit severall of those, the Service Booke being observed, (whilk must be, what ever become of sermon,) there shall be no tyme for preaching; hence a sermon a quarter an houre, and some tymes less, was all the poore starved soulls gott. Latimer said, It was no other but the devill himself who sett up unpreaching prelacie to suppresse the preaching of the gospell. And, finallie, if a stinted Liturgie had been necessarie for the Kirk of God, Christ, either by himself or his apostles, would not have suffered the Kirk of God to want one; doubtless he had prescribed it, or rules for it, how to frame it.

7°. Finallie, Though a prescript and stinted forme of Liturgie were lawfull, yit there is no warrand for imposeing of one upon all, for able ministers would know best what were fittest (at least) for their awin people, and could frame one fittest for them: And say it were lawfull to impose one upon all for uniformitie, we have one in Scotland alreadie established by the lawes of the land, and long

practised; wherefore that ought to be imposed rather then another; or if a new one ought to be imposed, after it is cleared to be better nor that whilk we have had, yit must it come in by a lawfull manner, viz., by a lawfull and free Generall Assemblie, who must first choose out men to contryve it, which men are knowen to have the spirit and gift of prayer themselves: and not that our Booke of Liturgie shall be the Missale translated in Inglish, and urged upon the Kirk of God by antichristian prelats, without consent of either Generall Assemblie or Parliament, aganis the will of all men, except such as are popishlie affected; and with great scandall and offence, and Woe be to them by whom offences come! for these cannot choise but stumble at it, who thinks all Liturgie unlawfull, which is either composed in the Masse-way, or inconsistent with the constant practise and peace of the Reformed Kirks of Scotland hitherto, and aganis the hearts of such that know many things in the Inglish Liturgie and Canons, the practise whereof hath no warrand in God's word; and in God's worship, *Quod mandatum non lego, vetitum credo;* all that is not commanded *ipso facto* is forbidden by the sound precept of the morall law, and is an image whilk thow hes made to thyself. But knowing our Scottish Liturgie now urged to be much more popish nor the Inglish, O what offence is this! Neither can it bring any such addition to the profit, honour, or power of the King, that is able, in any degree, to compense the losse he will make of the affections of his loyall subjects, by commanding (throw sole autoritie and prerogative, without either scripture or reasone) such a change, as the urged Liturgie will of necessitie bring to the disturbing of the peace of the Kirk, and diminishing the respect due to the Acts of Generall Assemblie and Parliament, and our long practise and custome, whereby our Kirk Discipline, governament, order, and publict worship, have been established.

About this same tyme, in November 1636, the schoolmaster and reader in Kirkcubright, brother to Mr Samuell Rutherfoord forsaid, being called before the High Commission, was commanded to

leave that toune, and his charge there, and to provyde for himself els where, betuix that day and Whitsunday nixt to come.

In the following moneth, December, the ministers of Edinburgh having much longed for a Yoole Communion, now finding the 25 of December to be a Sabbath, is glade of the opportunitie, and that day celebrats the Communion: So this yeare 1636 endeth.

In the yeare 1637, in the beginning of Aprile, the communion was celebrat in Irvin by Mr David Dickson, minister there; at whilk communion sundrie of the precious ministers of Christ, and gracious professors of the trueth now banished out of Ireland by the bishops, were present, and severall wholl families of them were come over, fleeing the persecution, and were dwelling in Irvin, for the comfort of the word and Christ's precious ordinances; thus antichristian prelats were rageing in Ireland aganis Christ his cause, ministers, and members.

About this tyme came out a new printed treatise, called the Abridgment of the Five Articles inacted at Perth 1618, containing chieflie the Re-examination of tuo of those Articles chieflie urged, viz., Kneeling in the act of receaveing of the holie elements in the Lord's Supper, and the observation of Festivall dayes.

In the moneth of Julie after a calme arose a storme; for the Service Books now being printed, and some of them bought by some ministers and some professors also, there came out in writ arguments and reasons why the said Service Booke should not be receaved in this Kirk of Scotland, cleareing many faults, errours, and absurdities to be in that booke; for the Bishops at their Diocesan Synods in Aprile preceeding, had intimat to all the ministers that the Service Booke was injoyned to be receaved and read in all kirks by Royall autoritie: Yit did the Bishops bid all ministers see what faults they would finde in the saids books, and give in their remarks to the nixt Synod in October: But all ministers did not receave the booke, and some who had consented to receave it, did begin to speak aganis the practiseing of it. The Bishop of

Edinburgh, Lindesay, perceaveing some errors of the Service Book to be alreadie found out, and the people beginning to take notice thereof, thought it best to prevent October, and, therefore, caused print an edict, sending it to all the ministers of Edinburgh, and of his diocie, requyreing them to read that edict openlie, thereby to advertise their people that the Service Books were printed, and being allowed by autoritie, would be read, and behoved to be receaved and practised the Sabbath following. The ministers haveing receaved the edict Julie 16, being the Lord's day, and being requyred to read it after sermon, some of them refused to read it at all, some did cast it doune to the Reader to read it, and some did read it yit in such a way that any might perceave he cared not whither that edict was obeyed or not. Mr Patrik Henderson, Reader in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, refused to read it; and for this both the Bishop and Councill of Edinburgh assured him he behoved to quyt his place, whilk he condescended unto; yit he continued all that week in saying of the prayers, and the nixt Sabbath, still shedding many tears, considdering the deplorable condition of God's Kirk, so that many of the people were much commoved with his demeanour; considdering also that he who had been so long in that place, and had acquytted himself so faithfullie and diligentlie in it, and who was knowen to be a lover of the trueth, now behoved to be putt from his place, for the discountenanceing of corruption entering into the Kirk of God.

When the nixt Sabbath, Julie 23, came, the Bishop of Edinburgh, (after that the ordinare prayers had been read in the morning,) about ten o'clock brought in the Service Booke to the pulpit, and his Dean satt in the reader's seat with his Service Book before him, in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh. The lyke was done in other of the kirks of Edinburgh, yit not in them all; for in some of them no Service Booke was seen; they resolved first to see how the other prospered. Now, so soone as the Bishop did open his Service Booke, and began to read thereon, and the people perceaveing the Dean opening his book also; all the commone people, especiallie the women, rose up with such a lowd clamour and

uproare, so that nothing could be heard; some cryed, "Woe, woe!" some cryed, "Sorrow, sorrow! for this doolefull day, that they are bringand in Poperie among us!" Others did cast their stoolls aganis the Dean's face, others ran out of the kirk with a pitifull lamentation, so that their reading upon the Service Booke was then interrupted. The Archbishop of St Androes, (now also Chancellour,) and the rest of the Bishops who were in the kirk, cryed for peace and quyetnes, but were not heard; therefore, the Bishop left his reading, and taught a sermon, but a verie short one. After sermon, when the Bishop came out of the pulpit, and went out of the kirk, he found the street full of people, who ran about him, crying, That he was bringand in a new religion among them, and bringing in Poperie upon them: The Bishop putt in a great feare, ran up the nearest stair to have gotten into my Lord Wemise lodging, crying to the people, That he had no wyt of the matter. Yit the people had rather been in hands with the Dean; but he kept himself in the kirk till the great tumult was appeased. At afternoone when the Bishop was come to the kirk againe, the magistrats keeped the kirk-doore, that none might enter, but such as they judged would make no tumult; they took up so much tyme in reading the service, that it was about four a clock at night before Mr Alexander Thomson began his sermon, whilk for that cause was verie short.

The sermon being ended, and the Bishop going home in a coach with my Lord Roxburgh, to save himself from the violence of the people, was all the way pursued with stones casten, untill he came to his awin house in the Abbay.

On Moonday, Julie 24, the Bishops haveing a meeting among themselves, (how to hold up their tottering state,) likeas they had had a long conference the night preceeding, sent up a letter to advertise the King's Majestie what had fallen out; but the rest of the King's Councill knew little or nothing of that letter: Yit, when they were all mett together, they caused a proclamation to be made at eight o'clock at night, intimating that the King's Councill was hereafter to sitt in the Abbay, by reason of the uproare and mis-

demeanour of the people of the toune, aganis the Bishop of Edinburgh and Dean of [St] Geills, on the Sabbath day preceeding. So on Tuesday, Julie 25, they putt their proclamation in practise, for the Councill satt in the Abbay.

All this week there wes no publict worship in Edinburgh, neither sermon nor prayers read morning or evening, as the custome was: Yea, for five or six moneths after this, Mr Patrik Henderson read not the prayers; yea, the nixt Sabbath, Julie 30, verie few women came to sermon to the Great Kirk of Edinburgh.

In the beginning of the moneth of August, Mr James Fairlie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who had gotten a presentation to the Bishoprick of Argile, by the moyen of Traquair, the Thesaurer, he was consecrat and inaugurat upon the 8 day of this moneth, in the Chappell-Royall; and after that action he made a great feast to the bishops, some noblemen and ministers invited thereto, within his awin house in the high toune of Edinburgh; but the house taking fyre, (ominous, I grant,) did putt both the feasters and his neighbours that dwelt nixt unto him in great feare; but neither God's word nor God's work will waken sleeping, senseless, seared consciences.

The Occurrences after this moneth of August, *in anno* 1637, are so amplie and well sett doun, partlie in writ, partlie in print, that I judged it needless for me to writ any more; knowing that the collection of the future most excellent Historie will be cared for by the Generall Assemblie.

Mr JOHNE ROW,
Minister at Carnock.

Aberdeen, Aug. 31, 1650.

CORONIS.

For making of this little peece more full, I purpose, God willing, to sett doune Three things :—

1°. That whilk I conceave to have been the maine cause, and chief occasion of the Apostasie of this Kirk of Scotland from hir former sinceritie and zeall to the trueth :—

2°. That still there were Witnesses to the trueth here, notwithstanding of all apostats ; where I shall relate some little touch of the lives of some honest Ministers, and the names of sundrie more :—

3°. To shew that these servants of Jesus Christ have bene faithfull, diligent, watchfull, and painfull, I shall sett doune such Books as I have seen written by them aganis the Romish Hierarchie and cursed Ceremonies, and in defence of the trueth and blessed work of Reformation, Doctrine, and Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland.

1.—THE CAUSE OF SCOTLAND'S APOSTASIE.

As to the First,—The cause and occasion why this Kirk of Scotland is fallen so far from hir first sinceritie, and zeall, and first love, and hes suffered all thir corruptions to come in, whilk we with greef of heart may see evidentlie as it is this day : And that I conceave to be, The alteration of the governament of the Kirk, whilk was so well established, according to God's word, in Sessions, Presbyteries, Provinciall and Nationall Assemblies, and bringing in this cursed Hierarchie, a governament by prelats or diocesan lord bishops, who still burthens the Kirk with antichristian and unnecessare ceremonies and nocent impositions, labouring to make us

altogether conforme to the Kirk of Ingland, who themselves wes never well reformed; and to make both us and them more and more conforme to the sea and seat of Rome. And whereas it may be objected that this Kirk is as yit governed by Sessions, Presbyteries, and Assemblies as of before, it is answered, that the want of our free Generall Assemblies, which did hold Sessions, Presbyteries, and Provinciall Assemblies in good ordour, maks thir other judicatories to be nothing but cifers and shaddows of governament; for the Provinciall Assemblies are now turned to nothing but to diocesan courts, where ministers hes nothing adoe but to give their presence, and show so much obedience to their Lord Ordinare, the Bishop; but has no free reasoning or voyceing to controll any thing that the Bishop pleases to propone, intend, or doe, seing he is supreme lord commander, and usurps to himself a negative voyce, controlling all the affirmative voyces that can be given, albeit of men more learned, holie, pious, prudent, and experienced nor himself; and though speaking with never so great a deall of reason, or alledging scripture never so pertinentlie, or showing our highest tye by oath of covenant to God, and to observe the laudable acts of former free Generall Assemblies.

Now, when the Provinciall Assemblies are come to such an hight of corruption, what can the Presbyteries doe when they have no power to close and conclude any processe of excommunication, nay, nor to choise their awin moderator as they were wont to doe? but the Bishop at his diocesan court choyses such a man as he pleases, knowing that he (his creature) will suffer nothing to be done in the presbyterie prejudiciall to his autoritie and course wherein he is walking. And if the Bishop but begin to suspect him to doe otherwise, of a constant moderator he makes him inconstant, and imposeth some another in his rowme, who will doe as he commands; and no wonder, seing there are in everie presbyterie so many ministers whom the Bishop, challenging to himself the onlie right of ordination, hes placed in their ministrie, with a foresworn oath to be obedient in all things to their Ordinare; many of them comeing to those places without consent

of the presbyterie, over the bellie, and against the desire, of the people. And in case it be objected, What is the cause that anti-prelaticall ministers, opposit to the Bishop's governament, has never showen their minds and discontentment to the world in due tyme, before corruption came to such a great hight as now, *anno* 1637, it is at, the Archbishop of St Androes being High Chancellour of Scotland? I answere, They would still have done so if the Bishops had not sworne and protested, professing, both privatlie and publictlie, that they were to doe nothing in that commissionrie that was brought on them, whereby they were to get vote in Parliament, and assist the King's Majestie in his adoes for the well of God's kirk, but that whilk should be directed them to doe by the Generall Assemblies of the Kirk. Also the King's Majestie, so long as he was in Scotland, with great attestations and solemne promises assured this Kirk that he was never to erect Bishops, nor to give them any autoritie or preheminence over their brethren of the ministrie: And, therefore, when the worthie servants of God saw evidentlie that the King, contrare to his oaths, protestations, and solemne promises, would have Bishops erected; and, to the end he might attaine to his purpose with the greater ease, did banish some faithfull ministers out of his dominions, and never suffered them to come home againe; others he caused to denunce to the horne, and so made them civillie rebells and outlawes, so that they durst not keep their awin housses; others he warded in strait wardes, both ministers and professors; others he confyned in such places as they might doe no hinderance to his intensions; and all, both ministers and professors, were threatened to keep silence, as they would not incurre the King's highest indignation:—All thir things made the servants of God to be more silent than otherwise they would, and, I doubt not to say nor they should have been, in regard of publict protestation; yit many preached honestlie aganis the corruptions and hierarchie, and all the lovers of Zion cryed to God in their prayers to send his Kirk relief from such bondage; and at privat conferences they did both informe themselves in the trueth, and strengthen themselves aganis the adversarie; where-

upon the Bishops, by vertue of the High Commission, removed sundrie honest, able, faithfull, and painfull ministers from their flocks who had gotten great good by them, and did putt in their places unworthie, disaffected, unable, graceless, giftless, worldlie-mynded men, because they were conforme to all their corruptions and ceremonies, vowing obedience to their ordinare, who never to this day hes done any good in their ministrie. And, finallie, the shifting of Ruleing Elders off judicatories of the Kirk, Presbyteries, and Assemblies, not annulling that ordour by any law; but the Elders, partlie throw their awin negligence deserting their calling, but especiallie throw the pryde and ill conscience of some prelaticall ministers, who would not have lay-men (as they popishlie termed them) to be either witnesses or opposers of their actions, so that it fared with us as with the Kirk in older tymes, of which Ambrose, writting on 1 Tim. v. 17, complaineth: *Unde et Synagoga, et postea Ecclesia seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in Ecclesia; quod qua negligentia obsoleverit nescio; nisi forte Doctorum desidia, aut magis superbia, dum soli volunt aliquid videri.*

2.—WITNESSES TO THE TRUTH.

As to the Second,—Considdering what hes been the part of the faithfull and godlie servants of Christ in such difficult tymes, I have thought good to make mention of the names of some of them best knowen to me, who, both in their life tyme and at their death, have witnessed aganis this Hierarchie of prelats in this Kirk, and have condemned both their estate and place, their office and calling, with all the rabble of Romish rites depending thereon, as being the verie cause of the wrack and overthrow of religion amongst us.

I need to speak little here of Mr Knox, of whom I have spoken alreadie before in this Historie; he continuallie, at all opportune occasions, inveighed aganis the autoritie and ambition of Bishops, both before, and especiallie after that Mr Beza had written that letter to him concerning Bishops.

Neither intend I to speak much of Mr Johne Row, minister at Perth. It is true that when Johne Durie, minister of Edinburgh, proponed the question, Whither Bishops, as they were presentlie in this Kirk, with such autoritie and jurisdiction as they had, both ecclesiasticall and civill, were lawfull, yea, or not? Mr Johne Row, who had bene long in Rome, and was there *Doctor utriusque juris*, thought the doctrine of Rome detestable, the Lord haveing inlightened him with the trueth of the gospell, haveing heard Mr Knox preach, and after conference with him; yit, thought he, the Prelaticall government might well enough stand (though it was Popish) with Protestant doctrine; and monarchie being the best of governments in the State, he thought it looked lykest to that in the Kirk to be ruled by a prelat; and being one of them that was for the affirmative, that Bishops was lawfull, after long disputation and examination of that poynt, he and all they who took that part of the argument yeelded, were forced, by strength of reasone and light holden out from Scripture, to confesse their errour; and after that he (as all the rest) preached doun Prelacie all his dayes.[1]

So Mr James Lawson, then minister at Edinburgh, was an opposer of the Hierarchie all his dayes, who for his opposition to them, and to evill courses then in hand, was banished, and died, suffering for the good cause. And no less may be spoken of all the honest godlie zeallous ministers in those dayes, for they all, so long as they lived, spake boldlie and openlie aganis that Hierarchie.

I therefore name some of them, to their perpetuall praise, as Mr John Craig, who framed the Catechisme, called to this day Craig's Catechisme.[2] He was an eager opposer of Prelacie.[3] Severall rare things fell out in his life; I will relate one:—Being a

[1] "Vide p. 130 in the other booke."—(Marg. note in the MS. in a later hand.) See Additions to the Coronis.

[2] See foot note to page 143.

[3] "Vide p. 153 in the other booke, where ye have the particulars following, and others anent Mr Craige, better and more particularlie related."—(Marg. note in a later hand.) See Additions to the Coronis.

pædagogue and instructor to the children of a great man in Italie, upon a certaine day he sees a certaine man naked and wounded, who had hardlie escaped the hands of enemies or robbers with his life, him Mr Craig refreshed with meat and drink, clothes and money. After this Mr Craig is taken as an heretick (so they call all Protestants) by the Inquisition, and incarcerat in Rome with others, and were keept up in prison, till on the morrow they were to be burnt for the trueth; wherefore, they spent that night in prayer and praise; when they are thus exercised, one cometh and opened the prison doors, crying, Yow are sett free. The prisoners admired, and thought it had been some snair; but the matter was, the Pope died that night, and it is their custome that at the death of that High Priest all under restraint are inlarged; if for murder, or debt, &c., never to be recalled to incarceration; but hereticks once are sett free, but they are quicklie recalled and violentlie brought back to prison. Mr Craig and his fellowes, perceaveing that the Lord had sett them at libertie, escapes out of prisone, and flees from Rome; a commission is issued out to reduce the hereticks, and they came to an house in landwart, where Mr Craig and his fellow prisoners wes: The souldiours asking what they were, and they answering with silence, one says, Kill the hereticks; but the captaine, eyeing Mr Craig, calls to the souldiours not to stirre the men; calls forth Mr Craig, and asks him apart, If ever he did see a naked wounded man, at such a tyme and place? who answered, Yea. Then, said the captaine, I am the man, and your kynd and humane liberalitie to me then, the Lord is calling me to requyt it now; I shall hazard my life for yow; yow shall have my best horse, I will convey yow a part of the way; and take here some money for your charges. If I be straitlie questioned about it I will die for it; but I cannot choise but hazard, your supplie to me was so tymeous, so full; and as for your fellowes and brethren, I must take them back to Rome, but for your sake I will show them all the courtesie I can. Thus by a rare providence he escaped this eminent danger. His money being spent, and he in a forraigne nation, and not dareing dissemble his religion so as to travell as a pilgrim, or to beg at

Popish closters, he lyes doun at a wood syde in the heat of the day to rest him, and to seek God in this strait, behold a dog comes out of the wood with a purse in his mouth. He apprehending that some robbers lurking in the wood had sent out the dog to him with a purse, that pursueing him they might make it a ground of challenge, did once and againe dryve away the dog with stones, not accepting of the purse whilk the dog came in a kynd fawning way and offering to him. At last, the dog still returning with the purse in his teeth, he taks it from him, and opening it, finds a good sum of gold in it, and that that Lord, who by a raven provyded Heliah in a strait, had sent that dog to him with furniture for his journey. The dog travelled some dayes with him and then left him. The money furnished him spending till he came to London.

Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, Johne Erskine of Dun, Mr Robert Pont, Mr Andro Hay, Mr George Hay, Mr Andro Mill, Mr Thomas Smeton, &c.; all which were zeallous opposers of the Hierarchie. But I will speak somewhat more particularlie of Mr John Spotiswood, father to this same Spotiswood, now Archbishop of St Androes, Primat of Scotland, and High Chancellare there: he would never have consented that his son should have imbraced such an office and unlawfull calling, as is evident by his grave, wise, and holie, humble answers at his admission. Mr Johne Knox, moderator, asking the questions, March 9, 1560, as is contained in our Publict Directorie, sett doune in print before our old Psalme books, to direct presbyteries how to carie at admission of ministers: after severall profitable questions, this was asked at him,—"Because ye are a man compassed with infirmities, will ye not charitablie, and with lowlines of spirit, receive admonition of your brethren; and if ye shall happen to slyde or offend in any thing, will ye not be subject to the Discipline of the Kirk as the rest of your brethren?" He gave this worthie answere, "I acknowledge myself a man subject to infirmities, and one who hath need of correction and admonition, and therefore I most willinglie subject myself to the wholsome Disci-

pline of the Kirk, yea, to the Discipline of this same Kirk, by the which I am now called to this office and charge; and here, in God's presence and yours, doe promise obedience to all admonitions secretlie or publictlie given, unto the which, if I be found inobedient, I confesse my self most worthie to be ejected, not onlie from this honour, but also from the societie of the faithfull, in case of my stubbornness; for the vocation of God to beare charge within his Kirk makes not men tyrants or lords, but appoynts them to be servants, watchmen, and pastors to the flock."

Nixt unto him, I mention David Fergusson, minister at Dunfermline, who was not a small actor in, and saw all the progresse of the Reformation of this Kirk; and albeit he was not graduat in a colledge, yit the Lord wrought so with him and by him, that being placed in a verie idolatrous and superstitious part of the countrey (in those dayes) to be their minister, by the power of God's word, whilk he preached both with great boldness, wisdome, and holines, and by the blessing of God on his pains, he brought that people to verie good order, knowledge of the trueth, and obedience to the Discipline of the Kirk. He uttered many quick and wise sentences, which were taken much notice of; he gathered the Scottish Proverbs together and sett them doune, *ordine alphabetico*, that same yeare wherein he died, 1598. They were printed in Edinburgh *anno* 1642.[1] He it was who compared the erecting of Bishops in this Kirk to that Trojan horse, as hath been spoken; and when the King (with whom he was verie familiare, and who then had frequent residence in Dunfermline, it being a part of the Queen's dowrie) asked him, "David, why may not I have Bishops here in Scotland als well as they have in Ingland?" He answered mirrilie, (it was his way,) "Yes, Sir, ye may have Bishops here, but ye must remember to make us all equall; make us all Bishops, els

[1] The first edition was in 1641. The title is as follows:—"SCOTTISH PROVERBS: Gathered together by David Fergusson, sometime Minister at Dunfermline: And put *ordine Alphabetico* when he departed this life, Anno 1598. Edinburgh, printed by Robert Bryson, and are to be sold at his Shop, at the signe of Jonah, 1641." 4to.

will ye never content us: for if ye sett up ten or twelve louns over honest men's heads, (for honest men will not have your antichristian Prelacie,) to knock us doune, and give them in rent more thousands (to debosh and mispend) nor honest men hes hundreds or scores, we will never all be content. We are all Paull's bishops, Christ's bishops; hold us as we are." The King replyed, "The devill have it aills yow, but that ye would all be alyke, and ye cannot abyde any to be over you." The minister sayes, "Sir, ban not;" for he had contracted a great custome and habit of sweareing, banning, and curseing. David Fergusson, a litle before his death, perceaveing that the Bishops were riseing up in this Kirk againe, said, "If our King get Ingland, (as I think he will,) I am persuaded that he will erect Bishops in this Kirk also, and then adieu with the welfair both of this Kirk and policie of ours; and suppose I hope in God never to see it, ye that are young may live to see it, and then ye will remember that I spak it aforehand."

About this same tyme that David Fergusson departed this life, Mr Robert Rollock, a verie learned and holie, sober, meek man, and modest, Principal of Edinburgh Colledge, and also one of their ministers, then departed this life also; who was named to be one of the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie; but, as he professed at his death, he was no way inclyned to alter any good ordour was in this Kirk, for he ever looked to God's glorie and to the peace of the Kirk in Christ Jesus. This faithfull servant of God evidentlie declares, in that worthie Commentarie upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, cap. iv. ver. 11, (the work is highlie commended by most famous theologues in this part of the world,) that the office of Bishops, as they are lords over their brethren, is to be condemned, where also he proves Pastors and Bishops to be both one, albeit now-a-dayes ministers who longs to be made Bishops taks that place of Scripture to prove the lawfulness of the office of a Diocesan Bishop above pastors.

Nixt to Mr Robert Rollock, I remember Mr Johne Davidson,

a learned man, and a worthie preacher, yea, a verie prophet of God,[1] for he foretold many things which came accordinglie to passe, and that often when he was praying or blessing the Lord for refreshment of meat and drink: as a baillie of Edinburgh haveing invited Mr Robert Bruce and him to dinner, he foretold that that same baillie would incarcerat Mr Robert Bruce, albeit now he was feasting him. And so it came to passe, the King haveing sent a charge to putt up Mr Robert Bruce in the castle, the magistrats of Edinburgh (to whom the charge was directed) being all by providence out of the toune except this ballive, he was necessitated either to incarcerat Mr Robert Bruce, or to be the King's rebell, so he choised rather to obey the charge. Mr Johne Ker going with a scarlet cloak, he staired him in the face, charges him in Christ's name, lay by his scarlet, take him to his booke; for, said he, "Ye must be a minister, yea, ye shall be minister here in Prestounpanns;" whilk was accordinglie performed. Many there were who thought not much of the man because of his plaine and verie homelie way of delyverie of his doctrine; but certainlie he was a verie worthie man. He remained a long tyme in Ingland, and seeing the corruption of Bishops there, left Ingland, and comeing to Scotland was made minister of Edinburgh, at least he taught ordinarlie there everie Sabbath; and he, in his awin tyme, seeing the appearance of the ryseing of Bishops, and inveighing aganis that corruption at all tymes as occasion offered, was removed from Edinburgh, and placed minister at Prestounpanns; where he erected and bigged a kirk and a schoole, and to that end sold his awin patrimonie, (haveing no children,) and dedicated all the means that he had, with the charitable contribution that he obtained from others, to so good and profitable a work, for the maintainance of that ministrie and schoole in all tyme comeing. This servant of God, in an open Assemblie, where vote in Parliament was concluded to the Ministers, as the Third Estate of the kingdome, pro-

[1] "Vide p. 156 in the other book, wher some passages related heir ar ther more fullie related, others added."—(Marginal note in the MS. in a later hand.) The passages referred to will be found in the Additions to the Coronis.

tested aganis the conclusion, and prophesied plainlie, "I see the loune Bishop creeping in into our Kirk by this mean." And a little before his death, he penned a treatise, *De Hostibus Ecclesiæ Christi*, wherein he affirms, that the erecting of Bishops in this Kirk is the most subtill and prevalent mean to destroy and overthrow religion that ever could have been devysed, whilk they who lived to see the effects thereof would easilie grant.

After Mr Johne Davidson, I remember Mr Johne Johnstoune, a godlie learned man, commended by Theodore Beza, in one of his epistles. He was one of the masters of the New Colledge of St Androes with Mr Andro Melvill. He sett out a treatise in print, concerning the Governament of the Church, in tuo books. In the first, he improves the unlawfull government of the Kirk by bishops; in the second, he approves and confirmes the right government of the church by presbyteries and assemblies; and all by plaine and cleare testimonies of Scripture, and unanswerable arguments drawen from the same.

Mr David Black, minister at St Androes, was a worthie man, a zeallous opposer of the hierarchie. He was too honest a man to be suffered to stay in St Androes in corrupt tymes, or beginning to inclyne to defection as we heard.

Mr Johne M'Birnie at Aberdeen, [but first at the South Ferrie, over aganis the Castell of Broughtie,] a most zealous and painfull pastor, a great opposer of hierarchie. He was a shyning torch and a burning starre; wherefore the Lord miraculouslie made, at his death, a starre to appeare in heaven at the noone-tyde of the day; whilk many yit alive testifies that they did evidentlie see it, [at Whitsunday 1609.[1]]

Mr Charles Ferholme, (alias Ferme *contracte*,) minister at Frazerburgh, a worthie man.[2]

[1] The words printed within brackets in this paragraph are interlined in the MS. at a later time. John Macbirnie was admitted minister of Ferry-Port-on-Craig, 10th May 1604, and was translated to Aberdeen in 1605.—(Synod of Fife, p. 205.)

[2] See note to page 202.

I may speak of many well knowen to many ministers and professors yit liveing: Mr Robert Bruce, minister at Edinburgh, a verie pious man and pastorall preacher; no man that knew his judgment in this particulare, and heard him ever preach, but is perswaded that he altogether condemned the office of Diocesan Lord Bishop, and for that cause he suffered much trouble; and in his last words, immediatelie before his death, he adhered to what he had been all his dayes preaching.

Mr Patrick Simson, minister at Stirlin, was born in Perth, where his father, Mr Andro Simson, was schoolmaster, 1556. His father was transported after the Reformation to Dumbar, where he was both minister and schoolmaster, at that tyme of penurie of schollers, and there he made the Latin Rudiments, *Quum Literarum Consideratio*, &c.,[1] called to this day Dumbar Rudiments; his mother, Violet Adamson, sister to Mr Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St Androes, who ere he died recanted his fowll apostasie. Mr Patrick Simson, after his laureation, went to Ingland, and profited much in the studie of the Greek, Historie, and Auncients. Being inquyred why he stayed so much on those things, and read so many pagan writters? Answered, "I purpose to dedicat to the building of the Lord's tabernacle all the jewells and gold whilk I shall borrow from Egyptians: we doe not lightlie pearls though gathered out of a dung-hill." Recalled out of Ingland by his father, he was admitted minister of the Spot Kirk, neare to Dumbar; where also he instructed many in the knowledge of the Greek tongue, for it was about these dayes a proverb, *Græcum est, non legitur*. After he had been three years at the Spot Kirk, he was transported to Cramond, in the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, where he served in the ministrie twelve years; thence he was transported to Stirlin. In the yeare 1584, all ministers being commanded to acknowledge Mr Patrick Adamson (his uncle) as Bishop of St Androes, otherwise to losse their stipends, as the King's proclamation did beare, some made no motts of it to subscryve simplie and absolutelie; others more

[1] See note to page 9.

strict and tender, with a condition according to God's word; but though he was his mother's brother that was Bishop he would not at all subscryve, for to subscryve with that condition, according to God's word, he said was *repugnantia in adjecto*, to subscryve to any institution according to God's word, which constitution God's word doth condemne and not approve; and as 2 Macc. vi. 21, &c., Eleazar the priest choosed rather to die ere he eated lamb's flesh, under the name of swine's flesh, with scandall; so we ought not to subscryve to prelacie condemned in the word, and abjured by us, either without or with a condition: thus he lost his stipend. His Centuries are a notable good work.[1] When the King was labouring the change of the government of this kirk he still opposed, affirming in all assemblies, and proveing that, since Christ's dayes in the flesh, never was any nationall kirk so well reformed as was this by the Lord's rich blessing; wherefore, the deformation of it would prove an hudge evill. He was offered a bishoprick but refuised it; then to induce him to be silent at least, seing he had many children and ill provyded, (as the courtiers alledged,) he should have a pension yearlie of his Majestie; he refuised that also; affirming he had enough in that he had his Majestie's favour and countenance. He threatned God's judgments and wrath aganis the convicters and accusers of the ministers at Linlithgow; he avowed the Assemblie at Aberdeene, for which they were condemned, to have been most lawfull; he was free of the horrible corruption of the angelicall Assemblie at Glasgow 1610, (where the Earle of Dumbar dealt many angells of gold pretended for a viaticum, but indeed for voteing.) After the Assemblie, the Earle of Dumbar and Spotswood, then Bishop of Glasgow, came to Stirlin to the Earle of Huntley, by court autoritie to convert him; but (Acts 19, 14, &c.) that ill spirit of Poperie will not be cast out by Sheva's sons. Mr Patrick Simson preaching before them, on his ordinare text, Mat. xxviii,

[1] His "History of the Church since the dayes of our Saviour Jesus Christ until this Present Age," was originally published under the title of "A Short Compend of the Historie of the First Ten Persecutions, &c.," (during the first Ten Centuries of the Christian era,) in three successive parts, at Edinburgh, 1613, 1615, 1616, 4to,

11, &c., how the souldiers got large money to say that Christ was stollen away by night by his disciples, &c., affirmed, they were like Judas, who would sell Christ in his cause, for thirty peeces of silver; and that those were sellable, vendible men, (πραϑιμοι,) to be sold for money, even lyke an house with a ticket upon it, that it is to be sold for so much money.

He penned the Protestation at that Parliament wherein the Bishops first rode at Perth, *anno* 1606, and gave it to the Earle of Dumbar out of his owne hand; whilk Protestation, subscryvet by forty-two honest men, I will here insert, and the names of the Subscryvers, because it is an excellent peece, as I judge.

A PROTESTATION OFFERED TO THE PARLIAMENT AT PERTH, JULIE 1, 1606.

THE earnest desire of our hearts is to be faithfull, and in case we could have been both faithfull and silent at this tyme, (when the undermynded estate of Christ's Kirk craves a duetie at our hands,) we should have locked up our hearts with patience, and our mouths with silence, rather then to have impeached any with our admonition: But that which Christ commandeth necessitie urgeth, and duetie wringeth out of us, to be faithfull office-bearers in the Kirk of God, no man can justlie blame us to doe it, provyding we hold ourselves within the bounds of that christian moderation which followeth God without injurie done to any man, especiallie those whom God hath lapped up within the skirts of his awin honorable stylls, calling them gods upon earth.

Now therefore, my Lords, conveened in this present Parliament, under the High and most Excellent Majestie of our dread Soveraigne, to your Honours is our exhortation, that ye would endeavour, with all singleness of heart, love, and zeall, to advance the building of the House of God, reserveing alwayes into the Lord's hands, that glorie which he will communicat neither with man nor angell, to wit, to prescribe from his holie mountaine a lyvelie pattern, according to which his owne tabernacle should be formed; remembring

alwayes, that there is no absolute and unbounded authoritie in this world, except the Soveraigne authoritie of Christ, the King, to whom it belongeth als properlie to rule the Kirk, according to the good pleasure of his owne will, as it belongeth to him to save his Kirk by the merit of his owne sufferings: All other authoritie is intrinched so within the marches of Divine commandement, that the least overpassing of the bounds sett by God himself, bringeth men under the fearfull expectation of temporall and eternall judgments. For this cause, my Lords, let that autoritie of your meeting in this present Parliament be like the ocean sea, which, as it is the greatest of all other waters, so it containeth itself better within the coasts and limits appoynted by God, than any river of fresh running waters have done.

Nixt remember, that God hath sett you to be nurish fathers of his Kirk, craveing at your hands, that ye should maintaine and advance by your autoritie that Kirk which the Lord hath fashioned by the uncounterfitted work of his owne new creation, as the prophet speaks, "He hath made us and not we ourselves," Psal. c. 5. But not that ye should presume to fashion and shape a new portraiteur of a kirk, and a new forme of divyne service, which God in his word hath not before allowed; because that were to extend your autoritie farther then the calling ye have of God doeth permitt. As namelie, if ye should (as God forbid) authorize the autoritie of bishops, and their preheminence above their brethren, ye should bring into the Kirk of God the ordinance of man, and that which the experience of preceeding ages hath testified to have been the ground of great ydleness, palpable ignorance, insufferable pride, pitiless tyrannie, and shameless ambition, in the Kirk of God; and, finallie, to have been the ground of that antichristian hierarchie which mounted upon the steps of preheminence of bishops, untill that man of sin came forth, as the rype fruits of man's wisdome, whom God shall consume with the breath of his owne mouth. Let the sword of God pierce that bellie which hath brought forth such a monster; and let the staff of God crush that egge which hath hatched such a cockatrise; and let not onlie that Roman

antichrist be throwne doune from that high benche of his usurped autoritie; but also let all the stepps whereby he mounted up to that unlawfull preheminence be cutt downe, and utterlie abolished in this land.

Above all things, my Lords, beware to stryve aganis God, with an open and displayed banner, by building up againe the walls of Jericho, which the Lord hath not only cast doune, but also hath laid them under an horrible interdiction and execration; so that the building of them againe must needs stand to greater charges to the builders, than the re-edifieing of Jericho to Hiel the Bethelit in the dayes of Ahab; for he had nothing but the interdiction of Joshuah, and the curse pronunced by him, to stay him from building Jericho; but the Noblemen and Estates of this realme have the reverence of the oath of God, made by themselves, and subscryved with your awin hands in the Confession of Faith, called the King's Confession, published oftener nor once or twise, and sworne by his excellent Majestie, and by his Highnes's nobilitie, estates, and wholl subjects of this Realme, to hold them back from setting up the dominion of Bishops; because it is of veritie, that they subscryved and sware the said Confession, containing not onlie the maintenance of the true Doctrine, but also the Discipline professed within this realme of Scotland.

Considder also, that this work cannot be sett fordward without the great slander of the gospell, defamation of many preachers, and evident losse and hurt of the people's soulls committed to our charge. For the people are brought almost to the lyke case as they were in Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, about the 600 years of our Lord, when the people were so brangled and shaken with contrarie doctrines, some denying, and others allowing, the opinion of Eutyches, that in end they lost all assured persuasion of true religion; and within short tyme thereafter did cast the gates of their hearts wyd open to the devill, to receave that vile and blasphemous doctrine of Mahomet: Even so the people of this land are cast in such admiration to heare the teachers of this people, who so openlie damned this statelie preheminence of bishops, and then, after a

few years, accepted of that same dignitie, pompe, and superioritie, in their owne persons, which they before had damned in others, that the people knoweth not which way to inclyne, and in end will become so doubtfull in the maters of religion and doctrine that their hearts will be lyke an open tavern doore, patent to everie guest that lyketh to come in.

We beseech your Honours to ponder this in the balance of a godlie and prudent mynde, and suffer not the glorious gospell to be slandered by the misbehavour of a few number of preachers, of whom we are bold to affirme, that if they goe fordward in this defection, not onlie abuseing and appropriating that name of Bishop to themselves, which is commone to all the pastors of God's word, but also takeing upon them such offices that carie with the ordinarie charge of governing the civill affairs of the countrey, neglecting their flocks, and seeking to subordinat their brethren to their jurisdiction: If any of them, we say, be found to step fordward in this course of defection, they are more worthie, as rotten members, to be cutt off from the bodie of Christ then to have superioritie and dominion over their brethren within the Kirk of God. This preheminence of bishops is that Dagon which once alreadie fell before the ark of God in this land, and no band of yron shall be able to hold him up againe. This is that pattern of that Altare brought from Damascus, but not that showed to Moses in the mountaine; and, therefore, it shall faire with it as it did with the Altar of Damascus; it came last into the Temple and went first out. Likewise, the institution of Christ was anterior to this preheminence of bishops, and shall consist and stand within the house of God, when this new fashion of altar shall go to the doore. Remember, my Lords, that in tyme past your autoritie was for Christ, and not against him. Ye followed the light of God, but strove not against it; and like a childe in the mother's hand, ye said to Christ, Draw us after thee. God forbid that ye should now fall away from your former reverence borne to Christ, in presumeing to lead him, whom the Father hath appoynted to be the leader of yow; and far lesse to traill the holy ordinances of

Christ, by the coards of your autoritie, at the heels of the ordinances of men.

And, albeit your Honours have no such intention to doe any thing which may impair the honour of Christ's kingdome; yit, remember that spirituall darkness flowing from a verie small beginning, doth so insinuat and thrust the self in the House of God, that men can hardlie discern by what secret means the light is dimmed, and darkness creeping in got the upper hand; and in end, all is involved within a mistie cloud of horrible apostasie. And lest that any should think this our Admonition out of tyme, in so far as it is statuted and ordained by his Majestie, with advise of his Estates of Parliament, that all Ministers provyded to prelacies should have vote in Parliament; as lykewise the Generall Assemblie (his Majestie being present thereat) hath found the same lawfull and expedient: We would humblie and most earnestlie beseech all such to considder:—

First, That the Kingdome of Christ, the office-bearers and laws thereof, neither should nor can suffer any derogation, addition, diminution, or alteration, besides the prescript of his holie word, by any inventions or doings of men, civill or ecclesiasticall: And we are able, by the grace of God, and will offer ourselves to prove that thir Bishopricks to be erected are against the word of God, the auncient Fathers, and canons of the Kirk, the modern most learned and godlie Divynes, the doctrine and constitution of the Kirk of Scotland since the first Reformation of Religion within the same countrey, and lawes of the realme ratifieing the government of the Kirk by the Generall and Provinciall Assemblies, Presbyteries, and Sessions; also aganis the well and honour of the King's most excellent Majestie, and the well and honour of the realme and quyetness thereof; the established estate and well of the Kirk, the doctrine, discipline, and patrimonie thereof; the well and honour of your Lordships, the most auncient Estate of this realme; and, finallie, aganis the well of all and everie one of the good subjects, in soule, and bodie, and substance:—

Nixt, That the Act of Parliament granting vote in Parliament

to ministers, is, with a speciall provision, that nothing thereby be derogatorie or prejudiciall to the present established Discipline of the Kirk, and jurisdiction thereof, in Generall and Provinciall Assemblies, Presbyteries, and Sessions:—

Thirdlie, and last, The Generall Assemblie, (the King's Majestie sitting, voteing and consenting thereto,) feareing the corruption of that office, hes circumscryved and bounded the same with a number of cautions: all which, together with such other as shall be concluded upon by the Assemblie, were thought expedient to be insert in the bodie of the Act of Parliament that is to be made for confirmation of their vote in Parliament, as most necessarie and substantiall parts of the same; And the said Assemblie have not agreed to give thereunto the name of bishop, for feare of importing the old corruption, pompe, and tyrannie of papall bishops, but ordained them to be called Commissioners for the Kirk to vote in Parliament: And it is of veritie, that according to those Cautions, neither have these men, now called Bishops, entered to that office of commissionarie to vote in Parliament, neither since their inquyring have they behaved themselves accordingly therein:—

And, therefore, in the name of the Lord Jesus, who shall hold that great Court of Parliament, to judge both the quick and the dead at his glorious manifestation; and in the name of his Kirk in generall, so happilie and so well established in this realme, and whereof the said realme have reaped the comfortable fruit of peace and unitie, free from heresie, schisme, and dissention, these 46 years bypast; also in the name of our Presbyteries from which we have our commission, and in our own names, office-bearers, and pastors, within the same, for dischargeing of our necessarie duetie, and disburdening of our consciences, we except and Protest against the said Bishopricks and Bishops, and the erection, confirmation, or ratification thereof, at this present Parliament: Most humblie craveing, that this our Protestation be admitted by your Honours, and be registrat among the acts and statuts of the same, in case (as God forbid) these Bishopricks or Bishops be erected, ratified, or confirmed therein.

(This Protestation was subscryved by fourtie and two Brethren, whose names are as followes:—)

Messrs ANDRO MELVILL.
JAMES MELVILL.
WILLIAM ERSKINE.
COLIN CAMPBELL.
WILLIAM SCOTT.
JAMES ROSSE.
JOHNE GILESPIE.
JAMES MOORHEAD.
JOHN DAVIDSON.
JO. MITCHELSON.
JOHN COLDONE.
JOHN ABERNETHIE.
JAMES DAVIDSON.
ADAM BALLANTINE.

JOHNE ROW.
WILL. BUCHANAN.
JOHN KENNEDIE.
JOHN OGILVIE.
JOHNE SCRIMGER.
JOHNE MALCOLM.
JAMES BURDON.

Messrs JAMES BLACKFOORD.
JAMES STRACHAN.
JAMES ROW.
WILLIAM ROW.
ROBERT MERCER.
EDMUND MYLES.
JOHNE FRENCH.

PATRIK SIMSON.
JO. CARMICHAELL.
JOHNE DYKES.
WILLIAM YOUNG.
WILLIAM COWPER.
WILLIAM RETH.
HENRIE DUNCAN.
JAMES MERCER.
ROBERT COLVILL.
WILLIAM HOGGE.
ROBERT WALLACE.
DAVID BARKLAY.
JOHNE WEMISE.
WILLIAM CRANSTOUN.

Of the which subscryvers, three, within three years after, received a new illumination, and imbraced each one of them a bishoprick, contrare to this their protestation, viz. Mr William Cowper, the Bishoprick of Galloway; Mr Adam Ballantine, the Bishoprick of Dunblane; Mr Johne Abernethie, the Bishoprick of Catness: so inconstant were they.

Mr Patrik Simson being one of the conference at Falkland, 1609, and not being in health, wrot to them, intreating them to

eshew contentious disputes for victorie rather nor veritie, not to subject to a dispute the established ordour of the Kirk, to hold fast the caveats established, &c.

In the beginning of March 1618, he said to his wife, "Spouse, this wallie March will make an end of all thir things:" and so it was, for he deceased March 31. Upon the eleventh day of March, Helen Gardener, (a gracious woman,) spouse to Johne Sherer, baillie of Stirlin, said to him, "Sir, remember the tenth day of August." He answered, "It shall never slip out of my mynde." His brother, Mr Archibald Simson, minister at Dalkeith, now in the tyme of his sicknes, he haveing convalesced a litle, to try his memorie, asked anent some things he had caused paint on his wall, and, first, What meaned the Armenian White Mouse? Answered, The hunters can finde no means to take it, but when it is seeking its meat, fylls the hole of hir entrie by dirt and filth, knoweing that she will rather expone hir self to the huntar's hand then defyle hir self with filthines. Such a mouse was Daniel, the Three Children, and Eliazar; such a mouse should be everie christian who should choose affliction rather nor sin. Asked anent the Hawke; answered in Latin, *Solus inter aves, Accipiter fertur recto cursu sursum:* Everie christian should be an hawk; his course should be upward and upright, or right up: Lord safe us from hir fiercenes, but grant that we walk not in circulare or oblique courses. What means the Torche burning at both ends, and both burning upward? Answered, Christians' hearts should be heavenward, both in prosperitie and adversitie love and zeall should kyth.

March 16, betuix nine and ten, in the verie tyme of the change of the moone, being asked, What a beast was Cynocephalus? Answered, "The horse whilk would suffer no man to ryde upon him but Alexander;" for he thought his brother had said Bucephalus; but heareing it was Cynocephalus, answered, "It is a beast that at the change of the moone taks the falling evill and lyes on the back of it, stirring as if it were in the verie pains of death; being thus commoved at the defect of a naturall light, though not the greatest, yit are not we stupified and commoved at

the defect of a supernaturall light in this land, when the glorious work of reformation is eclipsed, and apostasie far advanced." Speaking of the Salamander, said, The foot of it was alse cold as yce, so that it would quench coalls of fyre whereupon it treads: our affections should be cold towards lusts, and so they should be quenched. The Crane holds up a watch; for she holds a stone in hir one foote, wherewith to hold hir watching: and should not we watch and pray lest we enter into tentation? The *Purpura* that lives *in Mari Euxino*, if the fishers strike it on the head it renders out all its blood, and it is excellent litt; if it be stricken in any other part it is all confused, dieth, and does no good. There is a wisdome in dealling with sinners to bring them to conversion, but by indiscreet dealling with them they are lossed, God dishonoured, and our travell is spent in vaine. The Hart by his breath sucks the serpent out of his hole; so sin by the Spirit is brought out of us.

Mr John Gillespie, his son-in-law, asking him of the holie dayes whilk Bishops injoyned to be keeped, he repeated in Greek the words, (Gal. iv. 10, 11.) "Ye observe days and moneths, and tymes and yeares, I feare ye have lost Christ;" it was told that it was in the text, "Lest I have bestowed on you labour in vaine;" answered, "Is not that all one thing? for all his labour was to frame Christ in them; and if they have receaved Moses they have rejected Christ; and if Christ and Moses cannot stand together, much less can Christ and human traditions, or will worship consist. The Bishops never perverted me, I could never convert them. As the Lord fed Elias in the wilderness, so hath he me all my life tyme; I blesse the Lord I never touched the Ark of God with my finger, let be to shake it."

On Tuesday, March 24, his brother inquyred at him, What meaned that which he had last written in one of his books, viz. "Remember! Remember! Remember!" and never forget the tenth day of August 1601, and what consolation the Lord gave thee in thy own yaird at even; and the Lord actuallie performed on the eleventh of August in the morning, (Zach. iii. 2,) 'Is not this a brand pluckt out of the fire?' The angells in the heaven

praised God for that mercie which was showen on thee, O wretched sinner, in the earth, Psal. ciii. 20, 21, What to doe have the ministring spirits of the Lord with things done in such a contemptible and stinking sheell? O riches of the goodness of the Lord!" Many women being present, his brother perswading himself it was some odde, rare, and speciall mercie, asked him in Latin what it meaned; he answered in Latin, "*Absit mihi gloriari in aliquo, nisi in Domino Deo meo*;" that is, God forbid it me that I should glorie (or boast) in any thing except in the Lord my God: So humble, modest, silent, and faithfull was he to his God, that albeit he might have gloried in that excellent vision of angells, yit he referred the wholl praise to God onlie.

The true relation of that matter is this:—His first wife, Martha Barron, a gracious woman, the wife of his youth, with whom he had lived in great love and contentment, being visited with sicknes long before hir death, who had often confessed that the divill had often suggested to hir, and cast in hir teeth that he should be about with hir, and that she should be given over in his hand; hir husband replyed, that any who had such marks of saveing grace as he had seen in hir those eighteen years, would certainlie be objects of Satan's malice and hatred; but the gates of hell cannot prevaill as against the Kirk, so neither aganis any member thereof. Upon a Sabbath, August 8, shee altered and begouth to speak to her daughter, Lillias Simson, (who being about 10 or 11 years of age, had the whole charge of that great familie the whole two yeares hir mother was tyed to her bed,[1]) in an uncouth straine, and in a distracted way; it was in the morning, and hir father being to preach twise that day, sho was loth to go and awake him; but he lying in the roome above, that whilk he heard beneath did awake him. And when he came doune, heareing hir distracted speeches, speaking unreverentlie to him, (far contrare to hir custome,) and seeing hir distracted behaviour, some tymes speaking, but to no purpose, some tymes silent, some tymes singing, he stood a good while silent

[1] *Tied to her bed,* confined to bed.—The words in this parenthesis have been carefully erased in the MS. of 1650, but they occur in the later copy unmutilated.

with a sad heavie countenance; hearcing some terrible speeches tending to dispare of God's mercie, and contempt of the holie ministrie, he kneeled doune and prayed, but she took no notice of the prayer; yit notwithstanding, he prophesied that those who were witnesses of that sad hour should see a gracious work of God upon this his awin servant. He was marvelouslie assisted that day both in publict and privat; and said confidentlie often to those who were in the housse, for all the devill's malice and crueltie aganis this infirme person, he shall get a shamefull foyle. Hir distraction continued all Moonday the 9 day of August. On Tuesday, by the first break of day, he went over the street to his yaird barefooted and barcheaded, (as David did when he went up Mount Olivet, fleeing out of Jerusalem from his son Absolom,) he locked the yaird doore behinde him, haveing charged them that were in the house with Helen Gardener, the baillie's wife, to attend her, sitting quyet besyde hir. Helen Gardener, a woman that loved him dearlie, feareing that he had been fallen dead, throw wakeing, fasting, and greef, about three hours in the morning went to see if she could win into the yaird, but she finding the door locked came in againe. After four a clock, being impatient of his stay, she went againe, and with the help of a barrow, climbed up and got over the dyke in to the yaird; and comeing up the alley she began to be afraid, heareing (doubtless at the departing of those heavenlie ministring spirits) a wonderfull, strange, lowd, confused sound and noyse, (Ezek. i. 24, and iii. 12, 13, and x. 5, 6,) the noyse of a great rushing, (Acts ii. 2; Rev. i. 15,) and fell doune on hir knees, praying the Lord to pitie hir rashnes, and great affection she carried to his servant, the instrument of hir good. Then she came softlie to the head alley, where she found him lying on the ground barefooted, barelegged, and barcheaded. She being astonished, intreated him earnestlie to tell hir what the mater was, and how it was that had befallen him. He answered, "Helen, women are weak, they are not good secretars; I will, provyding ye never divulge it. What was I? what was I? being dust and ashes, that the holy ministring spirits should have been sent to delyver me my message."

By this she understood clearlie that he had seen a vision of angells, who had revealled the Lord's mynde to him concerning the condition of his wife. Then, said she, "Sir, let my promise stand no longer nor your life; so that, if I die before you, it shall go to the grave with me, and be buried in oblivion, but if I survive after your death, I shall then divulge it, to the glorie of your Lord and myne." After this, in the head alley, he gave thanks and praise to God with hir, at which action she got yit greater clearnes of that rare vision nor of before; for he spoke it out plainlie in his thanksgiveing to God. Comeing over to his house with Helen Gardener foresaid, he prophesied to them all, saying, "Be of good comfort, tomorrow before ten hours this brand shall be pluckt out of the fire;" which came to passe accordinglie. After he had uttered that speech, he went to prayer at his wife's bed-syde, she haveing lyen still and quyet a long tyme; and in prayer mentioning Jacob's wrestling, she sat straight up in the bed, cast the cannobie aside with her hands, and said, "And thou art Jacob to-day, who hast wrestled and prevailed, and God hes made good his word spoken this day unto thee; for now I am pulled out of the hands of Satan, and he shall have no more power nor dominion with me." He being interrupted a space was silent, with much melting of heart, and thereafter proceeded in prayer, and magnified the riches of that free love that was bestowed on them, the fruit whereof they had reaped this day in a large measure. After prayer there was betuix them sweet and christian imbracements. And from that hour she spak most christianlie and comfortablie ever till the houre of hir death at Fryday, August 13, 1601, at three hours in the morning; and in the moment of hir departure, with a lowd voyce, (which was marvelous,) she cryed, "Come, Lord Jesus!" and instantlie departed, saying these words, "In thyne hands I commend my spirit!" But hir husband was not witness to this last passage, for he confessed he had often begged it of God that he would not suffer him to see hir last end, (great was the love was betuix them;) wherefore, a little before her death, he rose, and came doune with his shoes in his hand, lest he should make din, and after he had called quyetlie

for a drink from Lillias, his daughter, went forth discharging hir to speak any thing of his outgoing. After hir death, Johne Sherer, baillie, fand him walking in a place where often he used to walk, and he said, "Ye are come, baillie, to tell me the last of my deare bed-fellow." He replied, "Sir, I am." "Well, (said he,) I often sought this at the Lord, whilk now he has granted to me; and truelie he sent one who, putting on me, awakened me, whereupon I did remove out of the house, taking my advertisement from heaven as the answere of my desire." Now, let the christian reader judge if a papist or prelate had gotten so glorious a vision as this deare saint of God did, and if they had so prophesied, and the matter had come so to passe, if the world had not been deaved with the din thereof; but true pietie is accompanied with humilitie and self-denyell, meekness and modestie, which virtues were most eminent in this singular servant of God, as a luster to his great learning, wisdome, and other excellent gifts and graces.

He was of a peaceable disposition, verie like to his brother-in-law, Mr Robert Rollock, (for their wyves were sisters,) and caried a great respect to the King's Majestie; for the whilk, and some exhortations to peace at some publict meetings, particularlie that at Linlithgow, 1606, he was mistaken, and misreported as a favourer of Bishops and their courses; yea, Spotiswood, at the meeting at St Andrews, 1617, boasted publictlie that Mr Patrik Simsone hed keeped Yoole; by which notorious lie, he, the lieing Prelat, gained more votes to further his wicked purpose nor all his other arguments, which were either none or naught. Mr Patrik Simson did indeed preach upon the 25 of December, being an ordinarie preaching day in the week, and in his sermon did tuo things; first, proved that the 25 of December was not Christ's birth-day: told there was three other opinions more probable; but the trueth was, the Lord in his deep wisdome would have Moses his buriall and the day of Christ's birth concealled, foreseeing that they would have been abused to superstition and will worship; secondly, proved all such observation of dayes to be unlawfull and superstitious now under the gospell. He indeed confessed, in the end

of his life, that the wickedness and corruptions of Prelats were come, and comeing, to a greatter hight nor at first he looked for, they being retrinched with such caveats, hemmed in with such cautions and conditions; but they did break all bands, and did cast from them all coards, for oaths and subscriptions are the strongest; yit these to prelats are but as half-burnt threeds, cannot binde at all. After the last sermon that ever he made, a brother of the ministrie asked him, "Sir, now ye grant ye are weak, and I feare ye abyde not long among us, what say ye now of the estate of our Kirk?" He answered, holding up both his hands above his head, "Alace! I see all the middin (or dunghill) of the muck of the corruption of the Kirk of Ingland comeing on upon us, and it will wrack us, if God send not help in time."

Now, by all this, let the unprejudiced reader judge whither or not Mr Patrik Simson (that worthie servant of Jesus Christ) was a favourer of or complyer with Bishops and their antichristian ceremonies.

•

After him, I mention Mr Alexander Hoome, minister at Logie, beside Sterlin. He has left an Admonition behind him in writ to the Kirk of Scotland,[1] wherein he affirms that the Bishops, who then were fast ryseing up, had left the sincere ministers who would gladlie have keeped still the good old government of the Kirk, if these corrupt ministers had not left them and it; earnestlie intreating the Bishops to leave and forsake that course whereupon they were, or else their defection from their honest brethren, (with whom they had taken the Covenant,) and from the cause of God, would be registrat afterward to their eternal shame.

[1] Alexander Hume, minister of Logie, near Stirling, died on the 4th December 1609. He is favourably known as the author of a volume of "Hymnes or Sacred Songs," printed at Edinburgh, 1599, 4to, containing some beautiful pieces of descriptive poetry. This rare volume was reprinted as a contribution to the Bannatyne Club, in 1832, by John G. Kinnear, Esq., and there was subjoined to it "Ane Afold Admonitioun to the Ministerie of Scotland," pp. 19, printed from a MS. in Wodrow's Collection, being evidently the treatise by Hume of which Row has here made mention.

After him, I mention Mr Robert Boyd, who was a verie learned and holie man; he was brought to Edinburgh to be Professor of Divinitie and minister there; he kythed such great gifts, both in teaching of his lessons in the colledge, and in preaching in the kirk, that many flocked to him to heare his doctrine where ever he taught, and praised God highlie for him. This made the rest of the ministers to hate him the more; also, they were conforme, but so was not he. It is true he did not plainlie and openlie, in his sermons, inveigh aganis the estate of Bishops; yea, he went along with them in als many things as he could with a safe conscience, as he conceaved, yit his brethren and colleagues never rested till they got him removed from Edinburgh,[1] seeing he and they were not of one judgement, and they could not get him conforme; so he was removed to Paislay, a nest of papists, where, being abused many wayes by papists, fell in great diseases. And being transported to Edinburgh for cure, some ministers of Edinburgh came to visit him, to see if he would regrait his removeing out of Edinburgh, whilk, notwithstanding, they knew was wrought by their awin procurement. But he in wisdome speaking nothing to that purpose, did regrait the pitifull estate of this Kirk, and there plainlie condemned this hierarchie of Bishops (these were his verie words) which was come into our Kirk, and condemned the ministers of Edinburgh for following of that course, beseeching them to be better instruments for the propagation of God's glorie then they were, and that they would withstand that corruption of Bishops by all lawfull means they could, heartilie forgiveing them for any thing was done to him; for he professed his awne weakness and unmeetness for that holie calling he was called unto. This man, of a verie learned and well-gifted man, was one of the most humble, modest, and meek men, that was in the ministrie in all this kingdome.

After him I name Mr John Carmichael, minister at Kinnowher,

[1] This most learned and excellent man died at Edinburgh on the 5th of January 1627. It is somewhat singular that Dr Strang, his immediate successor as Principal of the University of Glasgow, also died at Edinburgh, and, we are informed, was interred (probably in the Greyfriars Churchyard) next to Principal Boyd.

a man inferiour in learning to none in this kingdome, a learned divyne, a great philosopher, whilk he did often evidence to the admiration both of his brethren and strangers. He was a scholler of Mr Andro Melville's, but he often affirmed his scholler was more learned nor himself. He was a most powerfull, zealous, and eloquent preacher of God's word, inveighing at all occasions aganis that disorder which had bin brought in into this Kirk by the alteration of the good old government; and being brought to Edinburgh for cure to his sick bodie, he died of that judgment. A litle before his death, a minister of Edinburgh had bin visiting him, came out from him thinking he should never speak againe, but presentlie give up the ghost, meeting with ane burgess of Edinburgh, whom he had perverted and drawen to conformitie, told him that he had been visiting Mr John Carmichael, and that now his speech was laid; but a litle before speaking of the Ceremonies that were come in into this Kirk, and his judgment being asked concerning them, he compared them (said he) to pasments upon cloths, that suppose the cloths might want them, yit when they have them they are ornaments unto them. Immediatlie after this, this burgess meeting with another, an honest man, who was not conforme, tells him what his minister had told him, that Mr John Carmichael had so spoken before his speech was laid. But that other answered, I mervall that any honest man should so speak of his brother in the ministrie; and therefore requested his nighbour to go in to Mr John Carmichael himself, and he hoped that he should yit speak, suppose it be said that his speech is laid, and show his awin mynde; whereunto he consented, and so they both went in to him together. He being verie weak, and not desyreous to speak, the honest man himself who was so informed by his minister, cryes to him, "Sir, will ye tell us your judgment of thir Ceremonies and ordours now come in into our Kirk? they say that ye have compared them to pasments upon cloths; the cloths may want them, but yit when they are putt on, they are an ornament unto them." For als weak as he was, he raised himself up in his bed, and said, "The Lord knows I never made such a compari-

son: indeed, I have heard some ministers speak so; but I assure you, this comeing in of Bishops and Ceremonies in our Kirk, if they be not hastilie removed againe, shall utterlie wrack and destroy it. The Lord help it, for Christ's sake." Now, ye see the honest man's mynde; and it is more nor noture that the kingdome of antichrist, poperie, and prelacie, is much advanced by lies.

As for Mr Johne Moray, we have spoken much of him alreadie.[1] It was his comfort on his death-bed that he never blecked nor disfigured the well-favoured face of the Kirk of Scotland: That his keeping of himself clear from the corruptions brought into this Kirk (albeit in weakness) was a chief comfort to him now in his extreamitie; and any that hes consented to these corruptions, if they were in my condition, exchangeing tyme with eternitie, then sure they would either repent of their wicked course, or els they should not finde such comfort in death as I doe this day: Blessed be the name of my gracious Lord, therefore, in Christ Jesus my onlie Saviour.[2]

I might relate many others, both liveing, and with the Lord, deceased; but I surceasse.

Thir particular examples should move us all who hes never as yit consented to thir corruptions, pray earnestlie to God that we may hold on as we have begun, that we be not drawen away with their errour, and so fall from our stedfastnes; for I grant we may all speak as good Mr Patrik Simson spak to a gentill woman, who said unto him, "Sir, what shall we say when newes comes hereafter that Mr Patrik Simson is become a Bishop?" He paused a little, and then answered, "Ladie, I am als weak and sinfull a man, and als much given to the world, as any other, and dare not say but that I may be als easilie drawen away to any evill course; but when that comes, say, that I confessed I had fallen fra Christ and from his trueth in that poynt."

[1] John Moray, or Murray, minister of Leith; see pages 252–255.

[2] "See the other booke, p. 166 and p. 157."—(Marginal note in the MS. in a later hand.) See Additions to the Coronis.

3.—BOOKS AGANIS BISHOPS, PRELACIE, CONFORMITIE, AND CEREMONIES.

As to the Third, To let all men see that the servants of Christ hes not been careless in opposeing themselves, both by word and writ, to all the corruptions brought in to the Kirk of Scotland, by Bishops and their followers, I will sett doune what Treatises, Books, and Admonitions, hes been published, both in print and writ, against them, which hath come to my knowledge, not doubting but there hes been many more nor I have seen.

The innumerable treatises written against Bishops in Ingland I omit; as that great disputation, in severall volums, betuix Mr Cartwright and Doctor Whitegift; which Doctor, with all the help he could get in Ingland, could never reply to Cartwright's last answere, whilk wes printed abroad, but not suffered to be printed in Ingland.

But as for Books and Treatises published by Scotts men, I recommend to all good christians who desyres to know the trueth of God in thir controversies, that book called "*Altare Damascenum.*" It is also abridged in Inglish, called "The Altar of Damascus."[1]

Nixt, that learned treatise written by a Scotts man, which he called "*Paraclesis* (*i.e.* a consolation) *contra Danielis Tileni Parænesin,*" *i.e.* aganis that exhortation given to our Kirk of Scotland, by Daniel Tilenus,[2] a Silesian born; who spak proudlie in that his

[1] "The Altar of Damascus, or the Patern of the English Hierarchie, and Church Policie obtruded upon the Church of Scotland. Anno 1621." Small 8vo, pp. 222. This anonymous work, however, was not an abridgment, but the first sketch of the larger work which Calderwood published, in Latin, under the name of Edwardus Didoclavius, in his well-known "Altare Damascenum," 1623. 4to.

[2] The work by Tilenus is entitled, "Parænesis ad Scotos, Genevensis Disciplinæ Zelotas: Autore Dan. Tileno Silesio. Andreapoli, excudit Eduardus Rabanus, Academiæ Typographus, c.ɔ.ɔ. cl. c. xx." Small 8vo, pp. 79. There was also an edition printed at London in the same year. The refutation of this work, referred to above, was written by Sir James Semple:—"Scoti τοῦ τυχόντος Paraclesis contra Danielis Tileni Silesii Parænesin: Ad Scotos Genevensis Disciplinæ Zelotas, conscriptam, cujus pars prima est de Episcopali Ecclesiæ Regimine. Anno 1622." 4to, pp. 232.

admonition or exhortation, as if none could answere it, reproveing our Kirk as haveing no learning; but he, for all his learning, could never give any reply to the said treatise, highlie praised by many learned men both at home and abroad.

Then I would all men acquainted with "The First and Second Books of Discipline, or Policie of the Kirk of Scotland,"[1] and the Acts of all the Generall Assemblies, confirming the same; and all the rest of the Acts.

Then peruse that little plaine treatise in Latin, called "*De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Brevis Narratio.*"[2]

Then that called "The Course of Conformitie,"[3] wherein is declared how Conformitie to Prelacie and Prelats toyes began in this Kirk; then how it proceeded and grew; and how, in end, it was concluded in a Parliament and ratified; and yit for all this ought to be refuised.

Then "The Nullitie of Perth Assemblie, 1618:"[4] the author proves that Assemblie null; and then brings reassons aganis all the Fyve Articles in particulare.

Then "The Pastor and the Prelat, or Reformation and Prelaticall Conformitie compared together."[5]

[1] "The First and Second Books of Discipline," &c. printed, apparently in Holland, and probably by Calderwood, in the year 1621. 4to.

[2] "De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Brevis Relatio. Impressus Anno Dom. 1618." Small 8vo, pp. 29. To this tract, attributed to Calderwood, Archbishop Spotiswood published an answer, under the title of "Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ." Lond. 1620, small 8vo, pp. 92. And Calderwood subjoined to his Altare Damascenum, "*Vindiciæ contra Calumnias Johannis Spotswodi,*" &c.

[3] "The Course of Conformitie, as it hath proceeded, is concluded, should be refused. Printed in the year 1622." 4to. This tract is usually attributed to Calderwood. On the title-page of a copy in the Editor's possession is written in a contemporary hand "By M. W. S.;" but according to Calderwood's History, p. 539, one portion of this tract was written by James Melville.

[4] Calderwood's original treatise, "Perth Assembly," printed in the year 1619, 4to, See pages 317, 324.

[5] "The Pastor and the Prelate: or Reformation and Conformitie shortly compared," &c. Printed anno 1628, 4to, pp. 72. By David Calderwood, but it is anonymous like his other tracts (many of which are here mentioned by Row) which were printed during his residence in Holland.

Then "The Speech of the Mother Kirk of Scotland to hir Children," *i.e.* the particular Congregations therein.[1]

Then "The Counsell of a faithfull Friend to a Brother, doubting what to doe, in thir difficult tymes."[2]

Then "The Solution of Doctor Resolutus his Resolutions;"[3] and the "Defence of about twenty Arguments used aganis kneeling in the act of receaveing the sacramental elements, impugned by Doctor Michelson,"[4] (a subscryver, page 323, col. i. [430,]) or rather Nihilson.

All whilk books are printed, and come forth to the view of all who earnestlie seeks after them. And considering what difficultie it is to get such books printed, when they are discharged to be printed under paine of death, and what danger it is to any to be found haveing any such books, (as their wicked, cruell, and tyrannicall proclamations speaks aloud,) it is a gracious providence that they are extant. Where also, see what hight of apostasie we are come unto, that lies aganis the Covenant may be printed, but trueths for the Covenant dares not be printed, except the printer, haver, and reader, run the hazard of death, or some little less.

It were good also, in thir tymes, that each had the Confession

[1] "The Speach of the Kirk of Scotland to her Beloved Children. Imprinted in the yere 1620." Small 8vo, pp. 125. This was followed by a similar tract, "An Exhortation of the particular Kirks of Christ in Scotland to their Sister Kirk in Edinburgh. Printed anno 1624." Small 8vo, pp. 23.

[2] "An Epistle of a Christian Brother exhorting an other to keepe himself undefiled from the present corruptions brought in to the ministration of the Lord's Supper." Printed anno 1624. Small 8vo, pp. 27. There is also "A Dispute upon Communicating at our confused Communions. Printed anno 1624." Small 8vo, pp. 74.

[3] By Calderwood. The title is, "A Solution of Doctor Resolutus his Resolutions for Kneeling. M.DC.XX." 4to pp. 55. It was in reply to "The Reasons of a Pastor's Resolution touching the reverend receiving of the Holy Communion," by David Lindsay, D.D., minister of Leith, who became Bishop of Brechin, and afterwards of Edinburgh.

[4] "A Defence of our Arguments against Kneeling in the act of receiving the Sacramentall Elements of Bread and Wine impugned by Mr Michelsone. Imprinted anno M DC.XX." Small 8vo. pp. 75. Mitchelson's work is entitled "The Lawfulnes of Kneeling, in the act of receiving the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper. Written by M. Iohn Michaelson, preacher of God's Word at Burnt-Yland. Printed by Edward Raban, Printer to the Universitie of Sainct-Andrewes, 1620," small 8vo.

of our Faith, (or Covenant,) commonlie called The King's Majestie's Confession,[1] whilk he himself subscryved first, caused it to be sworn and subscryved unto by his awin Houshold first, and then by all the subjects in this kingdome, also caused print it publictlie.

After the Confession came out in print, Bishop Adamson's Recantation,[1] offered to the Provinciall Assemblie of Fyffe, seeking earnestly relaxation from that dreadfull sentence of excommunication, whilk he confessed lay heavie upon his soule and conscience. Thir the Bishops and their adherents verie carefullie sought after, and burnt and destroyed all of them that they could get their hands upon, either by one mean or other.

Then a poeme in print, called "The Black Bastill, or a Lamentation of the Kirk of Scotland,"[2] compyled by Mr James Melvill, minister at Anstruther, now, *anno* 1611, confyned in Ingland.

Then there are in writ "A God's dossen of Arguments and Reassons, why thir new (antichristian) sort of Bishops should not be sett up in Scotland, to be given in to the King's Majestie and honourable Estates of Parliament, to be holden at Edinburgh 1606."

Item, There hes been many Supplications penned, wherein this Kirk hes, from tyme to tyme, testified their unwillingness that either Bishops or unnecessarie Ceremonies should come in amongst us.

Item, There was a learned Discourse in Latin, shewing clearlie the great danger that is in Kneeling in the act of receaveing the elements at the Lord's Supper or Communion.

Item, "An Admonition to the new sett up Bishop of Edinburgh,"

[1] The Confession of Faith here mentioned is printed at page 74 of this volume, from the original subscribed by King James in 1580.

[2] Archbishop Adamson's Recantation is inserted at full length in the present work, (pp. 118–129,) from the old printed copy, which, according to Row, it was endeavoured to suppress.

[3] Melville's poem is still preserved in MS. In 1634 it was published in an abridged form, as "The Black Bastel, or a Lamentation in name of the Kirk of Scotland, composed by M. James Melvil, when he was confined at Berwick, anno 1611. Abridged by N.:" And reprinted in the collection entitled "Various Pieces of Fugitive Scotish Poetry, principally of the Seventeenth Century." Edinb. 1825, 8vo.

whom he calls "Guilielmus Edinburgh," according as the Bishop did subscryve his awin name,[1] and to his Dean, whom he calls Thomas Dean of Geills.

Item, "An Admonition to all the Conformists within this new Diocie," whilk he calls, "Geills Adorned:" and a Counsell to all the brethren of the ministrie within this new diocie, to keep themselves clean in thir evill dayes.

Read also that treatise called "The Diocesan's Tryell,"[2] printed *anno* 1621.

There came out also tuo little books in print, *anno* 1635; in the one there are "Sixe particulars worthie to be knowen;" in the other are "Certaine Arguments and Reasons, Motives, and Inducements of speciall moment, proponed to the consideration of our most potent King and honourable Estates, tending to persuade them to abolish that unhappie and unlawfull governament of Bishops, and to sett up againe the governament whilk Christ has established by his word, to be in this Kirk."

Also ye have a notable treatise, called "A Re-examination of the Five Articles enacted at Perth *anno* 1618,"[3] viz., concerning the Communicant's gesture in the act of receaveing, the observation of Festivall dayes, Episcopall confirmation, the administration of Baptisme and the Lord's Supper in privat places, sett out in print, *anno* 1636. An Abridgement also of this Re-examination, in relation to the two chief articles, viz., the Communicant's gesture in the act of receaveing, and aganis Festivall dayes, printed *anno* 1637.[4]

Also a most learned Disput aganis the Inglish-Popish Ceremonies, obtruded upon the Kirk of Scotland, printed *anno* 1637.[5]

[1] See pages 372–374.—The Dean of the Cathedral Church of St Giles, Edinburgh, was Dr James Hannay, although here and elsewhere styled Dean Thomas.

[2] "The Diocesan's Tryell," by Paul Baynes, an English divine of considerable eminence at Cambridge, was printed 1621, 4to.

[3] Calderwood's Re-examination, printed 1636, 4to; see pages 317, 325, 407.

[4] "The Re-examination of Two of the Articles Abridged: to wit, of the Communicant's Gesture in the Act of Receiving, Eating, and Drinking, and the Observation of Festivall Dayes," 1636, small 8vo.

[5] A well known work, published anonymously, by George Gillespie, afterwards one of the ministers of Edinburgh.

And, finallie, *anno* 1638, when it pleased our gracious God that The Covenant, with a Bond, was renewed, it was printed; and for the excellence thereof, it was translated into other languages; and so many other good things were printed and publictlie sold, that I need not severallie to name and expresse them: Glorie to God therefore, for ever, Amen! The Lord, of his mercie, keep us in his awin hand unto the end, and in the end. Amen.

Thus have I, the most unworthie of all Christ's servants, done what I can to make the Estate of this Kirk of Scotland knowen to all my Brethren, who desyres to know the same; and hes spoken nothing (the Lord knowes) but the trueth, and that impartiallie, without fead or favour to any, either dead or living: Beseeching others, who can doe much better, (of whom no doubt there are a great number yit liveing in this Kirk,) to putt to their helping hand in tyme, and strengthen weak ones, instruct the ignorant, and confirme them that yit abyds sincere, and hes resolved, with God's grace, never to forsake the good course wherein they are walking, while the Lord make them to finish it with joy, and take them to their eternall rest. Come, Lord Jesus! Come, and tarie not, that thy poore Kirk in Scotland be not utterlie confounded and overruled by the antichrist and his supposts! To this Lord Jesus, our Saviour, (who hes done, can, and will doe mervellous things for his awin Kirk, and the glorie of his renounced name ingaged therein,) be all glorie and honour, might and majestie, dominion and soveraignitie, power and praise, for ever and for ever. AMEN.

חלי.

(*Sic subscribitur*) Mr Jo. Row, Minister at Carnok.

Coppied, Aberdeen, Octob. 2, 1650.[1]

[1] This line in the MS. is placed before *Sic subscribitur*, &c. but is here transposed to avoid an apparent anachronism.

ADDITIONS TO THE CORONIS.

[FROM A MS. WRITTEN ABOUT 1670.]

BUT having mentioned Mr JOHN ROW,[1] it sall not be amisse to digresse a little, in relating some things that were verie observable in his life, and at his death. He being eduçate in the gramer schoole of Stirling, (for he wes borne in a landward roume called Row, betuixt Stirline and Dumblane,) was laureat in St Androes, having past his course there. After he had past his course of philosophie, and wes laureat in St Androes, he returned againe to it, where he studied the lawes; and being pregnant therein, became ane pleader befor the Consistoriall ccurt, (whilk in these dayes was of great resort and renoune:) but he being of a publick and (as seemes) aspyring spirit, went to his travells abroad, not resting till he came to Rome. After abode there for some space, he became acquaint not only with the Bishops and Cardinals, but with the Pope himself, Paulus IV., in the yeare 1555; and in the yeare 1556, February 20, *Insignitus fuit gradu Licentiaturæ in utroque Jure, coram Collegio Advocatorum Universitatis almæ Urbis.* At whilk tyme he wes, by the Pope, made agent of the Kirk of Scotland at the Court of Rome; and shortlie thereafter, he wes graduat in Padua, *Doctor utriusque Juris;* and being of great learning, both in divinitie and the lawes, and also a great linguist, he became in great esteeme with the Pope, whom he served in so much, that it wes thought if he had abode at Rome any longer space, he would have come to great preferment. But the only wise God ordered matters çoncerning him otherwayes, having better employment and work for him in Scotland; for the Lord cast him in a great seek-

[1] This addition to the account of John Row the Reformer refers to page 415 of the Coronis: see note 1.

ness at Rome, and his master the Pope being carefull of him, desired his physitians to consult about the recoverie of his health. The physitians taking notice of his seekness, advised the Pope to send him for some space of tyme home to his native aire, judging that most conducible for his recoverie. Whereunto the Pope the more willinglie condescended, because he hearcing of the sturres in Scotland raised about the Reformation of Religion then, (for by this tyme the Congregation were in armes, for their self-defence against the Queene,) resolved to send him to Scotland as his Legat, to oppose these beginnings of Reformation that then were. And so, upon May 20, 1558, Mr John Row came from Rome, armed with the Pope's power and authoritie, as his commissioner, to oppose the then begun and growing Reformation. And upon the 29th of September 1558 he landed at Haymouth.[1]

After his arryvall he did what he could to oppose the Reformation, both by disputations with Mr Knox and others the Reformers, and otherwayes being armed with the Pope's power and authoritie. But he proved Corbie messenger (as it is in the proverb) to his master the Pope; for he himselfe, ere it wes long, wes converted to the trueth; and quyting his master the Pope and Poperie, became one of the Reformers; whilk the Lord brought about verie wonderfullie.

In these tymes there wes besyde Mussilburgh St Allarit's chappell;[2] and in these tymes of ignorance and superstition, it wes be-

[1] The village of Eyemouth, on the coast of Berwick.

[2] St Alareit, or Loretto, in the parish of Inveresk. This chapel, consecrated to "Our Lady of Loretto," was then one of the most celebrated shrines of superstition in Scotland. Bishop Lesley relates that James the Fifth, in 1535, being driven back by tempestuous weather in his first voyage to France, previous to his marriage, made a pilgrimage on foot from Stirling to Loretto. At this time, there was attached to the chapel a cell where Thomas the hermit resided, to whom the poetical Epistle was addressed, which Knox has preserved in his History of the Reformation. This chapel was destroyed along with part of the town of Musselburgh, during the Earl of Hertford's expedition in May 1544; but it was speedily repaired, and still continued as a place of resort until it was abolished at the Reformation. In 1590, part of the edifice was used as materials for building the present Tolbooth of Musselburgh.—(Stat. Account.)

lived that if women that were in hard labour did send ane offering to the Preist and Freirs there, they wold get easie delyverance: There wes in Fyfe, Esquyre Meldrum, so he wes commonlie called, [Robert Colvill, Laird of Cleishe,[1] who there after wes killed at the seige of Leithe,[2]] a gentleman of good understanding and knowledge, sound in the Reformed Religion, and most zealous and stoute for the Reformation; but his ladie (commonlie called the Ladie Cleishe) wes a papist, [Cachune, of the familie of Luss;] therefor shee, being in hard labour in chyld birth, posted away her servant (who wes also a papist) to St Allarites chapell, with ane offering of gold to the Ladie and Saintes of Allarite, with her sarke, (according to the custome,) that shee might get easie delyverie. Her husband, the Esquyre, [Laird of Cleishe,] so soone as he learned the matter, posted after the servant to hinder such a superstitious of-

[1] The words printed here, and in the following pages, within brackets, are either interlined or written on the margin of the MS. at a later time, probably by William Row. They serve to correct an error fallen into regarding the person who is mentioned as having discovered the imposture of a pretended miracle. No date is assigned, but it must have been about the year 1559.

William Meldrum of Cleish and Binns, in Kinross-shire, was familiarly known by the name of Squire Meldrum. His prowess in the wars between France and England, during the minority of James the Fifth, and his being disabled for life, in an ambuscade, in the year 1517, have been mentioned by various writers both in verse and prose; but he owes much of his celebrity to the "History of Squire Meldrum," a poem by Sir David Lyndsay, which might readily pass for mere poetical fiction if many of the incidents recorded were not corroborated by other writers. About the year 1530, Meldrum sold his property of Cleish to Sir James Colville of Easter Weems, (Chalmers's edit. of Lyndsay, vol. i. p. 74;) and Sir James, in 1537, made a grant of the lands to his natural son, Robert Colville, probably on occasion of his marriage with Francissia Colquhoun, who was daughter and heir of Patrick Colquhoun and Elizabeth Colville, daughter of Sir James Colville of Ochiltrie. (Douglas's Peerage, by Wood, vol. i. p. 360.) Hence the mistake that has been made of referring the above incident to Meldrum of Cleish, in place of Colville. Meldrum appears to have survived till the year 1542, and to have had a pension from James the Fifth.

[2] This Robert Colville, who, beyond doubt, was the person whom Row describes as having detected the pious fraud at Loretto, was Master of the Household to Lord James Stuart, afterwards Regent Earl of Murray, and was a zealous promoter of the Reformation. Knox styles him, "a man, stout, modest, and wise," when noticing his death at the siege of Leith, on the 7th of May 1560. His great-grandson was raised to the Peerage in 1651 by the title of Lord Colville of Ochiltrie.

fering, but did not overtake him till he came to St Allarites chappell, where he found the whole adjacent countrey of Mers, Tweedale, East, Middle, and West Lothians, conveened to see ane miracle wrought at St Allarites chapell: for the Papists, perceiving the Reformation to goe on quicklie, and fearing least their religion should be abandoned, the kirkmen, the Archbishops, Bishops, Preists, Freirs, &c., consulted and advysed, and after deliberation resolved, that the best wayes to mantaine and uphold their Religion, wes to worke some miracle to confirme the people, (as they thought,) that Poperie wes the true religion; and, therefore, they caused proclame in Edinburgh, that on such a day there wes a great miracle to be wrought at St Allarites chapell, for a man that wes borne blind, and had begged all his dayes, being a blind man, wes to be cured and to receive his sight: therefore, they willed all people to come and see the miracle wrought, &c. And so, upon the appointed day, (upon the verie whilk day, at the tyme of the working of the lying wonder, the Esquyre [Laird of Cleishe] came to the Chapell to hinder the superstitious offering intended by his Ladie and the servant shee sent,) the kirkmen conveened at St Allarites chapell brought forth upon ane scaffold ane blind man, (as wes beleeved by all the people,) and after some ceremonies performed, the blind man was cured and recovered his sight. The man upon whom the miracle wes wrought, coming doune from the scaffold, rejoyced much among the people, and blessed God, Christ, St Marie, St Allarite, and all the Saints, Preists, and Freirs that had cured him and given him his sight. And then the people began to give him money.

Esquyre Meldrum [Robert Colvill] seeing and hearing all his deceitfull worke, laboured to doe his best to find out the lurking deceit whereby the people were miserablie deceived: Wherefor he did cast himselfe to meet with the man, intending to goe to Edinburgh, who asked money of him as he had done from others, to whom the Esquyre [Robert Colvill] sayes, (giving him money more largelie than others,) "You are a verie remarkable man on whom such a miracle hes been wrought, I will have you to goe

with me to be my servant," &c. The man, glad of such ane offer, and receiving money largelie, wes willing to goe with him; and so the Esquyre caused him ryde behind his servant to the toune of Edinburgh. So soone as he came to his lodging-house, and to the chamber where he wes to lye, putting his servant to the doore, and closeing the chamber doore upon himselfe and the man, he looks to the man with a fierce countenance, and drawing his sword, and laying the naked sword upon the table, sayes to him: "Thou, villane and deceiver of the people of God, either tell me the trueth of these things that I am to aske of you now presentlie, or els I will take upon me, with my sword, presentlie, to cutt off thy head; for I am ane magistrate appointed by God to doe justice; and I am assured that all the preists and freirs, all the saints, nor the Pope himselfe, cannot work a miracle such as they pretend to doe, viz. to cure a blind man: Therefor thou and they are but deceivers of the people; and either tell me the veritie, or els with this sword (taking his naked sword in his hand) I will presentlie (as ane magistrate in this case) put ye to death." The poore man, trembling and astonished, sayes, "O deare Sir, spare my life, and I sall tell you all the trueth and veritie, and let their knaverie be knowen." "Well, (said the Esquyre,) then answer me thir questions, and doe not lie as you love your life:—1. Wes thou a borne-blind man?" Answer, "No, Sir." 2. Q. "How cometh it then that yee have been thought to be a blind man, and that yee have all your dayes begged as a blind man, being led as if yee had been blind?" Ans. "Sir, I sall tell you all the trueth. When I was a young lad I wes a herd, and keeped the Sisters of the Sheines's sheep, (in these dayes there wes a Nunrie in the Sheines [1] besyde Edinburgh,) and in my wantonness and pastime I used often to flype up the lids of my eyes, and cast up the whyte of my eyes, so that any bodie wold have trowed that I was blind. I using often to play this pavie, the Nunnes, the Sisters of

[1] The Nunnery of Sciennes, in the vicinity of Edinburgh, was founded so late as 1517. Much curious information in regard to this Convent, dedicated to St Katherine of Sienna, is contained in a volume edited by James Maidment, Esq., and printed for the Members of the Abbotsford Club, under the title of "Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis prope Edinburgum. Impressum Edinburgi, 1841," 4to.

the Sheines (so they were comonlie called) did sometymes see me doe it and laugh at me. Then the Sisters send in word to Edinburgh that their shepheard lad could play such a pavie. The kirkmen in Edinburgh hearing of such a thing, came out to the Sheines, and desired to see that shepheard lad. I being brought, and playing this pavie befor them, walking up and doune with my eyelids up, and the whyte of my eye turned up as if I had been blind. The kirkmen that conveened there to see me, advised the Sisters, the Nunnes of the Sheines, to get another lad to keep their sheep, and to keep me hid in one of their volts or cellars for some years, ay till they thought meet to bring me out, and to make use of me as they pleased: (this the knave kirkmen did in their wicked policie and foirsight, that the memorie of such a boy might perish, and that notwithstanding he might be to the foir to be brought out to deceive the people of God when they thought fitt.) And so, Sir, I wes keeped and fed in one of [the] volts (no bodie knowing that I was there but the kirkmen and the Nunnes of the Sheines) for the space of seven or eight years. Then, Sir, they conveened me againe, and brought me befor them, and caused me sweare a great oath that I sould faine my selfe to be a blind man, and they put one to lead me through the countrey that I might beg as a blind man in the day tyme; but in the night, and also when I pleased, I put doune my eyelids and saw well enough, and I to this houre never revealed this to any; yea, my leader knew not but I wes blind indeed." And then after his discourse he played his pavie befor the Esquyre, walking up and doune the chamber as if he had been blind. The Esquyre glad, (for he easilie beleeved that he had told the trueth,) keeped him by him that night in his chamber; and upon the morne sayes to him, "Now, seeing you have glorified God in revealing the knaverie of these villanes and deceivers, the kirkmen and nunnes, yee must doe something more yit, to let all the people know how these knaves hes deceived them, and entysed you, for world's geer, (for they gave him money liberallie,) to deceive the people of God." Ans. "Sir, since I have revealed the secret to you, and have taken me to you as my

master, I will doe any thing you will bid me doe." "Well, (said the Esquyre,) this yee must doe, and I sall stand by you with my sword in my hand, that no man nor woman wrong you. Goe with me to the Crosse, and in few words (whilk the Esquyre taught him) tell the people (after yee have cryed Oyesse thrise) how yee have been hyred and entysed to faine your selfe to be a blind man, and that yee wes never blind, and that there wes no miracle indeed wrought upon you yesterday; and therefor, desire the people to be no longer deceived by thir kirkmen, these knaves and blind guydes that misleads the people, but bid the people take them to the true religion, &c. And after yee have thus spoken, I and yee sall quicklie runne doune the close besouth the Crosse, where my servant sall be waiting with my two horses in the Cowgate, and if I were once betwixt the shoulders of my horse, and yee upon the other, I sall defy all the kirkmen in Edinburgh to overhye me till I be in Fyfe, where the Lords of the Congregation are in armes for the defence of the true Reformed Religion." The man undertaking to doe as he desired, they went to the Crosse together about eight a clock in the foirnoone. When after the man had cryed Oyesse thrise, the people who the day befor had seen him at St Allarites chapell on the scaffold, &c. running to heare what he had to say, heard him utter the words the Esquyre had taught him. Then quicklie the Esquyre and he horsed, and were gone toward the Queenes-ferrie. The report of this running through the Toune came quicklie to the preists, freirs, and the rest of that deceiving rabble, who raged, foamed, &c.: but what could they doe? the man wes gone—they could not persew—they durst not goe further than the Queenes-ferrie.

But to returne to Mr John Row. The Esquyre coming home with the man, the Lord in his good providence so ordered that Mr John Row came to Cleish to visite the Ladie, shee being a papist; and after he had stayed there a night, the Esquyre kyndlie intertaining him, they fell in conference about some points of religion. The Esquyre sayes to him, "Mr John Row, ye are a great scholer and lawyer; yee have been bred at the court of Rome, where there

is both learning and policie enough. I am but a countrey gentleman, unlearned, hes not had breeding abroad; therefor, I will not enter the lists of a dispute with you; I know I will be foyled, and whilk is worse, I will wrong my religion that way. But let me only conferre and cracke about some points of religion wherein yee and we differ." "Well, (said Mr John Row,) I am glad and well content to doe so: we may doe other good that way; I may teach you some thing yee know not, and it may be yee may teach me some thing I knew not befor." And so, after some conference, the Esquyre sayes, "Doe yee mantaine that the Pope, your master, and his clergie, can in thir dayes work any true and reall miracle?" Ans. "Yes: There is no doubt of that. It is certaine that the Pope or his clergie have wrought miracles for the confirmation of the trueth of our religion." "Well, (sayes the Esquyre,) Have yee heard of yon miracle wrought latelie at St Allarites chapell?" Ans. "O yes. What can ye say to it? what can any man say against that a man borne blind is cured, and hes received his sight?" Q. "But how know yee that he wes a borne-blind man?" Ans. "Hes he not begged through Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Leith, Musselburgh, &c. all his dayes, being a blind man?" The Esquyre replyes, "I am sorie, Mr John, that honest men, such as I take you to be, is so pitifullie deceived by false knaves, deceivers of the soules of the people of God." And so that he might convince him of their knaverie and undeceive him, he told him that he had the verie man on whom the miracle wes thought to be wrought in his house; and calling upon the man, brought him befor Mr John Row, and caused him reveale the whole mater, and play his pavie befor him; whilk when Mr John Row had heard and seen, he wes amased and nonplussed, and could say nothing to defend his master or the deceiving kirkmen that had contryved the busines. "Now, (sayes the Esquyre,) Mr John Row, yee are a great clergie man, a great linguist and lawyer. But I charge you, as yee must answer to the great God at the last day, that yee doe not now hold out any light that God offers you, but that yee will so soone as yee come to your studie close the doore upon you, and take your Byble, and

earnestlie pray to God that yee may understand the Scriptures and the trueth of God revealed in them, that in his light yee may see light. And then when yee have prayed, as the Lord by his Spirit, who is the Spirit of grace and supplications, will instruct and teach you, take your Byble, and read 2 Thess. ii., and if yee doe not there see your master the Pope to be the great antichrist who comes with lying wonders to deceive the people of God, (as now he and his deceiving and tricking clergie in Scotland hes done latelie at Musselburgh,) yee sall say, Esquyre Meldrum [Robert Colvill] hes no skill."

Mr John Row being amazed, and with all ingenuous, wold not, yea, durst not, shoote [shut] out light holden out to him; therfor, considering the knaverie of the kirkmen in the late pretended false lying miracle, and with all reading and considering 2 Thess. ii., it pleased the Lord to convert him from Poperie to the Reformed Religion, and so he became familiar with Mr Knox, Christopher Goodman, &c. the reformers; and he being learned and knowing the errors of Poperie better than others, wes verie instrumentall in advancing the Reformation. And so after the Reformation wes established by law, in the yeare 1560, he was admitted minister of Kennoway, where he married the Laird of Balfour's daughter, [Margaret Bethune,] (the lands of Kennoway being ane barronie of land pertaining to the Laird of Balfour.) Shortlie thereafter he wes by the Generall Assemblie transported to Perth, the second burgh of the kingdome, where he lived and died, beloved and regrated by all good men. In those dayes the gramer schoole of Perth wes famous, many noble and gentle men sent their eldest sonnes to be educate there, and many of them were tabled with Mr Johne Row, to be helped by him in their education. As they spake nothing in the schoole and feilds but Latine, so nothing wes spoken in his house but French. The portion of scripture read befor and after meales, if it wes in the Old Testament, wes read in Hebrew, (for he wes the first man that brought the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue to Scotland, and taught some of his children to read it, when they were of foure or fyve years of age,) Greeke,

Latine, French, and English; if it wes in the New Testament, it wes read in thes, [Greeke, Latine, French, and Englishe.] He wes, by the Generall Assemblie, made Superintendent of Galloway. He died but a young man, *anno* 1580, [in the 54th year of his age,] Oct. 16.

There wes one passage remarkable in the tyme of his seekness, a little befor his death; the master of the gramer schoole, commonlie called Dominie Rind, came to visite him, to whom he sayes, "Sir, yee have many small bairnes, and, alas! yee have little or no geir to leave them; what will become of them? I feare they beg through the countrey. Sir, yee have not been carefull to gather geir to them, as well ye might, both at Rome, and since ye came to Scotland," &c. Mr John Row turning him to the wall, lay silent a prettie space, pouring out his soule to God, &c. Thereafter turning himselfe sayes, "*Domine*, I have been thinking upon that yee have been saying to me; I will not justifie myselfe, nor say that I have been carefull enough to gather geir to my bairnes. I thinke I might and ought to have done more that way then I have done; but, *Domine*, I have layd over my bairnes upon God and the well ordered Covenant, and his all sufficient Providence, for we must lippen much to the old charter, *Providebit Dominus*, (Gen. xxii. 8, 14.) But, *Domine*, let me, tyme about, speake to you: yee have but one sonne, and yee have great riches to give him, and yee make a god of your geir; and yee thinke, who but your only sonne, My sonne, he will have enough! &c. But, *Domine*, it feares me yee have little credite and farre lesse comfort by him, yea it may be that when my bairnes (whom I have layed over upon God's gracious and all sufficient Providence) may have competencie in the world, your sonne may have much mister, and be beholden to some of myne, for it is God's blessing that maketh rich," (Deut. viii. 18.)

The event did speake the fulfilling of this prophesie of the dying servant of Jesus Christ; for Mr John Row had sixe sonnes and two daughters; fyve of his sixe sonnes were ministers, Mr James at Kilspindie, Mr William at Forgandownie,[1] Mr John at Carnock,

[1] Forgandenny.

Mr Archibald at Stobo, and Mr Colin at St Kebocks.[1] Mr John Row, minister at Carnock, had foure sonnes ministers, and three daughters; of whom came ane numerous offspring. Of Mr John Row's two daughters, the eldest [Katherine Row] wes maried to William Rig, a rich merchant in Edinburgh; of whom came a numerous offspring and posteritie of many rich people. The other wes maried to Mr James Rind, minister of Longforgan, in the Carse of Gowrie: [Mr James Rinde had three sonnes, the eldest, Mr Androu Rinde, minister at Tillicultro, and three daughter's.] Dominie Rind, his only rich heire, he wes minister of Dron, and wes a verie prophane and dissolute man, given to drunkenness, and many evill vyces, so that he became verie poore; and, in his owne tyme, for povertie wes forced to sell his bookes to Mr John Row, then schoolemaster at Perth, sonne to Mr John Row, minister at Carnock, the grandchyld to him that uttered the prophesie. And after his death, his wife for povertie turned ane gangrell poore woman, selling some small wares; and often wes refreshed with meate and drinke in the house of one of Mr John Row, minister at Carnock, his sonnes,[2] minister at Seiris in Fyfe.

Severall rare things befell him [Mr JOHN CRAIG][3] in his life, and therefore it shall not be amisse heir to digresse a little to relate some things verie remarkable in the life of that famous and worthie servant of Jesus Christ. He being a pregnant young man, went abroad to his travells through France and Italie, and being of the Protestant reformed religion, in Italie got the charge of the education of a noble and honourable man's children, he being of the Reformed Religion. Nigh to that honourable person's house there was a little wood or parke unto whilk Mr John Craig used often to retire himselfe to meditate, pray, &c., and in this place (it being a secret pleasant place) he often used to teach his scholers. It fell out on a day, when he wes in that place with his scholers, that ane

[1] St Quivox, Ayrshire.

[2] That is, William Row, minister of Ceres.

[3] See page 415, foot note 3.

poore wounded souldier that had received a shott in his bellie came by that place, caricing up with his two hands his intralls, and sieing Mr Craig with young students with their bookes, came to Mr Craig, and related to him his present sad and doolefull condition, how he latelie at a battell had received a deadlie like shott in his bellie, &c. Mr Craig commiserating this poore wounded souldier's case, gave him money, and spake christianly and kyndlie to him, &c. After Mr Craig had continued some space educating his scholers, speciallie in the knowledge of God and the grounds of the Reformed Religion, he was by the Inquisition found out and apprehended as ane Hugonite, (so were those of the Reformed Religion then called,) and put in a base prison, or rather pit, in Rome, into the whilk pitt the river of Tibris did everie tyde flow, so that the prisoners stood in water some tymes almost to their middle. After that the Pope had apprehended and imprisoned for some space of yeares a number of Protestants in that base pitt, at last they were arraigned and condemned to be burned quicke for the Reformed Religion on a certain day appointed for their execution. But it pleased the Lord, in his good and gracious providence, so to order maters, that upon the verie night befor he should have been brought foorth upon the morrow to be burnt quicke, the Pope is smitten by the hand of God, so that he dieth ;[1] the Lord haveing decreed to keep honest Mr Craig alive for his service and worke. Now in Rome when a Pope dies, in the interim till another Pope be created, there is a jubilee, all prisoners, whatever their cryme hes been, are released, prison doores are cast open, &c. The first day (whilk wes the day appointed by the Pope for Mr Craig's execution) after the Pope's death, all prison doores were opened and the prisoners set at libertie, except the prison of the Hugonites : it was forgotten, being in an obscure and base place of the citie, but upon the second day the Lord opened their prison doore also, and all of them, and Mr Craig among the rest, were set at libertie. Mr Craig haveing thus in God's gracious providence gotten libertie

[1] There were four Popes between 1550 and 1560, one of whom, Pope Marcellus II., died the 30th of April 1555, and his successor, Paul IV., the 18th of August 1559.

and life restored to him, knew not well what to doe, he being almost naked, (having lyen long in that base pit,) and having no money, and not knowing well how to beg. Yit he thought it safest for him to leave the citie and to goe to one of the suburbs, to make the best shift he might for meate, and something to cover his naked bodie, and so the Lord directed him in to ane change house where meate and drink wes sold. While he is in that house, cold and hungrie, warming himselfe at the fyre, where meate was making ready; as yet not having asked either meate, drinke, or cloathes, there came in ane officer, a commander in the Pope's armies, with his retinue at his backe, who called to the hostler to make readie his dinner, to prepare for him and his companie that he had with him, calling for wynes, &c. Mr Craige sieing and hearing all this, was affrayed least this commander should have been sent to apprehend the Hugonites, &c. This commander, after he had walked up and doune a little, began to eye Mr Craig, and to looke narrowlie to him, whilk did the more affright and terrifie Mr Craig, suspecting that he was sent to search out the Hugonites. But after that he had for some space of tyme narrowlie eyed and looked to Mr Craig, he said to him, "I beleive I have seen you befor, and in a better condition then I sie you now." Mr Craig answered, "That may be, Sir." The commander replyes, "Doe not yee, Sir, remember that so many yeares agoe you (as I believe, and if I be not mistaken) wes in such parke with young scholers and your bookes with you, and that a poore wounded souldier having received ane shott in his bellie came by, to whom yee gave money, largelie?" "Yes, (sayes Mr Craig,) I remember verie well of all that." "Now, (sayes the commander,) this is a happie rancounter, and we are well mett, though I be sorie to sie you in this sad condition that I sie you into, for I wes that poore wounded souldier, and that money whilk yee gave me did I give to the chirurgian who cured my wound, so that, Sir, you saved my life; and now the fortune of the warres having favoured me, I being now ane commander, I am well able to repay you your moneys with the interest thereof, and to help you in your sad and desolate condition that I see you into.

Tell me how is this I sie you so now, whom I saw then in so good a condition when I wes in my sad and deadlie lyke danger," &c. Mr Craig, in his heart, blessing God for this second gracious providence, related to him so much of his personall sad condition as in prudence the Lord directed him. This commander, after he had refreshed him with meate and drinke, gave him money largelie, with the whilk he did put a sute of cloaths upon him presentlie; and then resolving to travell towards France, and so homewards to Scotland, he came on his journey paying for meate and drinke as he travelled, and accomodating himselfe the best way he might, &c. But at last his moneys began to grow scarce upon him. Two or three dayes befor his moneys were all spent, coming through ane landward toune, there did follow him out of the toune ane prettie dog, fauning upon him as if he had been his master. Mr Craig did boast the dog from him, fearing that he should have been challenged for stealling so prettie a dog, but the dog wold not be boasted from him, but followed him a space out of the toune. Mr Craig did cast stones, or what came by his hand, at the dog to beate him backe againe, but by no meanes would the dog part with him, still growing the more kynd the more he wes boasted and beaten. At last Mr Craig began to make of the dog, and wes content, seing he wold not goe backe, to take him to beare him companie in his travells; and so the dog followed him for some dayes, and waited carefullie on him as his master. At last his moneys are all spent, and he had not so much as to buy his dog a loafe, as it is in the proverb. Honest Mr Craig wes put to a new straite, and he knew not well what to doe. He was ashamed to beg, and he had not will to stay there, being so verie desireous to come home. While he is tossing sad thoughts within himselfe, and being doubtfull what to doe, he comes to the syde of ane grein hill, and it being a verie hote day, and he wearied with his journey, did sit downe to rest him there. Then lay a-groufe upon his face, begins to poure out his heart to God, blessing and praising him who had preserved his life when he wes condemned to be burnt quicke, and who hithertills had graciouslie and wonderfullie

provyded for him, supplying him with moneys, meate, drinke, cloathing, &c. While the honest servant of Jesus Christ is thus praying and begging at God that he wold still provyde for him and direct his way homewards, his dog, his kynd fellow traveller, comes to him, and with his foote skreapes upon his shoulder. After he had skreaped once, againe, and the thrid tyme, Mr Craig lookes up and sies in the dog's mouth a full purse. The dog shakes the purse upon Mr Craig, offering it to him: he wes astonied, and feared to touch the purse, but the dog looking kyndlie in his face, and still shaking and offering the purse to him, Mr Craig tooke the purse out of the dog's mouth, and opening it, finds it ane purse full of gold, all of one kynd of gold. Mr Craig wondering and astonished, but blessing and praising God, takes it as sent of God to him for to be his *viaticum*, and blesses God for this thrid wonderfull and gracious providence, and being then well provyded, he travells on, and after some stay in France, he comes home to Scotland, and brought with him to Edinburgh the dog, the purse, and some of the gold.

This, though it may seeme fabulous to some, I know it to be als certaine as any humane thing can be, for the Wife of this worthie servant of Jesus Christ living in Edinburgh, (where he wes one of the Toune ministers, and verie honest, streight, and famous in his tyme,) surviving her husband for many yeares, untill the yeare 1630, did often relate this historie, with all the passages of it, to me and many others. Shee wes ane honest woman, *fide digna*, well knowen in Edinburgh under the name of Dame Craig.[1]

This Mr JOHN DAVIDSON[2] wes a verie zealous honest man, and indeed a verie prophet of God, for it is ordinar with God to give his servants whom he stirres up and employes in extraordinar em-

[1] John Craig was minister of the King's Household, or of Holyroodhouse, in 1562. He died 12th of December 1600: (see page 208.) From his Testament, it appears that his wife's name was Marion Smaill.—(M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. ii. p. 70.)

[2] See page 420, foot note 1.

ployments with extraordinar gifts and endewments, such as the gift of prophecie. Such prophets there were many in Scotland, about and shortlie after the tyme of the Reformation, viz. Messrs Wishart, Knox, Welsh, Row, Craig, Davidson, Fergusson, &c. They foir-prophecied many things, whereof some were fulfilled in their owne dayes, and all of them after their death.

Mr John Davidson prophesied many things. I shall relate one prophesie of his. He being, as I have said, minister at Preston-pans, having celebrate the Holy Communion, on the Monday thereafter the Lady Fadinsyde came with one of her sonnes, Mr John Ker, to visite Mr Davidson, and to take their leave of him. Mr Johnne Ker, the Ladie's sonne, wes then ane young gentleman latelie come from France, pransing in his French garb with his short skarlet cloake and his long caudie rapier, according to the mode of these tymes. After the Ladie Fadinsyde had for a space conferred with Mr Davidson, her sonne, the yong gentleman, standing by discoursing with some of his comerads, shee did take her leave of Mr Davidson, likewayes Mr John, her sonne, did; but after Mr Davidson had narrowlie looked upon the yong gentleman, he sayes to him, "What meanes this long caudie rapier, this short skarlet cloake, and all this gay graith of yours? Away, away with these things. I know you, Sir, to be a good scholer, cast away these daft conceits, and I in God's name charge you to take you seriouslie to your booke and studies, and spend your tyme well, for I will assure you, Sir, yee will be minister of this place after me." The yong gentleman being astonished to heare him speak so, said nothing, but did laugh within himselfe, wondering what the minister meant. After he came home with his mother, the Ladie, for some dayes he did laugh at Mr Davidson's words; but thereafter thinking seriouslie upon them as words, gravelie uttered with authoritie in God's name, charging him, &c. he could not sleip nor take rest till he returned to Mr Davidson to enquire of him more seriouslie about his words he had uttered, and what wes his ground and warrand for so speaking and charging, and how he knew that he wold be minister of Preston after him, &c. He coming to Mr Davidson,

and speaking to him seriouslie of these things, the prophet of God (for so I may call him) assured him that he had good warrand and assureance that he wold be minister of Preston after him, and therfor againe, with authoritie as the prophet of God, charged himselfe, as he wold answer, to take himselfe seriouslie to his studies, and to spend his tyme well; which the young gentleman presentlie did. So after Mr Davidson's death he succeeded minister of Preston,[1] where he lived ane honest painfull minister for many yeares, and left behind him honest men his sonnes, whereof one Mr Robert Ker is ane honest minister, Mr Andro Ker was clerk to the Generall Assemblie.

Another of his prophecies is memorable. Being at Dunfermline in the tyme of ane Synod immediatlie after the death of David Fergusson, minister at Dunfermline, giveing thanks after dinner, among other things uttered by him then, he thus expressed himselfe:—"Lord! thou hes now removed thy worthie and faithfull servant who laboured heir among this people in the gospell, &c.; but, Lord! who shall succeid him in his ministrie, thou knowes! Many are gaping for it, and using moyen at Court to gaine it, but it will be Jok up-a-land; it will die in thy hand, (pointing at Mr Andro Forrester, who at the tyme, with sundrie other ministers, wes sitting at the table with him, having dyned there,) therefor the backe shall beare the sadle-band;" &c. This prophesie, though thus uttered in these ridiculous-like expressions, wanted not its fulfilling, for this Mr Andro Forrester, who did succeid David Fergusson, fell in grosse sins; for the whilk he wes deposed, and his ministrie there did die in his hand; and being deposed and disgraced, his backe did beare the sadle-band. When the man of God uttered the words, they were laughen at by the hearers, but when observers of them found them so fulfilled, they acknowledged him a true prophet.

[1] John Davidson, minister of Saltpreston, or Prestonpans, died in 1604. On the 5th of September that year, some commissioners appeared at the meeting of the Presbytery of Haddington, "lamenting the death of our father, Mr John Davidsone, their last pastor;" and we find John Ker was minister of the parish at least in 1606. —(M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. ii. pp. 110, 509.)

A BREIFE DESCRIPTION OF THE WICKED PRACTISES OF OUR SCOTTISH PRELATS, MAID AGAINST THEM QUHEN THEY WER IN THEIR GREATEST GRANDEUR, THE 4TH NOVEMBER 1634.[1]

Our Prelats sticke
In God's fabricke,
A Popish tricke,
And lies doe joyne;
Loves Babel's brick,
Her dust they lick,
Pope Catholick
Decores on's wyne.

They worke with slight
Both day and night,
Subvert all right,
And justice wray:
They lett the light,
Yet work in sight
With their haill might,
None can gainsay.

Gold they doe crave,
Lands they wold have,
Their flocks deceave,
Make good men lurke:
Grace as a slave
They close in cave;
Who can conceave
What griefe they worke!

Lords of renoune,
Yea, nixt the Croune,
Are holden doune
As they thinke meit:
In burgh and toune,
Ilk shaimles lowne,
With his silk goune,
Bravades the street.

Blind is that eye
Which doeth not sie
Their treacherie;
Thogh they pretend
Conformitie
To God's decree,
Yet they doe lie;
Looke to their end!

Masse songs they sing,
Dead bells they ring,
God's trueth they wring,
Hell's way they goe:
From thence doeth spring
Each monstrous thing,
Which State and King
Will bring to woe.

The trueth thereof we see now, *anno* 1644.

[1] These verses occur in the older MSS. of Row, after the short paragraph, "In the moneth of November," &c., page 390.

In the year 1636[1] severall faithfull servants of Jesus Christ being deposed and excommunicate by the Bishops in Ireland, especiallie Bishop Bramble,[2] they were so hunted by the Bishops purseivants, and others their emissaries, that they were forced to leave that kingdome, reserving themselves for better tymes, and their Lord's worke elsewhere; and so they came over to their native Kingdome and mother Kirk heir, viz. Messrs Robert Blair, John Livingston, James Hammilton, Samuell Row, and John Macklellan; who, as they were alwayes anti-episcopall and opposers of the corrupt courses and apostacie of these tymes, so they were most instrumentall in the glorious worke of reformation that followed after these corrupt tymes, beginning *anno* 1637.

It will be worth the whyle heir to digresse relating the historie of the Life and Death of worthie and famous Mr Blair; the First part of it being written by himselfe shortlie befor his death; the rest, by way of Supplement, added by his nearest relations as followes:—

THE HISTORIE OF THE LIFE OF REVEREND AND FAMOUS MR ROBERT BLAIR, Christ's Minister at Bangor in Ireland, at Air, and St Andrewes in Scotland: The First part by himselfe, some yeares before his death, the rest, be way of Supplement, added by [his eldest sonne of his second mariage, with the help of his mother, his second wife] Mr WILLIAM ROW, minister at Ceres, his sonne in-law.[3]

. . . . . .

[1] This passage is referred to in the marginal note at page 440.

[2] Dr John Bramhall, Bishop of Londonderry.

[3] The words printed within brackets are carefully erased, and the name of William Row added on the margin, at a later time. In this place of the MS. there accordingly follows a copy of the Life of Robert Blair, extending to the beginning of chap. 8th, in fifty closely written pages, where it breaks off, and some blank pages left for continuing the transcript. It is to be hoped that the entire work will at length be published from the original MS. in the handwriting of William Row, which is preserved in the Signet Library.

Mr Calderwood, "Didoclavius,"[1] hath written learnedlie against Prelats and their Romish rites in his *Altare Damascenum*, Nullitie of Perth Assemblie, Re-examination of the Fyve Articles, &c. diverse.

In the last place, it shall not be amisse to set doune a short narrative of the Life and Death of Mr JOHN ROW, minister at Carnock, the author of this Historie. The First part of it written by Himselfe, verie shortlie before his death; the rest, by way of Supplement, added by his youngest sonne, Mr WILLIAM ROW, minister at Sires.

He wes borne a twaine in Perth, where his father wes minister, and when he wes brought forth, his left syde, that lay nearest his dead brother, (for his brother was supposed to have been dead with him in his mother's bellie, many weeks befor they were brought forth,) wes beginning to be black and blea: all his dayes he had no great strength in his left syde, and in his old dayes he might not lye upon it, which, if he attempted, he was in hazard of falling a-sound. Immediatlie after his baptisme he wes put to landwart to be fostered, and to get a good aire, for the space of three years, in the which tyme his windin-sheit wes verie often put to his head everie yeare; (for that wes the custome in those tymes.) After he wes broght to Perth, he wes so weake that he wes not able to walk till he wes of fyve or sixe years of age. In his younger yeares, his father being a great Hebrean, and the man that first broght the knowledge of Hebrew letters to Scotland, tooke paines upon him, learning him the Hebrew letters, so that he could read Hebrew of seven yeares old, and did ordinarlie read at dinner or supper the chapter in Hebrew, their ordinar being in the Old Testament; which moved the master of the gramer schoole to desire his father to learne him also to know the Hebrew letters: and when he wes put to the gramer schoole he taught his master to read and expone Hebrew; for the whilk cause his master still

[1] The anagram which Calderwood adopted in his *Altare Damascenum*: see p. 316. Most of his tracts, which are anonymous, will be found enumerated at the close of the Coronis; see pages 441-445.

called him *Magister Johannes Rowe.* His father died when he wes 12 yeares of age, learning his gramer.

After his father's death, (he leaving behind him sixe sonnes, whereof he wes the third, and tuo daughters,) their mother being dead befor, he wes left in a verie orphan lyke condition, verie destitute of humane help in appearance; yet our mercifull and all-sufficient Lord, upon whose covenant and liberall promises his dying father had cast him, with assurance that the Lord his God, in whom he trusted, and whose promises he believed taking hold of his covenant, wold provyde for him, and not let him want any thing that is good, did provyde well for him, for his uncle, the young Laird of Balfour, did take him home to his house to teach his children the gramer; and within a short space he wes made schoole master at Kennoway, where his father wes first minister, and where he maried the Laird of Balfour's daughter, M. Bethune. There he taught not only his uncle's children the gramer, but other gentlemen's children; the minister of Kennoway, his father's successor, being schoolemaster befor he gott the place. He remained there teaching his uncle's children, untill he made some of them readie to goe to the Colledge with himselfe. His uncle went with him and entered him to the new erected Colledge in Edinburgh. He entered to the thrid classe that wes taken up in that Colledge, the erection whereof being 1583. Mr Robert Rollok (of worthie memorie, who indeed wes one of the greatest ornaments of the Kirk of Scotland in his tyme, being both learned and pious) wes then Principall of that new erected Colledge, and one of the ordinarie ministers of the toune, having befor been regent in the Old Colledge at St Andrewes.

His uncle being desirous to speake with Mr Rollock, and see that new erected Colledge, did, being accompanied with sundrie gentlemen, (being then one of the most ancient barrons in Fyfe,) goe to the Colledge to enter his nephew. When he wes entered to his classe, one of his condisciples in Perth cryed out, *Tu es Magister hactenus.* His Regent coming in, finding his scholers making sport at his condisciple's complement, wes angrie with them, and asking his condisciple why he called him *Magister Johannes.* He replyed,

That his master at Perth alwayes called him so, and that he could both read and expone Hebrew. The Regent himselfe being beginning to know Hebrew letters, past incontinentlie to his chamber and broght the Hebrew Psalter, desiring him to read and expone therein; whilk he readilie and easilie did, telling his Regent that his father taught him when he wes seven or eight yeares old; whereat his Regent wondered; for at that tyme verie few had the knowledge of the Hebrew language [until] Mr Andro Melvill came to St Andrewes, and wes Professor of Divinitie and the Hebrew tongue in the New Colledge then. He was tabled in the house of ane advocate called Mr John Russell, whose wife wes his aunt, (who had receaved three horse loads of law bookes, which were his father's, and some silver, promising, after he wes laureat, to teach him the lawes, that he might be ane lawyer.) But after he had been but one yeare in Mr John Russell's house the pest came to Edinburgh; and he falling in a fever at the same verie tyme, wes left in a poore woman's house that dwelt under Mr John Russell, he and all his houshold removing out of the toune for feare of the infection: so he wes left in a verie desolat condition, as one seik of the pestilence, to die in a poore sillie woman's house. But the Lord that had worke for him, and ordained him to be a minister of the New Testament, and to convert soules, &c., yea, the Lord on whom his dying father trusted, casting his burden on the Lord, and to whom he himselfe cryed for help in his trouble and distres; the Lord, I say, his God, helped him, recovered him out of his fever, and provyded well for him; for not knowing what to doe, the pest continuing in Edinburgh, he wes directed of the Lord to goe over againe to his uncle, the Laird of Balfour. But he returning againe the second yeare to the Colledge, the infection being gone, Mr John Russell, notwithstanding of his promise, and of what he had received, refused to take him to his house and table, because he had gotten a greater offer with another than he got with him, neither durst his uncle, the Laird of Balfour, quarrell him, or put him to keepe his promise, because he wes his advocate, he having great actions befor the Session. He againe wes cast into a non-entrie, and knew not what

hand to turne him too, but being most desirous to prosecute his studies at the Colledge, he sought to the God in whom his father trusted, and on whose kynd providence he wes casten. By him he wes directed to his brother-in-law, William Rig, who then wes maried to his sister, Catharine Row, who wes one of the most religious and wise matrons then in Edinburgh; so his brother, William Rig, tooke him in to his house, and intertained him the other three yeares he wes at the Colledge, and so he past his course and wes laureat, 1590.

After his laureation he wes againe in great perplexitie, doubting what estate of life to take him too, or what to doe for a lyvelyhood; some of his friends advysed him to be prentise to his brother-in-law to be a merchant: some advysed him to be prentise to Gilbert Primerose, a notable chirurgean; but he dislyking these employments, and resolving to prosecute his studies, his master, the Principall of the Colledge, Mr Rollock, tooke him to waite upon himselfe and to studie with him. Mr Rollock wes verie kynd to him, and made much of him for his father's sake, he also having been regent to his tuo elder brethren in the Old Colledge of St Andrews. He used him rather as a friend nor as a servant, and wes most communicative with him. He used ordinarlie on the Saturday afternoone to walke out to the feilds, choosing him to carie a booke or two with him, that he might read and meditate in the feilds. His ordinarie custome wes to tell him what wes his text he wes to preach upon to-morrow, and what wes his reasons or doctrines raised from the text, saying, "Mr John, does that doctrine rise clearlie from my text?" "Is this use suitable to the doctrine, and pertinent for our people?" &c. All this, and the lyke passages, as it argued much humilitie and condescending selfe-denyall in the learned, pious, and prudent man, famous Mr Rollock, so it sheu verie much kyndenes in him and care of his servant, using him rather as ane comerad and intimate friend then a servant. But he wes not ane yeare with him, after he had urged him to make ane private exercise in the Colledge, and thereafter urged him to come upon the publicke exercise in the Presbyterie, when the Lord called him to

a more publicke employment; for my Lord Spynie having maried my Ladie Angus, mother to William Douglas, apparent Earle of Morton, being then seven yeares old, writes a letter to Mr Rollock, who had been his regent in St Andrews, desiring him to seeke out a qualified young man to be pedagoge to his sonne-in-law, the Earle of Morton. Mr Rollock knowing that he wes sib to my Lord Spynie, sayes to him, "This letter is from a friend of yours, take it and read it." After he had read it, Mr Rollock sayes, "I will lay this charge upon you, for I hope that yee will be carefull to attend that bairne."[1] He replyed, "That it wes verie unmeet for him to goe to the court for many reasons." Mr Rollock replyed, "Ye may get good even in a court beyond your expectation; I hope ye will seeke God's direction [how] to carie your selfe well: goe and advyse with your freinds in Fyfe what yee sall doe."

He past over to Aberdour; and though he found not my Lord Spynie there, yet his freinds used many persuasive arguments, urging him to take on that charge. So he entered to that charge, and taught the schoole of Aberdour about two yeares; being all this tyme admitted upon the publicke exercise of Dunfermline, and ordinarlie he preached on the Sabbath afternoone. But being wearied of that attendance, and of the court there, (for indeed that familie at Aberdoure, all that Earle of Morton's tyme, even from his infancie, wes rather lyke a court then a nobleman's familie,) he wes most desireous to remove thence, but knew not of any other place or employment to goe to, till the Lord opened a doore to him, calling him yet to more publicke and usefull employment. Thus, Mr James Stewart being commanded by ane Act of a Generall Assemblie to take him to one of his tuo kirks, he choosed Salin and left Carnock, it having verie little stipend. My Lord Lindesay (to whom the little barronie of Carnock belonged then) came to the Presbyterie of Dunfermline, desireing that his Kirk of Carnock might be provyded with a qualified minister. So he [John Row] wes chosen and ordained to be mi-

[1] William, seventh Earl of Morton, was born in 1582, he must, therefore, have been upwards of seven years of age at this time. His mother, the Countess of Angus and Morton, married for her third husband Alexander, first Lord Spynie.

nister of Carnock in the end of the yeare 1592. Being admitted to the ministrie there, he wes sorie that the fabrick of the kirk wes in so evill a condition, being theiked with heather, haveing no seates, verie darke, wanting lights; but complaining of these things to my Lord Lindesay, he laid the blame upon the minister of Scotland-well that had the tythes of the paroches; but there fell out a remarkable passage of providence that occasioned the repairing of the kirk, and therein much love to him and his people might have been seen. In the end of the yeare 1593, it pleased the Lord to visite him with a tertian fever 18 weekes; all this tyme he abode at Aberdoure, having no manss nor accommodation at Carnock. In the tyme of his vehement disease, it fell out that upon a Sabbath day about 11 houres, when the people wold have been in the kirk if he had been able to preach, that the roofe of the kirk brake and fell doune, whilk doubtless wold have killed some, and hurt many, if the people had been in the kirk. This forced the minister of Scotland-well to put on a new roofe, but the walls were not repaired nor the roofe skleated till three yeares after. George Bruce in Culros, buying the lands of Carnock from my Lord Lindesay, he repaired the kirk, skleated it, &c., *anno* 1602. (It wes roofed againe by his sonne George Bruce, *anno* 1641.)

But being admitted, he wes commanded to be resident at his kirk, by vertue of ane Act of the Generall Assemblie, whereas his predecessors, David Ferguson and Mr James Stewart, dwelt in Dunfermline; wherefore he boarded himselfe in the honestest house he could get in the toune of Carnock: but all that he had for his stipend could not pay the halfe of his board, for then ministers had verie little stipends, especiallie in such a place as Carnock; yea, they regarded not what they gott, mynding more the worke of the ministrie then their wages, the conversion of soules more then gaine to themselves, unlyke those hyrelings of the tyme, who feed themselves and not their flockes, who doe not strengthen the diseased, nor heale the seeke, nor bind up that which is broken, nor bring againe that which is driven away, nor seekes that which is lost, but with force and crueltie rules them. He being thus ill ac-

commodate, wes desired to build a little house to be his manss, to try how he could live in a quyet chamber; but that framed not. So that he set himselfe to seek the God of his father, and his owne God, for direction what he sould doe that he might live tollerablie, and be in a capacitie to doe God service in the work of the ministrie there, for the good and eternall salvation of the soules of that people, over whom the Lord had set him; for that wes the thing that he mainlie and almost only looked after and sought for, to be serviceable to God in that ministrie, to owe [woo ?] soules to Christ, &c.; this wes more his designe and maine end, then either stipend, gleeb, or house.

After seeking of God, and being advysed thereto by his good friends, he resolved to marie, and so upon January 4, 1595, he wes maried to Grissell Ferguson, youngest daughter to David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline, where ordinarlie King James VI. did then reside. His wife, Grissell Ferguson, as shee wes a verie comelie and beautifull young woman, so shee proved a verie virtuous and godlie person, fitt to be such a minister's wife. After his mariage, ane old Freir dying that possest the halfe of his gleeb, he gott the whole gleeb, and some more stipend then he had at first; but still the stipend wes verie small, whilk moved George Bruce to be kynd to him. Also he had good freinds rich people, especiallie his sister, Catharine Row, William Rig's wife, wes kynd to him; and then his wife wes verie virtuous, labouring with her hands diligentlie; and last, whilk is sweetest of all, he observed a speciall blessing of God upon all that he had. It is the blessing of God that maketh rich; but because the stipend wes small, and he had some children, his freinds and welwishers often desired him to transport to a better stipend, but still he (being most desirous to labour in the ministrie among that people in that verie small charge, there not being above 100 communicants) still refused to transport, living most contentedlie in that charge, and God blessing his labours in some measure, not only to his awne people, but to some others that resorted to his kirk from Torrie, Pitferren, Crummie, &c.

But after he had been minister at Carnock 24 yeares or there about, the Earle of Morton and the parochiners of Aberdoure, by his knowledge, used their moyen to get him transported to the kirk of Aberdoure, agreeing with the minister, Mr William Paton, to come to Carnock, promising to make him als good a stipend at Carnock as at Aberdour. In end, the parochiners of Aberdoure obtained ane Act of the Provinciall Assemblie of Fyfe for his transportation to Aberdour. So after solistation and importunitie of the Erle of Morton and parochiners, he granted to obey the act. But when he saw the act appointing him to be minister of Aberdoure, Dalgetie, and Beath, he could not be induced by all their persuasions and arguments to take on the burden of three kirks, alledging, that one small charge wes too weightie for him; so that purpose failed. The nixt assault he gott wes (when Bishops were againe erected) from Mr Robert Colvill, his most intimat freind, who all their dayes keeped good correspondence, and intertained freindship verie lovinglie. He being minister at Culross, and having power with his Bishop of Dumblaine, the Bishop being sib to him, offered him a purs full of gold, provyding he wold be willing to transport to Culros, and wold not hinder the transportation as he had done that intended transportation to Aberdoure: Mr Robert Colvill declaring that he wes most desirous to transport to Carnock, alledging, that his burden in Culros wes intollerable, moe then 2000 communicants, whereas in Carnock there wes not many above one hundreth. And then he said, that he wes *Propheta in sua patria*, but he altogether refused Mr Robert Colvill's offer, saying, That he wes weaker then he, and therefor wold be loath to slay himselfe for world's gaine.

After that unhappie Assemblie at Glasgow, where King James gott Bishops againe set up, (for so long as he wes only King of Scotland, he wes opposed by the Generall Assemblies, though he intended and endeavoured the erection of Bishops: but after Queen Elizabeth's death, he succeeding to the Croun of England, he gatt his will,) he corrupting the judicatures, and caricing all things by strong hand, the tyme became verie dangerous for the

Estate of this Kirk; for the King gave, shortlie after that Assemblie, that unhappie High Commission to the Bishops, and making some of them Lords of the Privie Counsell, extraordinarie Lords of the Session, they had great power putt in their hands; whilk they exercised with crueltie, deposing sundrie honest ministers that refused to conforme. But after that corrupt and unhappie Generall Assemblie at Perth, 1618, where the Fyve Articles were concluded, moe wes deposed, for not conforming to the Acts of that most corrupt Assemblie. There wes none more antiepiscopall and a greatter non-conformist nor Mr John Row; for he not only refused to conforme to the Fyve Articles and acknowledge Bishops, but refused to give to bishops their titles of honour, even upon the accompt of their civile honors conferred upon them by the King. He made a voyage from Carnock to Couper on purpose to challenge Mr William Scott, minister at Couper, for calling the Bishop of St Andrewes My Lord, useing this argument, "What is sinfull for him to receive, is sinfull for you to give him the title of it: but it is sinfull for the Bishop to receive these civile honors and dignities; *ergo*, It is sinfull for yow [to give] him these titles, even upon the accompt of these civile dignities." The wise, prudent, learned man answered, "Yee have one conscience and I another; yee in your conscience is persuaded that it is unlawfull for you, even upon the accompt of civile honours, to give them titles of honour, as being discharged in your opinion; in such a case, [you are right] that doeth not give them these titles, and I sall not condemne you: But I and sundrie others thinke, that upon the accompt of their civile honors, conferred upon them by the King, we may give them their titles of honor, and yee sould not condemne us; for everie one must follow their owne light." He judged that this wes a wise and prudentiall answer; but still he thought that his argument wes not answered.

After the Bishops had troubled him verie much, and some of them had freindlie dealt with him, (for he wes condisciple at the Colledge with Ballandin, Bishop of Dunblane; yea Bishop Spottiswood had respect to him for his father's sake, to whom he giveth a

large commendation in his Historie,[1]) at last they offered, if he wold give them these titles of honor whilk the King, the fountaine of civile honour, had conferred upon them, they promised never to urge him to conforme to the Fyve Articles of Perth Assemblie. But he flatlie refused to give them these titles, because he thought they were not capable subjects of these civile honors, being discharged to take them by our Lord Jesus Christ; and that all ministers of the gospell are discharged to have these places of civile honour and preferments as being incompatible with the spirituall ministrie, and verie great entanglements to them in their ministrie; (see Luke xxii. 22, 24, 25, 26; Math. xx. 25, &c.; 1 Pet. v. 3, where lordship and dominion is forbidden, even to his extraordinarie commissioners the apostles, much more to all ordinar ministers of the gospell; also see 2 Tim. ii. v. 3, 4:) certainlie these civile honors and employments are verie great entanglements to Christ's ministers. After much forbearance, at last he wes summoned to compeer befor the High Commission, he being dilated for non-conformitie, and preaching against bishops and the corruptions of the tyme, by Mr John Walker, reader at Dunfermline, for he often preached at Dunfermline at the desire of Mr John Murray, minister there, with whom also he had lived in verie great freindship and intimacie: He being sumoned to compeer at St Andrewes befor their High Commission, resolved not to compeer, judging it better not to compeer then compeer, and declyne their judicatorie. His patron, Sir George Bruce, he being Episcopall in his judgment, and a great courtier with King James, dealt earnestlie with him to compeer befor the High Commission, promising to write in his favour to the Archbishop of St Andrewes, assureing him that he sould not be censured; but he refusing, telling him, that if he compeered he wold declyne that court as ane unlawfull judicature, not appoynted by Christ. Sir George Bruce wrote to the Archbishop Spottiswood, and to Mr Peter Bruce his freind, and sent his letters with one Richard Chrystie, one of his servants. Also his nephew, William

[1] The passage from Spottiswood's History will be given in the Preface. The words in this parenthesis are evidently added by William Row.

Rig of Athernie, and his second sonne, Mr John Row, went along to the Bishop with Richard Chrystie, but the Bishop little regarded William Rig or any other that spoke for him. Richard Chrystie, after sundrie arguments, came on with one weightie argument, saying, "Thir coales in your moores are verie evill, and my master hath verie many good coales; send up a veshell everie yeare to Culros, and I shal see her laden with good coales." This prevailed, yet for the fashion he wes by the High Comission confyned to his owne congregation; whereas Mr John Murray, notwithstanding all his moyen, wes deposed from his ministrie at Dunfermline, and Mr John Scrymseor from his ministrie at Kinghorne at that same tyme, they both compeering befor the High Comission, trusting to their moyen they had, and freinds there dealt for them. He keeped his confynement two years, till he wes advysed to give in a Supplication to the Secret Counsell for libertie to goe abroad about his necessar affaires; whilk wes granted by the Counsell, upon hopes that at last he wold accord with the Bishops.

After this, the Archbishop of St Andrewes intreated Sir George Bruce to persuade him to come and speake with him, assuring him that he sould be a freind to him, &c. But when Sir George Bruce dealt with him to doe so, he flatlie refused, alledging that honest ministers that went to the Bishop roosed themselves little of it; and that the bishops had given it out that they had consented to their corrupt courses, and given them satisfaction. His refusall wes evill taken by his patron, yea, he never wes so well pleased with him thereafter, but keeped a grudge at him to his death, whilk fell out shortlie after King James's death, 1625. But he little regarded to displease men, even his best worldlie freinds, if so be he might please God and keep a good conscience: yet, notwithstanding his refuseing to goe to the Bishop, and his continuing most anti-episcopall, (still preaching against the corruptions of the tyme, and standing for the Covenant, sworne, and often received in King James his tyme, by the authoritie of Parliaments and the Secret Counsell, still praying for pardon of the horrible sin, the breach of our Nationall Covenant,) the Bishop receiving everie yeare ane shipfull

of coales, and not being so violent as Bishops after him, tollerate him; so he continued in his ministrie. His communions were much frequented by all non-conformists that could not yeild obedience to Perth Articles, especiallie kneeling at the communion. At one of the dyets of the communion, viz., 1636, when Bishops were in their rise, he renewed the Nationall Covenant.

Thus farre the Author himselfe wrote, concluding thus:—

I need to speake little of any thing that hath fallen out since, it is so well knowen to those who can observe things better than I can; but I must heavilie regrate that I have been so long in this holy ministrie, and have done so little good: only I must say this, that God may be glorified in all his gifts that I have ever desired, according to my knowledge to be faithfull, and have used the means to get my poore people edified when ever God offered me any occasion, and that yet in my old dayes, (being now 78 yeares old,) I teach twyse everie Sabbath day almost, when I thinke I have any strength. Lord! make me faithfull to the death, and forgive me my manifold sins, especiallie that I have not discharged my calling of the ministrie as I sould have done, but hes been ane unprofitable servant. And, O Lord! for Christ's sake, make this great worke of Reformation that thou hes begun goe fordward, that all thy flocke may be gathered in, and Christ may come and put ane end to all the troubles and tossings of his owne people, and to this miserable world! Come, come, come, Lord Jesus, and tarie not! To thee be praise and glorie, for ever and ever. Amen.

[ADDITION BY WILLIAM ROW.]

My Father wes, *pro modulo suo*, right carefull and diligent all his dayes in all pastorall dueties, rather seeking the good and spirituall wellfare of his people than his owne worldlie good and advantage. He had a litle stipend, but lived most contentedlie, and wes never sett (as many are, though it be with the losse of the hearts and affections of their people) to have had his stipend augmented. One passage to this purpose is remarkable. When there wes a plott for augmentation of stipends, the Lords of the Plott summond

him and his patron, George Bruce, Laird of Carnock, to compeer befor them for the augmentation of the stipend of Carnock. The Laird thought his minister had caused summond, *ut* [*et*] *contra;* but when they both mett at Edinburgh, they found that neither of them had caused summond others, but that the Lords of the Plot had taken notice of that Kirk as they did of all, and had summoned them both. The Laird desired him to goe to the judicature, and what ever wes done he sould be content with it. My Father desired him to goe, alledging that wes most proper, and what ever wes done he sould be heartilie content with it, for (sayeth he) I desire no more stipend. In end, my Father wes persuaded to goe. When he was called upon, they asked, "What wes his stipend?" He answered, "Foure chalders victuall." The Lords answered, "We can doe little for your help, that paroch being so little, and the tythes thereof valued so low." He replyed, "I have lived long in that little paroch, and I lived contentedlie when I had lesse stipend than I have now, for the Lord did ever provyde well for me, so I desire no more stipend." But, said they, "Who hath the viccarage tythes of that paroch?" He replyed, "Indeed I know not; yea, I beleive they were never exacted." "Then, (said they,) doubtles seing that stipend is so little, they of right must belong to you, and yee have all this whyle wronged your selfe, who hath not uplifted them. Let us see your presentation." The presentation, when it wes seen, caried expresslie that he wes presented to the great and small viccarage tythes of the paroch. "Well, (said the Lords,) seing we can give you no more, we ordaine you heirafter to uplift the small tythes of that paroch." He replyed, "Seing I have not formerlie lifted them, and lived so well without them, I will not now in my old dayes trouble my people or burthen them." "O, (say they,) yee will prejudge your successor and wrong the benefice." "Well, (sayes he,) seing it is so, let them be uplifted; I sall give them to our schoolemaster all my dayes, for he hath verie litle stipend." The Lords said, "If all that come befor us were of your temper we wold soone have done."

He continued all his dayes a great adversarie to Bishops, and

ane eager opposer of all their corrupt courses, and when our glorious work of reformation began, *anno* 1637, he being old, and a great observer of passages of providence in his tyme, and recording them, wes verie usefull and instrumentall at the ministers first meetings. In Edinburgh they made him moderator of their meetings, and he wes the first that preached in the toune after the beginning of our worke of reformation in the Greyfreir kirk; where there wes ane verie great confluence of all ranks of people to heare old Mr John Row, who for many yeares befor wes not permitted to preach in Edinburgh. And when the famous Assemblie of Glasgow came, *anno* 1638, he being one of the commissioners from the presbyterie of Dunfermline, caried with him sundrie old papers, Acts of Generall Assemblies, &c. that did verie much prove to the authenticknes of the old registers of the Kirk, and of the nullitie of the corrupt Assemblies. This Assemblie and the Lord's worke thereafter revived him who wes longing and still praying and expecting for what he saw and heard there. After he came home he preached upon Simeon's song.

After Glasgow Assemblie, the first Synod in Fyfe conveened at Cowper, where Mr William Scot, the minister of the place, wes chosen moderator. The second Synod conveened at St Andrewes, where my Father wes chosen moderator. The third at Kirkaldie, where my Father preached upon these words, "Say to Archippus," &c. He celebrate the communion twyse everie yeare, in May and October. He alwayes endeavoured to have the most honest and able men to take the burthen of the worke off him, (doing little himselfe, so meane ane esteeme he had of himselfe,) especiallie these that had been deposed by Bishops, (for the Bishops of these tymes, though they discharged these whom they deposed of the exercise of their calling in the paroches where they served, yet they never challenged their preaching in other parts where they were employed,) so he ordinarlie had with him, at the celebration of the communion, the famous Mr Robert Bruce, so long as he lived, Mr John Murray, Mr John Scrymseor, &c. Then the communions in Carnock were verie famous and much frequented, many nobles re-

sorting thither, and persons of all ranks that were Non-conformists. Many came from Edinburgh and the east parts of Fyfe. After that the honest ministers of Ireland were forced to come over to Scotland, (they having attempted to goe to America with some gentlemen and others to make a plantation in some of these places, and to preach the gospell there; but after they had sailed beyond the bounds of Europe were driven back with contrair winds,) he wes most desirous to see them and speake with them, and to have them to celebrate the holy communion in his little kirk of Carnock; and so he obtained that all of them almost came to Carnock and celebrate the communion with Messrs Robert Blair, James Hamilton, John Maclennan, John Livingston, Samuell Row. His custome wes at such solemne occasions, where there were many persons of qualitie, especiallie Countesses, worthie gentlemen, &c., to lay the burden of the Lord's worke whollie upon such able and honest men, he doing nothing save only exhorting to a table or two; yea, thogh there wes some tymes but one of these worthies with him. But thogh he had so meane ane esteeme of himselfe, yet *claruit suo tempore*. After he had preached the gospell fifty-four yeares in that little paroch of Carnock, he preached his last sermon some few dayes befor his death, his text being our Lord's last words, Luke xxiii. 46, "Father, into thy hands I recommend my spirit: and having so said, he gave up the ghost."

He died Junij 20, 1646, and of his age 78. He lyes buried in his buriall place at the East end of the Kirk of Carnock, having this upon it:—

VIXIT VERITATIS ET FŒDERIS SCOTICANI VEHEMENS ASSERTOR, HIERARCHIAS PSEUDO[1]-EPISCOPALIS ET ROMANORUM RITUUM CORDICITUS OSOR, IN FREQUENTI SYMMISTARUM APOSTASIA CUBI INSTAR CONSTANTISSIMUS. DUXIT GRISSELIDEM FERGUSONAM, CUM QUA ANNOS LII. CONJUNCTISSIME VIXIT.

[1] In the MS. erroneously written *spondo*.—This monument is still preserved at the east end of the old church of Carnock, now in ruins. A more literal copy of the inscription will be given in the Preface.

A SUPPLEMENT

OF THE

HISTORIE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND,

FROM AUGUST IN ANNO 1637, AND THENCE FORWARD
TO THIS PRESENT TIME:

OR

AN HANDFULL OF GOAT'S HAIRE,

FOR THE FURTHERING OF THE BUILDING OF THE TABERNACLE:

A SHORT TABLE OF PRINCIPALL THINGS

FOR THE PROMOVEING OF THE MOST EXCELLENT HISTORIE OF THIS LATE BLESSED WORK OF REFORMATION, IN THE HANDS OF SUCH AS ARE IMPLOYED THEREIN BY THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE.

WRITTEN BY MR JOHNE ROW,
MINISTER AT ABERDEEN.

ANNO DOMINI 1650.

A SUPPLEMENT

OF THE

HISTORIE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

Anno 1637.

July 23. The reading of the Service-Book was violently interrupted in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, being a Sabbath.

July 24. A proclamation from the Councill, dischargeing any convocation of leiges, or any such disturbance, under paine of death.

July 29. The Bishops ordain that neither old nor new Service be in publict, except sermon, till the King's Majestie's mynd be knowen in this late tumult.

August 4. The King being highlie displeased, does, by his letter, command the Lords of Secret Councill to try the authors of this late seditious tumult.

August 5. The Councill made an act, allowing an overture made by the Bishops, concerning a meeting betuix the Bishop of Edinburgh and the Councill of the toune, relating to a convenient tyme for reading of the Service-Book. That same day, another act was made, ordaining the Service-Book to be read, August 13, because readers to officiat the Service could not be sooner had.

August 9. The Magistrats of Edinburgh declared to the King's Majestie's Councill that they could neither get readers nor clerks to officiat the Service, so that it was liklie it would vake the nixt Lord's day. The same day, the Ministers of Edinburgh undertook

to read and officiat the Service for a moneth, and, in meanwhile, to instruct others presented to that charge, provyding that the nearest kirks about Edinburgh should begin the Service with them upon that same day; and that the Magistrats of Edinburgh should give assurance for their indemnitie. Whereupon the Lords of Councill made an act, with advise of the Magistrats of Edinburgh, chargeing them to keep the bishop and ministers skaithless of all persons whatsomever, not onlie in the tyme of officiating the service, but in goeing to it, returning from it, and all other tymes whatsomever.

August 24. A missive from his Majestie to the Councill, for trying the authors of the late uproare, Julie 23, and for the advancement of the Service-Book. All thir letters and proclamations were procured by the importunitie of the Bishops. Then they raised letters of horning, chargeing everie minister to buy the book, and practise the service. Amongst the rest, Mr Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchars, Mr George Hamiltoun, minister at Newburn, and Mr James Bruce, minister at Kingsbarns, within the Presbyterie of St Androes and Province of Fyffe, being charged with letters of horning, suspended the charge, and did supplicat the Councill that their greevances might be heard, and their exceptions whilk they had agains the Service-Book and Book of Canons might be considered. Also Mr David Dickson, minister at Irvin, and sundrie other ministers in the West, being also charged with letters of horning, suspended and supplicated, *ut supra;* being accompanied with their parishioners, and a great confluence of people of all ranks.

September 20. The Lords of Councill, perceaveing the matter to arise to a geatter hight then they expected, did mitigat the act, June 13, declareing that it extends onlie to the buying, not reading of the Service-Book.

September 23. A committie is mett in the vacance in Edinburgh, to attend the promoveing of the Service-Book; whereupon the supplicants, with verie many noblemen, barons, and burgesses, gave in a generall petition, under all their hands, to the forsaids Lords, that they may be freed of the Service-Book, and of all novations,

and may enjoy their religion established by laudable lawes. The Duke of Lennox undertook to present this Supplication to his Majestie.

September 26. The Magistrats of Edinburgh gave in a petition to the Secret Councill, desyreing not to be pressed with the Service-Book till the King were acquainted with their petition; whilk also wes given to the Duke of Lennox.

October 17. The Duke of Lennox did delyver the petitions to the King's Majestie; and on the 17th of October the petitioners conveened in great frequencie to heare the answere of their petitions, whilk was contained in three proclamations: the First, to dissolve the meeting of the Councill that day, albeit it was fore-appoynted for answering the subjects petitions; the Second, to remove the Councill and Session from Edinburgh to Linlithgow for one day, and thence to Dundee; this the Bishops thought would cause the toune of Edinburgh doe whatever the King pleased, rather ere they wanted Councill and Session; the Third, to discharge a booke, called The "Dispute agains the Inglish-Popish Ceremonies," whilk came out Ανονυμος, but was written by Mr George Gilespie, being then about 25 years of age.

The petitioners disappoynted, resolves to renew their Supplication; and the wholl toune of Edinburgh arose in an uproare, and envyroned the Magistrats and Councill, till they also promised to joyne with the rest of the petitioners agains the Service-Book.

October 18. A proclamation from the Councill aganis all such convocations and meetings, under the paine of rebellion, and to remove from Edinburgh within 24 houres, under that same paine; whereupon a secund Supplication was given in to the Councill aganis the Service-Book and Book of Canons, and Bishops, contryvers of both, not to sitt as their judges till the mater be discussed, intreating this Supplication to be transmitted to his Majestie.

November 14. This Supplication given in to the Councill, the number of adhearers there to multiplied daylie; whereupon, November 14, from Linlithgow, commission was sent to the Thesaurer and Councellours in Edinburgh to deall with the noblemen, &c.

petitioners, to dissolve their great convocations, and especiallie that appoynted November 15. After reasoning, they did dissolve the multitude; and each rank choosed commissioners, to attend the answere of their supplications; noblemen by themselves, the gentrie by themselves, the burrows by themselves, the ministers by themselves, sitting in four severall roums at severall tables in the Parliament Housse: hence they were called THE TABLES.

The enemies of the good cause, the cause of God, called all their meetings and supplications treason and rebellion: Wherefore the Councill sent the Supplication to the Scottish Secretarie at Court, with a letter, desyreing the good subjects to be cleared of rebellion; representing the cause of their convocations to be the pressing of the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and the High Commission. The commissioners for the good cause attended the answere of their Supplication till December 7, 1637; and on that said day at Linlithgow was a proclamation made, wherein the King declares, That he being resolved to have given a satisfactorie answere to the petitions of his good subjects, yit now finding his autoritie wounded and contemned, upon October 18, by tumultuous meetings, and abuseing of his Councellours, he delayes such answere as might otherwise have been expected; onlie declares he abhorrs poperie, and will defend the true religion, as it is presently professed within this kingdome. This proclamation was repeated at Edinburgh, December 9.

This same December 7, another proclamation was, That the Session should sit at Sterlin, the first Tuesday of February nixt, *in anno* 1638; and in the mean while, the Councill to sitt at Dalkeith. This was devysed by the Bishops to force the good Toune to quyt the good cause, for feare of their prejudice and losse, in wanting of these judicatories, Councill and Session, to sitt there.

The Councill, finding that the commissioners had receaved no contentment by the proclamation, for the King needed not to cleare himself of poperie, seing that was not called in question, but no answere was given to the Supplication: Thereupon the Councill desyred the commissioners—To divyde their supplications by

shyres; 2°. To restrict their supplications onlie to the Service-Book, and Book of Canons; and to passe from the High Commission and the pursuit of the Bishops.

The Commissioners, asserters of the good cause, finding this a draught of the Bishops to divyde them, and that they might know who would be for the Service-Book, who not, and that the Bishops might be passed from; perceaveing also a plot to prolong tyme, and wearie them with attendance, voyced No Alteration; and gave it in to the Councill, with the Reasons thereof.

Then were penned motives and directions for union in the good cause now in hand: seeing the Bishops seeks nothing out of a peaceable mynd; but onlie out of craft, seeking to divyde, and for the advantage of their hierarchie, abjured in this land. Also sixteen Reasons, to cleare the burrows and others who had subscryved the Supplication of the equitie and necessitie of their deed, were presented to the Councill, and spread throw the cuntrey; also another paper with this title, "The Least that can be asked to settle this Kirk and Kingdome, in a solid and durable Peace," viz., Not the dischargeing for present the exercise of the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and High Commission; but the dischargeing of them by Act of Parliament in all tyme comeing, and by Act of a lawfull and free Generall Assemblie; which is both God's way, and is the way which ever has been observed in this Kirk:—Where were reasons aganis the High Commission, Articles of Perth Assemblie, 1618, and proveing that Bishops behoved to be censured, according to the Act at Glasgow, 1610; the necessitie of yearlie Generall Assemblies; that the caveats at Monros, 1600, be observed, else they vote not in name of the Kirk; that ministers, intrants, be free of prelaticall oaths, and be ordained by Presbyteries, as was declared in Parliament 1592, Act 114.

The Councill, seeing the matter draw deeper nor at first they apprehended, gave the supplicants no answere; so that December 21, a third Supplication was given in (they were not far from giveing in a protestation) to the Councill, desyreing an answere to their former Supplications, re-produced, and justice to be done on the ministers of Edinburgh who had called them publictlie, in ser-

mons, conspirators and rebells aganis autoritie; and the Bishops who had practised, and were urgeing others to practise the Service-Book. Also, December 21, they gave in a declinator, showing that the prelats could not sit as their judges, they being the verie partie compleaned upon; and therefore, in that cause, according to the lawes of this and all nations, behoved to be removed, seing no man can be both judge and partie.

Anno 1638.

This Supplication was by the Councill directed to the King; and, after long and patient attendance, an answere was returned by a proclamation at Sterlin, February 19, *anno* 1638, declareing the Service-Book to be free of all superstition, and to be the way to serve God; that these convocations have been unwarrantable and illegall, yit pardoned by the King, provyding they tarie well in tyme comeing; dischargeing them, in all tyme comeing, under the paine of treasone; commanding them to remove fra Sterlin within sixe houres, under that same paine; and that they come not where the Councill shall sit, without a warrant fra the Councill, under the same paine, &c.

Aganis this proclamation the supplicants protested presentlie, February 19, 1638, for remedie, That they might have accesse to his Majestie and Councill; that Bishops be not their judges; and what they had done ordourlie, peaceablie, or were so to doe, were not counted treason, or they indangered in lyves or estates therefore. This protestation was renewed at Linlithgow, and the mercat-crosse of Edinburgh. At this protestation the Bishops being agast and affrighted, some fled to Ingland, some reteered themselves and keeped quyet, for they never once imagined that they durst have protested.

The Commissioners finding their meetings discharged under paine of treasone, the Councill not admitting their declinatour, their supplications not answered, resolved to renew the Covenant, subscryved by the King and wholl countrey, *annis* 1580 and 1581, and since that renewed: Wherefor an advertisement was sent

throw all the kingdome, that all who loved the cause of God would prepare to Edinburgh, for prosecuting the course of intended Reformation whilk now they had taken in hand: It was dated Edinburgh, February 22, 1638.

A great convocation was had in Edinburgh upon this advertisement; it came also to Aberdeen; but they sent no commissioner nor answere to Edinburgh, being misled by ministers and magistrats for the tyme. And in the end of February, the Covenant was drawen up, by commune consent of all the commissioners, was read in all the pulpitts of Edinburgh, and in a few dayes was sworne and subscryved almost by all, onlie Aberdeen excepted.

With the Covenant they caused print the large Confession of Faith, to whilk it related, which was exhibited to the Estates of Parliament, December 25, 1568, and authorized there; and this for further clearing of the Lawfulness of the Covenant. Also nine Quærees concerning the Estate of the Kirk of Scotland. Also six Reasons, containing many particulars, why the Service-Book should be refused.

About this tyme, Dr Robert Baron, professor of Divinitie at Aberdeen, wrot a pamphlet, for establishing of the Service-Book, and showing why they of Aberdeen concurred not with the rest of the kingdome in supplicating, expressed in nine reasons; a coppie whereof was quicklie sent to the King, and another to Bishop Laud of Canterburrie, and others; so now, by this tyme, the author is hightened to be expectant of the nixt vacant Bishoprick.

The Councill feareing a misunderstanding [be]tuix the King and his subjects, sends Orbestoun, Lord Justice-Clerk, to the King, with instructions at Stirlin, March 3, desyreing the King to give a calme, moderat, and some way satisfactorie answere to the supplicants, and at least ere he doe any thing, that his Majestie's informers, and some of the Councill, might be heard to reason the matter to the full before the King's Majestie.

Because the first advertisement that came to Aberdeen, from the Table of the Burrowes at Edinburgh, was not answered, because not subscryved, another was sent, subscryved with diverse

hands, of date March 6, 1638; it was delyvered, March 16, by commissioners sent with it, Mr Alexander Wedderburn, clerk of Dundie, Mr Robert Barcklay, provost of Irvin, Dun, Morphie Balmaine, and Leyes, four lairds. The Councill was conveened; the Covenant read publictly. The Councill excepts onlie aganis the Band of mutuall defence; and returns an answere to the Table of Burrowes at Edinburgh, containing a modest refusall to subscryve at Aberdeen, March 16, 1638. But the commissioners refused to carie their answere, seing they did refuse to take the Covenant.

March 24. At Stirlin, the Lords of Councill, after Orbestoun's return, and report of his answere, did ordain the Lords Thesaurer and Privie Seal to repair to court, to informe his Majestie anent reasons of their opinion, sent up in Orbestoun's instructions.

The Doctors of Aberdeen were glad that their preaching and writting aganis the Covenant had so far prevailed with their people, as that they had in their Councill refused to subscryve the Covenant, wherefore they proceeded and laboured to withdraw all the subjects from it; for Dr John Forbes, Laird of Corse, professor of Divinitie in the Old Toune Colledge, wrot a pamphlet, wherein he accused all the supplicants and subscryvers of the Covenant, as blinde guides, of heresie, schisme, sedition, temeritie, refractarines, perjurie, and rebellion; but understanding how all the Covenanters were irritat against him for it, he disclameth the same, and causes print another, under the former title of *Irenicum*, "A Peaceable Warning (Ειρηνην *voluit cudere, cudit* Ερινν) to the Subjects of Scotland," in some fairer varnis [varnish ?] I confesse; but all to one purpose. Within a few dayes an Answere to it came to publict view.

April 9. The Bishop of Aberdeen, Bannatyne, informing the King of the loyaltie of Aberdeen, the King wrot a letter, "To our trustie and welbeloved, the Provest, Baillies, and Councill of our citie of Aberdeen, and ministers thereof," superscryved, CHARLES REX,— giveing them thanks for their affection to his service, promiseing them, if they continue so, good effects of his princelie favour; dated

Aprile 9, 1638, Whitehall. This, with the Marques of Huntley's promises, (which he bravelie performed, Maie 14, 1646, when he sett Aberdeen on fire in four or five parts,) and their ministers assiduous preaching doun of the Covenant, made them resolve to be constant in the malignant anti-covenanting profession.

Maie 10. As the King's Secret Councill had directed the Thesaurer and Privie Seal to court, to inform the King, so the supplicants wrot to the Duke of Lennox, Marques of Hamiltoun, and Earle of Mortoun, to represent their just greevances and supplications to the King; whereupon the King sends the Marques of Hamiltoun to Scotland, with instructions to settle the peace of the kingdome.

A letter directed to the Councill at Dalkeith, ordaining a solemne meeting of the Councill to be at Dalkeith, June 6; at which the Marques of Hamiltoun, his Majestie's Commissioner, was to be present. Supplicants of all ranks resolved to keep that day solemnly. Dr Guild, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, feareing that the supplicants should offend the King his Majestie, drawes up what he calls "A Friendlie and Faithfull Advise, to these of this late combination in Covenant, by Dr William Guild, sworn Chaplane to his Sacred Majestie, &c., that the event of this great Convention, June 6, 1638, may tend to God's glorie," &c. This peece the Doctor put in Huntley's hand, to be by him dispersed through the countrey. Afterwards, the Doctor turning a subscribent of the Covenant, the Marques caused print the peece, "as a note (as he said) of the man's levitie;" but a change to the better is laudable. In that peece, consisting of sixe sections, all along he is most tender of the King and his croune, royall dignitie, and sacred autoritie; and mainlie dissuads from that "jesuiticall and damnable doctrine, (as he is pleased to tearme it,) of takeing arms, in open hostilitie, aganis their sacred Soveraigne."

June 6. At Dalkeith, the Marques of Hamiltoun his commission was presented and red in the Councill. June 8. The supplicants obtained, that, for their more commodious attendance, the Councill would be pleased to sitt at Haliroodhous.

The supplicants gave in a Supplication to his Majestie's Commis-

sioner for a free Generall Assemblie and Parliaments, as the onlie means to redresse what was complained upon. He answered, He could grant neither the one nor the other till first they should rescinde and render their subscryved Covenants to his Majestie, and so to put the Kingdome in a peaceable posture. Then were Reasons printed showing that they could not render their subscryved Covenants, for it should prove perjurie; also, Reasons for a Generall Assemblie were printed. They did evidence that the cuntrey, without rendering of the Covenant, was alreadie peaceable; supplications are not disturbances of peace; many people were desyrous, in a peaceable ordourly way, that their greevances should be redressed. The Commissioner excepted aganis the clause of mutuall defence, as if they were to defend each other in their privat quarrells; but they, June 24, answered in a Supplication to the Commissioner, declareing, that in that clause there is no combination aganis his Majestie's persone and autoritie, whilk they doe in all reverence acknowledge; and in the preservation of religion, lawes, and liberties, will hazard their lives and fortunes in the defence of his Majestie's persone and autoritie; againe supplicating for a free Generall Assemblie and Parliament.

June 26. This Supplication is sent to the King by his Majestie's Commissioner, Hamiltoune, who declared, that all his instructions did run upon the hope of surrendring the Covenant, without whilk he could doe nothing but return to London, and deall with his Majestie for granting a free Generall Assemblie and Parliament; but first, June 30, he would proclame his Majestie's gracious declaration of the return of the Councill and Session to Edinburgh.

July 4. Also, the Commissioner declared that he behoved to make another proclamation full of goodnes, promiseing onlie a Generall Assemblie and Parliament, and discharging all novations introduced. A protestation was drawen up to give thanks to his Majestie for what was granted, and to protest for a short and convenient tyme for the Assemblie and Parliament. This proclamation (though called full of goodnes) being proclamed, was found so greevous as that the supplicants were forced to protest against it, for the suppli-

cants peaceable and ordourlie carriage was called disorderlie misdemeanours, fitter to be redressed by a powerfull nor a perswasive way, he, once for all promised not to presse the Service-Book but in a legall way, and to regulat the High Commission, &c. The protestation (a large one) read by Mr Archibald Johnstoun, taken by one from everie one of the Four Tables; instruments taken in the hands of three notares, before many hundred witnesses, and a coppie of it, in all humilitie, offered to the herauld, thus evidenceing their confidence of the equitie of their cause. Of this foresaid proclamation the Councill past an act of approbation, July 4, whereat the supplicants were yet more greeved. Wherefor, they presented a Supplication to the Commissioner, containing the reasons of their just exceptions aganis the proclamation and the Councill's Act. The which, when the Councill had considdered, their Act not yit put upon record, was either torn or put aside, July 5; and a proclamation was made, declareing the inhibiting of the Service-Book and Book of Canons in all tyme comeing, and makeing voyd all Acts of Councill past in favours thereof; also, dischargeing all exercise of the High Commission till it be regulated. The Commissioner protested he could go no further, promiseing to represent their greevances to the King, and to return before the 5th, or at furthest the 12th, of August.

It was rumoured by some that the Scots were to invade Ingland, wherefor a printed peece came out, containing "A Relation of the state of the Kirk of Scotland since the reformation of religion to this present tyme," and cleareing that slanderous imputation. The peece, called "The Beast is wounded," came out to this same purpose.

The commissioners at the Tables sorrie that the toune and shyre of Aberdeen and Bamff should oppose the cause of God, throw the persuasion of their Doctors, and overawing of the Marques of Hunteley, before their last supplication was presented to the Councill, sent one in commission to Aberdeen, desyreing them to joyne with them; but the Provest refused to conveen the Councill, and so the commissioner was dismissed without further answere. After, in February, (when they were about to subscryve the Covenant,)

they sent to Aberdeen the commune advertisement, but it was lykwise rejected, slighted, and no answere returned. After the Burrows sent commissioners to Aberdeen with a letter, beareing date March 6, 1638, whilk (as said is) was refuised.

June 7. Arthur Erskin of Scotiscraig came to Aberdeen with a commission to deall with all he knew to be well-affected in the toun, and to desyre them to subscryve the Covenant: Mr Andro Cant, minister at Pitsligo, was with him in the commission. Some four or five went to the Earle of Marshall's lodging, where the commissioners were, and did subscryve quyetlie, among whom was Dr William Johnstoun, professor of the Mathematicks, and Mr William More, dean of Gild.

The Doctors getting notice of what was done, sett themselves a work by vehement and frequent preaching aganis the Covenant, and the Magistrats, by autoritie and menassings to stop the current of subscryveing, remonstrating the losse of the King's favour, they would have said the hope of Bishopricks, in relation to which all the Doctors were expectants. The Tables heareing of this, resolved yit once more to essay to gaine Aberdeen, and sent the Earls of Montrose and Kinghorn, and the Lord Cowper, with Messrs Alexander Henderson, David Dickson, and Andro Cant, ministers, ordaining them to repair to Aberdeen against Julie 20. This sett a new edge on the Doctors in their sermons to cry doun the Covenant.

Julie 16. The Provest conveens the new and old Councill, and, by pluralitie of voyces, it is inacted, that none within the toune should subscryve the Covenant.

Julie 19. A terrible sermon aganis all the poynts of the Covenant, by Dr Rosse.

Julie 20. The commissioners forenamed came to Aberdeen, the magistrats (according to their custome) came to salute them, and offer them the curtesie of the toune, whilk they refused, whill they should see whither or not they would imbrace the Covenant: The evills of their opposeing the cause of God was remonstrat to them by Montrose; the Provest (in name of the rest) answered they

were Protestants, not Papists; they thought the King's Declaration satisfactorie, and would not joyne in a course contrare his Majestie's will; so the magistrats left them. Thereafter they sent to see if their ministers would get leave to preach in their kirks; they got the answere they expected,—their awin ministers were prepaired to preach in their awin pulpitts; wherefor, they resolved to preach in the Earle of Marshall's closse or hall, according as the weather should rule, and at such houres as the Toun's people should also heare their awin ministers.

The Doctors of Old and New Aberdeen had prepared Quærees or Demands anent the Covenant, subscryved with all their hands: These they sent to the three ministers, promiseing to joyne with them in the Covenant if they did receive a satisfactorie answere to them. The Demands, fourteen in number, were subscryved by Messrs Johne Forbes, Alexander Rosse, Robert Baron, Alexander Scroggie, William Leslie, William Guild, and James Sibbald, Doctors of Divinitie, and were printed. Answeres were given to each Demand; also, the Doctors Replyes to each Answere; also, Answeres to the Replyes; also, Duplyes to these Answeres: and all was printed.

Julie 22. On the Sabbath, Mr David Dickson preached at seven houres in the morning, Mr Andro Cant at noone, or twelve houres in the day, and Mr Alexander Henderson at four afternoone, and all of them produced arguments for subscryveing of the Covenant and joyning in the work of Reformation. The Covenant was read, and all who was persuaded wes exhorted to come and put to their hands; whereupon about twenty men came and subscryved publictlie, whereof some were men of note, as Patrik Leslie.

After this they went and got subscriptions throw the province of Aberdeen, both from ministers in presbyteries and gentlemen. Returning Julie 28, they found that the Covenanters had persuaded twenty or thirty more to subscryve the Covenant.

Julie 29. The ministers for their encouragement resolved to preach on the Sabbath, and did preach, Mr David Dickson in the morning, Alexander Henderson at noone, and Andro Cant at four o'clock. After this action none subscryved except the Earle of Mar-

shall's tuo brethren and tuo craftsmen. That night Mr William Guild gave the ministers, commissioners for the Covenant, replyes in writ to their answeres; yit on the morrow, Julie 30, (being now persuaded of the equitie of the cause of God,) he, with Mr William Robertson, minister at Suttie, in the suburbs of Aberdeen, did subscryve. That same day the commissioners removed towards Edinburgh, leaveing a Covenant with the Covenanters, that all might subscryve who pleased. It is remarkable that, whill the commissioners, Julie 22, were preaching in my Lord Marshall's closse, many came out of curiositie to see and heare, and many to mock, among whom wes a young man, called Johne Logie, student, son to Mr Andrew Logie, (*mali corvi malum ovum*,) who did cast clods in upon the commissioners when Mr Alexander Henderson was preaching. This John Logie, within a few dayes, interpryzing to take some pease growing besyde Aberdeen, being repulsed by the owner and his son, Nicol Torrie, he killed his son Nicol, 1644, was taken with Haddo and execut.

The King's Commissioner, Hamiltoun, returning from London, did take exception at somewhat the Covenanters had affirmed (relating to his Lordship's receaveing of satisfaction in some poynts) in some of their answeres. Wherefore, he caused reprint the Demands, Answeres, and Replyes, with a declaration of his owne prefixed to them, wherein he challenges the commissioners, Covenanters, of a lie; wherefore those ministers caused print their Answeres to the Doctor's Replyes, together with an Answere to the Marques of Hamiltoun's Declaration, showing that they had no wayes wronged him.

The King, being by Hunteley and the Bishop of Aberdeen advertised of all this procedour, wrot home to Scotland with his Commissioner letters (whilk he sent to Aberdeen accompanied with a missive from himself) to the Provest, Baillies, and Councill of Aberdeen, and another apart to the Doctors, ministers, and professors of Divinitie there, giving heartie thanks *in præsenti*, and promiseing largelie *de futuro*.

Then the Covenanters in Aberdeen were persecuted by the Anti-

Covenanters malignants as enemies and traitours to God, the King, and toune of Aberdeen. This being reported at The Tables, and they being but a small handfull among many adversaries, it was conceived they might begin to faint and be discouraged; therefore, they wrot a large letter to them, to show them the estate of maters, the grounds of their proceedings, and particularlie cleared that whereat the King's Commissioner took exception. Its title and inscription was, "For Information to these who hes subscryved the Covenant in Aberdeen;" subscryved by Rothes, Montrose, Fleming, Yester, Balmerino, Lindesay, Cassills, Johnstoun, Forrester, Burghley, Loudoun, Cowper, Forbes, Dalyell.

This letter refreshed the Covenanters in Aberdeen much. The Doctors, not content with what they had done, emitted Duplyes to the Covenanters last Answeres; but before they were emitted, the King's Commissioner was returned from Court the second tyme, and a free Parliament was proclaimed, and a free Generall Assemblie indicted to hold at Glasgow, November 21, 1638. The Doctors now begouth to feare. The King's Commissioner, by letter, did incourage them, and gave them ordour to put out their Duplyes, and caused delyver 100 libs. sterlin to Dr Baron for his pains.

The King's Commissioner, now returned againe from Court, brought with him a warrand to indict a Generall Assemblie; but, August 17, he proponed eleven articles, whilk his Majestie would first have granted to him by The Tables; as concerning ministers suspended or deposed since February last to be reponed, and so of moderators deposed, rents of bishops and ministers, &c.

August 18, they answered, in great wisdome, The things that were ecclesiasticall were so far from letting an Assemblie, that a free Generall Assemblie was the best mean for discussing the question, and redressing the wrong, where any was; that whilk was civill being referred to its propper judge. And because in one of the Answeres was mention of elders, they cleared their office by a treatise to be divulged. And, by another, gave Reasons aganis the prejudging and prelimitation of a free Generall Assemblie, as being aganis God's word that Christ's ministers in a free

Assemblie should bind themselves up not to speak of everie thing that concerns doctrine, discipline, maners, in the persone of any whomsoever: it is aganis the lawes and practise of the Kingdome and Kirk, aganis our discipline, aganis our late supplications and protestations, aganis the verie purpose and project of the work itself; and though we would yeeld it, (whilk we cannot,) yit the commissioners chosen to repair to the Assemblie will not be holden as obliged to stand to that whilk we have corruptlie granted unto, haveing no power over them.

The Commissioner convinced, yit dared not to indict the Assemblie, except the King had been first acquainted that all prelimitations was rejected, and the reasons thereof, sought leave yit once againe to repair to Court, promiseing to return before the 20 of September with a full and finall answere; whilk being granted, August 25, Articles concerning a Generall Assemblie were delyvered to him to present them to the King's Majestie.

But feareing yit a delaying answere, seing God's word and the lawes of the land gives the Kirk leave to assemble and doe Christ's effairs, instructions were sent to all presbyteries to choise commissioners to repair to Edinburgh against October 1, that, if the King should (as God forbid) refuise, they might hold an Assemblie. Wherefore, they sent nine Directions to each Presbyterie for their way of choosing commissioners; for many new intrants were ignorant of the right way, seing that for twenty yeares there had been no Assemblie: yea, for thirty-six years no lawfull Assemblie whilk inacted anything; for Aberdeen Assemblie inacted nothing. Also, August 27, Privat Articles and Instructions were sent to be delyvered to the well-affected in each presbyterie; (for severall were averse from the course in hand, viz. concerning election of commissioners,) to have in readines the Bishops faults in doctrine and life, with the proofs, to be readie to dispute in the poynts to be handled at the Assemblie, &c.

About this tyme, one Mr Thomas Abernathie, a Jesuit, heareing of God's wonderfull work here in his native cuntrey, wakened in conscience, came home, and presenting himself to The Tables, in-

treated, for Christ's sake, the favour of subscryveing the Covenant, very humblie confessing his fearfull apostasie; and in token of his ingenuitie, he revealed all the Popeish plotts aganis Scotland, and the Popeish government in Scotland, and gave his advise for takeing order with them. He was admitted to the Covenant, and publictlie, August 24, in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, before a most frequent auditorie, made confession of his apostasie; and Mr Andro Ramsay preached upon "Come out of Babel," a litle before, to make way for Abernathie's confession, and abjureing of Poperie. Both these peeces were printed.

The Commissioner at Court proponed the wholl case of the Scottish bussines; and sundrie called to councill advysed, by warre to force the Scotts to accept of conditions; but a pithie pertinent speech of the Duke of Lennox diverted the King from warre at this tyme.

The Commissioner (as he promised) returned to Edinburgh, September 20; and September 22, the Councill being conveened, he presented a proclamation, for subscryveing the Confession of Faith and Generall Band, subscryved formerlie by his Majestie's father, his houshold, and persons of all ranks; indicting a Generall Assemblie to be holden at Glasgow, November 21, nixt to come; and a Parliament, Maie 15, 1639. The Councill herewith fullie content, presentlie did subscryve the Confession and Band, (albeit the Supplicants intreated them not to subscryve, but to delay for a day, untill they should present unto them Reasons why they should not subscryve,) and made an act approveing this proclamation as satisfactorie to themselves and all the leidges, writting a letter of thanks to the King; made an act for indicting of the Assemblie; another for indicting the Parliament, September 24; a third act, ordaining all the subjects to subscryve the Confession and Band: This was called The King's Covenant.

The Supplicants, perceaveing clearlie this to be a divisive, wicked motion, devysed by the Bishops, a subtill plot devysed to divyde them, and to destroy their subscryved Covenant; wherefore, and upon weightie reasons, they entered a protestation aganis this proclamation. Albeit the Councill, feareing a protestation,

added this:—"And that of and according to the date and tenor of the said Cõnfession of Faith, dated in March 1580, and of the Band, dated *in anno* 1589; and according as Religion was then professed:"—Yit this could not stay the Protestation, made by James Earle of Montrose, for the nobilitie; Mr Alexander Gibson, younger of Durie, for the barons; George Porterfield, merchant-burgess of Glasgow, for and in name of the burrowes; Mr Harie Rollock, minister of Edinburgh, in name of the ministers; and Mr Archibald Johnstoun, reader hereof, in name of all who adhere to the Covenant latelie renewed within this kingdome; and took instruments, &c. Aganis the predetermination and perlimitation of the Assemblie, they gave six Reasons; aganis the subscryveing of the King's Covenant sixteen Reasons; and protested aganis seven things in the King's proclamation.

They who were sent thorow the wholl kingdome to requyre subscriptions to The King's Covenant, according to the act of Councill, went, used diligence, but with litle successe, for the Covenanters took it to be but (as it was) a divisive motion; and some surpryzed with it, upon better and second thoughts retreated their subscriptions, and adhered to The Nationall Covenant, called by many of the people (*distinctionis causa*) The Noblemen's Covenant; for they stirred more about it nor the most of ministers did; yea, the Noblemen did draw by force of reasone the great part of the ministers to it, whose apostasie in the dayes of prelaticall defection had been greatest; yit, as in all nationall tryells some succumbs, sundrie did adhere to their subscription of the King's Covenant. And now the distinction of Covenanters and Malignants, or Anticovenanters, became frequent.

The Marques of Hunteley obtained more subscriptions to the King's Covenant in the toune and shyre of Aberdeen and Bamff or any other, for they were still most averse from the Covenant; wherefore, any divisive or malignant motion was most acceptable to them. The noblemen and others imployed in requireing subscriptions were all to report their diligence against November 13.

The tyme of election of magistrats now at Michaelmas drawing

neare, the Marques of Huntley obtained a letter to the Magistrats and Councill of Aberdeen from the King, thanking them for their fidelitie to his service, requyreing them to be carefull in their election of magistrats, that none be chosen, or no course be taken derogatory thereto: yit sundrie Covenanters were chosen both to be magistrats and counsellours. The Provest removed, and would not countenance the election of magistrats. Some protested that no Covenanter should be chosen magistrat; some protested that the election should be free according to their priviledges, esperciallie seing the King's letter carried no such distinction, and Covenanters were no enemies to the King, as was cleare by the Covenant. The Marques was highlie offended at their election, perceiving sundrie Covenanters to have been intrusted in places of magistracie and councill.

October 5. The Marques caused read the King's Covenant at the mercat-crosse of Aberdeen, and the Master of Forbes and Lord Fraser caused read the Protestation. The Marques craved a guard of musqueteers, to guard the mercat-crosse, from the magistrats, but was refuised. Lieutenant-Colonell Johnstoun, with his trained band, was readie to come out of the Catch-peall aganis the Covenanters; but some threats of the magistrats, and a great showre of raine, did hold them in from bursting violentlie forth. After reading, *hinc inde*, some of the magistrats and councill did subscryve the King's Covenant, some refuised, and the toune being conveened, refuised to subscryve till their ministers came and went before them in that. Some of the ministers had subscryved alreadie; and after a double sending for, Dr Sibbald came, told he had subscryved alreadie, and would doe it over againe, with this condition and limitation, that he "acknowledged Episcopacie and the Articles of Perth, with whatsomever other of that kynde, not contrare to the Word of God, allowed by any reformed kirk elsewhere; upon these conditions, and no otherwise, doe I (before God) subscryve; neither doe I desire any to subscryve on any other tearms." And so the most part of the toune adhereing to his protestation and declaration, did subscryve.

October 24. A bill of complaint given in to the Presbyterie of Edinburgh by noblemen, barons, burgesses, ministers, and commons, not commissioners to the Assemblie, (indicted now to be holden at Glasgow, November 21,) upon the Archbishop and Bishops of Scotland, all and everie one by name pretended Bishop at such a place, accuseing them of twenty-three severall gross poynts meriting deprivation; as, transgressing all their caveats, inacted *anno* 1600; aganis the Books of Discipline; severall laudable acts of Generall Assemblies; the tractat of Commone Service prefixed to our Psalme-books; aganis God's expresse Word; and grosse flagitious faults in their lyves. The Presbyterie refers the forsaid complaint to the ensueing Assemblie, and ordains the complaint and reference to be read out of everie pulpit of the presbyterie, together with a publict citation to the delinquents complained upon to be present at the said Assemblie, and there to answere to the said complaint; to bring with them the books or scrolls of oaths or subscriptions of High Commission, or of Acts of Generall Assemblies, with certification as effeirs, &c.

November 21, Wednesday, at Glasgow, the Assemblie did conveen, and Mr John Bell, oldest minister there, did preach upon Rev. i. 12, &c. After sermon the Assemblie conveened; and after prayer made by Mr John Bell, Mr Thomas Sandelands, son to Mr James, last clerk, did supplie the place of a clerk. Leeted for the moderator, Masters John Bell, John Ker, John Row, James Bonar, William Livingstoun, and Alexander Henderson; and Mr Alexander Henderson chosen moderator. Leeted for the clerk, Mr Archibald Johnstoune, Mr Thomas Sandelands, Adam Blair, and John Nicoll; Mr Archibald Johnstoune, advocat, chosen clerk.

The old Assemblie Books, preserved by a rare providence, were received, and for nineteen weightie Reasons, acknowledged authentick: Assemblie, 1638, Sess. 7, Nov. 28.

The Bishops caused give in a Declinator, alledging the Assemblie was both judge and pairtie. It contained many recriminations and fowll aspersions; and on the morrow was well answered: also a protestation aganis ruleing Elders was warrantablie answered: and

so that renouned Assemblie was constituted. The King's Commissioner alledged the King's autoritie was wronged by a paper sent abroad before the Assemblie, with injunctions concerning the choiseing of commissioners. It was answered, "The paper read was not a trew coppie, but falsified by some enemie:" a true coppie, subscryved by sixteen noblemen, was produced. And then was much disputing concerning the King's supremacie over the Kirk. The Commissioner excepted much aganis this, that it was refuised him, which had been practised in former Assemblies, that assessors with him should have voyce in the Assemblie. It was answered, That was granted to the King in corrupt tymes; they would refuise Cæsar nothing but what was God's. Finallie, The King's Commissioner produced a paper, containing the King's pleasure, viz., That the Assemblie should subscryve the Confession of Faith allowed by the Councill, discharging the Book of Canons, Service-Book, and High Commission, and the practise of the Articles of Perth; promiseing the limiting of Bishops; and to take all this to his royall consideration at the nixt Parliament. Thanks was given by the Moderator for what was graciouslie granted. The King was verie respectfully spoken of, as the Commissioner his Grace confessed; but professed he would be gone, except they would yeeld to the King's pleasure. It was answered, "They were readie to answere any just exception aganis the Assemblie; and if in that case he would leave the Assemblie, then the cause of his deserting them was not in the Assemblie;" which was protested. Then, after long reasoning and protesting, *hinc inde*, the King's Commissioner arose, dischargeing the Assemblie verballie. He was desyred to stay, and hear a protestation aganis his deserting of the Assemblie read; but his Grace refuised. Some were sent out to attend and protest at the mercat-crosse, if haplie he should cause there read a publict discharging of the Assemblie.

After the Commissioner's removeall, my Lord Erskin, with many tears, confessed he had too too long dallied with God and his awin conscience, (these were his verie words,) and craved, as a rich favour, to be admitted to subscryve the Covenant. This occasioned

many in the Assemblie shed tears for joy. A minister of Holland, Mr John Forbes, son to Mr John at Delf, banished for the cause of God, craved the lyke favour; and another preacher of Holland also. After some grave, pithie, pertinent speeches had by the moderator, other reverend ministers, noblemen, barons, burgesses, they all, with uplifted hands, promised to stay and abyde by the cause of God, till the Lord should putt a period to the troubles. It was thought best to vote it, and all were affirmative, except Dr Strang, Principall, Patrik Bell, provest of Glasgow, Sir John Carnegie of Eathie, Mr Thomas Thores, Mr John Watson, Mr Joseph Broddie, and Mr John Annand. Dr Strang and Patrick Bell on the morrow adhered to the Assemblie's protestation; the rest removed.

But before the Commissioner his Grace removed, the Moderator had to him a learned, holie, and wise speech, affirming they would refuise nothing to Cæsar which was Cæsar's, showing sixe things due to Kings in ecclesiasticall maters. Jerusalem modestly refuised Alexander the Great to sett up his image in their Temple, so inconsistent with their law, but would doe whatever was in their power; offering tuo things more honourable for him: 1°. They would begin their epocha or æra from his comeing to Jerusalem; 2°. That all the first born among the Jewes should be called Alexander: So, the Assemblie onlie desyred to give to Christ the Son of God the first place, by whom kings doe reigne; and nixt to pietie toward God, they acknowledge honour to kings to follow in the verie ordor of the Ten Commands.

After the removeall of the King's Commissioner, it was unanimously concluded, That notwithstanding the Bishops declinatour and Marques removeall, yit the Assemblie was both judge to the Bishops, and also to all maters ecclesiasticall.

Thurisday, November 29, the Marques removed from Glasgow to Hamiltoun; but gave ordour that the proclamation of the King's pleasure, dischargeing of the Assemblie, commanding them to depart from Glasgow to their charges within twenty-four hours, under paine of treasone, should not be read at the mercat-cross till

after he was gone: And when it was done, a protestation was read in the contrare, even that whilk, November 28, begouth to be read in the Assemblie House before the Commissioner's removeing; but that he refuised to stay to heare it.

After the protestation at the mercat-crosse, the Assemblie conveened about eleven hours; and my Lord Argyle, after a speech had, did adhere to the Assemblie; also the Earles and Lords Wigtoun, Hadingtoune, Almond, Napeer, all councillors, gave assurance to joyne with the Assemblie.

December 4. On Moonday thereafter, Marre, Galloway, Kinghorn, Annandaill, Blackhall, noblemen, Earls and Lords, adhered to the Assemblie; for the councellours had been divyded concerning the proclamation; the Marques and some with him would have it, "As the Religion is presentlie professed in this kingdome;" other councellours refuised that; and adhered to the profession as it was 1580, 1581, according as they had passed their act when they did subscryve.

A committie was sett apart for reconcealling the tuo Covenants. And the King's Commissioner, feareing least it should be found that the King's Covenant had rejected all that the Old Covenant had removed, seing the King's Covenant tyed all subscryvers thereof to the doctrine and discipline professed *in anno* 1581, when as there were no Bishops nor Perth Articles; wherefore he caused draw up a declaration and manifesto, affirming, that by their subscriptions they intended not to abjure Episcopacie, nor such things. This was answered in February 1639; and both were printed.

The King heareing that, notwithstanding of his proclamation, they had not onlie protested aganis it, but also the Assemblie had continued sitting and inacting sundrie things, he sends another proclamation to Scotland, dischargeing all his subjects to give obedience to the acts of that pretended Assemblie. This was proclamed at the mercat-crosse of Edinburgh, December 18; and the same day, a protestation was read in opposition to it, in name of the Generall Assemblie and all the subscryvers of the Covenant; and both were printed.

Considdering that the paine of treasone might terrifie those Covenanters in the North who lived invironed with enemies, they thought it expedient to writ to them a letter of incouragement, together with information of the estate of effairs, and the ground of protesting, to prevent misrepresentation of the case.

Notwithstanding of all threatnings past, and more which might be feared to come, the Assemblie, with great boldnes, zeall, and resolution, satt still, whill in the Lord's good favour and rich mercie they concluded all, and dissolved, December 20, 1638.

The Acts of this Assemblie, declareing the sixe last Assemblies corrupt and null; the excommunication and deposition of the Bishops, with the rest of the laudable acts inacted therein, were printed, so many as concerned the wholl Kingdome and Kirk, together with a table of the unprinted acts.

Sundrie committees were appoynted to redress abuses; one for Visitation of the Old Toune Colledge of Aberdeen, and to take order with the disaffected ministers of that province.

Mr John Lundie returning from the Assemblie, was conveened before the Rector and Members of the Universitie, and bitterlie rebooked for not leaveing the Assemblie when the King's Commissioner deserted it; and doubtless he had been depryved of any office or benefice there, were not that they were in feare of the event of bussines. They made an act, that whensoever that Committie should come along, the Colledge gate should be keeped closse, and they should have no entrance there; and that none of the members of the Universitie should be present, or acknowledge the same, under the paine of deprivation.

When Dr Guild came home, who had been commissioner fra the Presbyterie, he should have intimat the acts of the Assemblie and excommunication of the Bishops; but did it not, partlie through feare of the people, who hated him for his subscryveing the Covenant, and partly taken off by the Marques of Huntley; who, upon the 22d and 24th of December, caused read at the mercat-crosse of Aberdeen the King's tuo proclamations aganis the Assemblie; resolveing with all his might to keep the toune and shyre of

Aberdeen for the King's service, (as he was pleased to call the opposeing of the work of God:—)

And for that effect, January 11, *anno* 1639, conveened his friends and followers at Kintor, and did ingage them all to be in readines whenever he should requyre them. Also the toun of Aberdeen appoynted a watch, a councill of warre, made catbands of yron to hold off horses, brought the canons that was in the Castell-hill within the toune, &c.

Anno 1639.

January 31. The Master of Forbes, Lord Fraser, with their friends and followers Covenanters, mett at Turreff, about 600 men. To them they did show the comone injunctions directed hither from The Tables, concerning correspondence; that each shyre have a commissioner with The Tables, and a conveener within the shyre; and each presbyterie and each parish have a conveener, &c.; and appoyntment is made to meet at Turreff againe, February 14, for to give in their diligence. The Marques getting notice of this, with advise of the Laird of Bamff, appoynts a meeting of his friends to be at Turreff, February 14. The Covenanters sends for assistance to Angus and Moray; whereupon Montrose, Kinghorn, Earls, Grant and Innes, lairds, came, accompanied with a considerable number of gentlemen well appoynted; and they prevented the Marques; who, understanding their strength to be above his, sent commissioners in to Turreff for a peaceable entring to Turreff, and for accommodation. They answered, "all the accommodation that village could afford was too too strait for the gentlemen now present in it." Whereupon the Marques, in a secund commission, desyred libertie peaceablie to ryde by Turreff not molested; whilk was granted; and after some talk about the commone effairs, they appoynt the nixt meeting to be at the new Kirk of Deare, March 1.

Aberdeen, feareing least the Covenanters should surpryse the toune in their return, did incontinently put in their catbands, and keeped a great watch, even a wholl quarter of the toune

nightly; but the Covenanters wes resolved not to come neare Aberdeen at this tyme. The Marques returned, February 16, (for he duelt now in Aberdeen, in Pitfoddell's lodgings,) and was heartilie welcomed from his gallant and noble expedition.

After the dissolution of the Assemblie, the Bishops and their adherents who were about the King in Ingland, did persuade the King that the Covenanters in Scotland were to shake off the yoke of autoritie. This suggestion the King took to heart, (in this poynt kings are most jealous,) and resolved by force of airms to take order with the Scottish Rebellion, (so he called it;) and January 26, wrot a letter to all the shyres in Ingland, showing to them the Scottish Rebellion, and how it is like they are to invade Ingland; requyres the levie concluded by the Councill to attend his standart at York, Aprile 1; desyreing they will count this letter equivalent to any warrand or precept under the Great Seall, expecting within fourteen dayes after it comes to their hands, to have a return of what he may expect from them.

January 29. The King caused a proclamation be published, that all persons belonging to the Northern shyres and pairts of Ingland, now resideing in or about London, or in any Southern part of Ingland, doe forthwith, and at farthest betuix and the first day of March, repair to their housses and places of residence in the North, with their families and retinue, provyding themselves well of arms according to their qualitie, there to attend the King's service and defence of the kingdome, under all highest paine, &c.

The Covenanters in Scotland being informed of these things, and knowing that the Bishops, their adversaries, were now as bears robbed of their whelps, they did draw up "An Information for all good Christians within the Kingdome of Ingland:" showing, that they never had such a thought as to invade Ingland, a nighbour and brotherlie nation, with them under one king, and with whom they had lived in great peace and sweet fellowship, so as no nations who had been at variance formerlie could say the lyke; showing them their procedure in all the mater of the Covenant, whilk was

subscryved first by the King and his Household, 1580, and then by persons of all ranks, 1581: So that by their oath to God they were bound to expose novations and corruptions more nor other nations; so that all that has been done was mearlie that we might have our religion pure, according to our great solemne Nationall oath; whilk the Bishops haveing broken fowllie, forby their personall miscarriage unparalelled, are taken ordour with in a free Generall Assemblie indicted by the King's Majestie: And that they mynd no wayes to cast off the yoke of autoritie of their dread Soveraigne, who is of so auncient a descent and lyne, as none in the world can equall it: And all this that our brethren may be armed aganis calumnies, slanders, and misrepresentations, of the begun work of Reformation raised by Papists and Prelats; wishing that it may be heeded that if Papists got the charge of an armie, as we hear they are intrusted with chief places therein, let the Protestants in Ingland look to themselves, and regard us their brethren: Lord avert the dangers, and grant us peace and puritie, which is the height of our desires; for procureing whereof we shall imploy no other weapons (except we be enforced) but fasting and prayer to God Almightie, and humble supplications to our gracious Soveraigne. Edinburgh, February 4, 1639.

A coppie of this comeing to the King's hand, he caused publish in all the pulpits of Ingland, February 27, a proclamation and declaration, showing that some in Scotland mynded nothing less nor rebellion, notwithstanding all his bountie and lenitie towards them: And, therefore, that they be all in readines to concur in arms with him to suppresse that rebellion, and appearand invasion of Ingland, and that they beleve not what the Scotts sayes in their false Information. Whereupon the Covenanters in Scotland did draw up a Remonstrance, to be dispersed both in Scotland and Ingland, to free themselves of these horrid imputations they were charged with: it was printed, March 22;—showing the falshood of all the Prelats and Papists calumnies, avowing they will only defend their religion, liberties, and lives; and when the sword shall be in the one hand, their Supplication to the King's Majestie shall be

in the other; and when a settled peace is concluded, and religion and liberties secured, they should let their swords fall out of their hands, &c.

Mr Winrame, sent to the King from the Generall Assemblie with their Supplication, being detained in Ingland, great preparation being made to invade Scotland, both by sea and land; sundrie disaffected men, ill divyns, at home, preaching there was no weapons of the Kirk but *preces et lachrymæ*, and that to the commands of autoritie ye must give either active or passive obedience; no takeing up of arms must be, even to defend your self aganis unjust invasion. Wherefore this question was agitat: *Quæritur*, If the estats and bodie of a kingdome, for the maintenance of lawes, liberties, and truelie Reformed Religion, being invaded by autoritie, abused by sycophants, and false calumniating Doegs (or doggs,) may take arms for defence of the kingdome, and worship of God? *Respondetur*, They may. Arguments were brought from the law of nature, divine and humane autoritie, practice of Reformed Kirks, and confession of christian princes, and force of reason.

Moreover, another treatise was published, wherein was contained, 1°. Enemies prosecut their plotts by lies, craft, and crueltie; 2°. Recommend unitie to the people of God; 3°. Take notice of God's hand wonderfullie carieing on this glorious work; 4°. That warrs, or rumours of warrs, disturb not the people; and that they be not drawen off their duetie by terours or alluirments, persuasions, declarations, remonstrances, manifestoes, &c.; 5°. That our great defection be remembred, the usurpation of Prelats, the want of Generall Assemblies, and how the Lord hes begun a reformation in these, and that the Lord's people would pray that he would uphold his owne work; 6°. That ministers and professors acquaint themselves with the acts of the Assemblie, especially these that relates to Episcopacie; and to read publictlie (where need is) the Information to Ingland, and the Supplication to the King, that it may be seen how falslie we are calumniated; 7°. To informe the people of the question concerning necessare defence,

that all may see how it standeth betuix us and the King, and to state the question right; and to show how it is lawfull in our just and necessare defence to take airms, for twelve Reasons sett doune in this tractate; wherein also they answere objections.

March 21. The mater now comeing to a great hight, the King making all warre-lyke preparations, the Noblemen, accompanied with musketeers, with a pittard brake up the utter gate of the Castle of Edinburgh; they that were within rendered incontinentlie, being but few, and haveing litle provision, as having been long blocked up. The Castle being taken, the Lords of the Session, scandalous throw refuiseing the Covenant, are requyred now at last to declare themselves friends by subscryving, or to be holden as other intestine foes. President Spotiswood fled in the night, all the rest shifted themselves out of the way, except four who subscryved, and Balcomie took it to be advysed till the morn.

March 22. Colonell Matthewson, by Traquair the Thesaurer's advise, fortifieing Dalkeith, the noblemen sent a partie who took it in; who found there good store of amunition, powder, and ball, &c.; also the croun, scepter, and sword of honour, in the Thesaurer's studie, unexpectedlie; which, with all due reverence and respect, the Noblemen themselves carried up the casey of Edinburgh, and put them in the strongest house of the Castle, (where they used to ly within an yron gate,) and they offered to the Thesaurer the key of the coffer wherein they did ly.

Thus, all being done that could be for secureing the kingdome from forraine invasion, by word and writ, an armie is levied of 4000 men, under the conduct of Marshall, Montrose, and Generall Leslie, for pacifieing the troubles in Aberdeen and the North, and for holding of the committie.

About the last of March, the Lords of the Session wrot to the King a letter with the Justice-Clerk, together with some instructions. In the letter they labour to dissuade the King from warre aganis his native kingdome and good subjects. The King would heare nothing, was resolved for warre; whereupon our friends in Ingland gave advertisement by letters, together with incourage-

ments, showing also who were chief commanders in the King's armie.

The Marques of Huntley wrot to the King, that if he had power and autoritie from the King, he was able to hold all the North in order, and for the King's service; whereupon the King sent to him a lieutenantrie, to have charge from Tay to the Week of Cathnes.

The Covenanters in Aberdeenshyre mett at Auchreddie, March 1, as was appoynted; exacted an account of diligence, and ordained the rest to be in readines aganis the 14th of March. The Marques wrot to the King for some airms to be sent hither; whilk the King by letter promised. And then the Anti-covenanters resolved to fortifie the toun of Aberdeen, by casting of a trinch about it. This work, begun March 4, and each man's portion assigned to him, was perfyted with great alacritie and diligenee before the end of March.

March 11. A ship, with arms from the King, came to the road of Aberdeen, wherewith the Marques and Anti-covenanters were overjoyed; and upon advertisement by letters, some six or seven hundreth naked men came into Aberdeen, March 13, and were sent back, furnished with arms, to attend further ordour.

In consideration of apparent sturrs from the North, a meeting of the nobilitie and gentrie, Covenanters, is appoynted to be at Perth, March 14; whereof Huntley advertised, conveened his adherents at Inverurie, March 25.

March 15. The magistrats, councill, and communitie, of Aberdeen, ordained and resolved that their toun should be fortified and provyded with arms.

March 20. The Southland armie of Covenanters, led by General Leslie, Marshall, Montrose, Kinghorn, approaching to Aberdeen, Dr William Johnstoune and George Morison were sent in commission to them from the toune of Aberdeen, desireing them, that seing they were comeing to hold a committie there, and to publish the Acts of the late Generall Assemblie, holden at Glasgow, 1638, that they would come but 100 men; and they promised that

a place should be prepared for their committie, and that their pulpitts should be patent to their ministers.

Upon the same 20 of March, Straloch and Dr Gordon were sent commissioners from Huntley to the Covenanters; who, with the Toun's commissioners, getting but a delaying answere, the Toune Councill, feareing violence and plunder, sent back their awin commissioners with thir instructions:—1°. To desire that no hostilitie be done to magistrats, ministers, or any inhabitants in the toune, either in bodie or goods, and that they leave the toune in peace; 2°. That if any particular person in the burgh give offence, or miscarie towards the Covenanters, or any of them, or their cause, it be repared in private, and that it be not imputed to, or rub or reflect on, the Toune in commone. 3°. That the Toune be not urged or compelled to harbour more souldiers nor convenientlie they can lodge and ease. Upon these tearms they granted and condescended to give them peaceable entrie, and to lodge and accommodat them to their power.

March 28. Answere wes returned to the Toune, from the Covenanters, that they would use no violence nor spoile; but that they were come to hold a committie to intimat the acts of the late Generall Assemblie, as in other parts of the kingdome had alreadie been done; and that they would harm no man, but in so far as they should be necessitat for their awin defence, and the defence of their cause. This answere was delyvered in writ, and upon these tearms the Toune is content to receive them; and the same day the Toune's captains quyted their charges.

On Saturnsday, March 30, Montrose, Marshall, Kinghorn, Generall Leslie, Cowper, Elcho, Forbes, Fraser, with their companies, about 6000 men, entered the Toun, and marched throw it to the Links; where, at their councill of warre, they gave order to fill up the ditches on Monday nixt, Aprile 1, under paine of plundering: whilk order accordinglie was obeyed.

The same day, March 30, Montrose, Marshall, and Generall Leslie, and the greatter part of the armie, marched from the Links of Aberdeen towards Inverurie, (where the Marques with his forces

was, but now reteered,) leaveing behind them the Earle of Kinghorn with 1800 men, to ly in the toune till their return.

Aprilis 2. Command is given out that the Magistrats of Aberdeen delyver all their canons, with the powder and ball, that their catbands be taken off, and that the sojores be quartered for some few dayes: all which was obeyed.

Aprilis 3. The Toune being conveened in the Colledge Kirk, the Provest intimateth to them, that they were urged to subscryve the Covenant, with the determination of Glasgow Assemblie, under the paine of disarming them, and confiscation of all their goods. After reading of the Covenant, the Toun took it to be advysed.

Aprilis 9. The Provest intimated to the Toun, being conveened, that they behoved to pay 100,000 merks, and the Covenanters to be free; and that they behoved to fortifie the blockhous for the use of the countrey. The Toun dissented from the paying of the forenamed sume of money; but in all tymes comeing were content to pay proportionable charges with the rest of the kingdome; which, if it should be refuised, they demanded a moneth's space to remove man, wife, and bairn, and then let them dispose of the toune and blockhous at their pleasure.

Aprilis 10. Wednesday, the Toun of Aberdeen subscryved the Covenant, after Mr James Row had preached on Acts v. cap. 38, 39, verses.

Aprilis 15. John Hay, Mr Robert Ferchar, Mr Thomas Gray, and George Morison, were appoynted commissioners by Montrose, &c., to go south to The Tables; to the which the Toun consented. The said day, William Erskin, in name of the Covenanters within Aberdeen, protested, "That they should be free of any taxation imposed on the toun, or any charges to be imposed for any cause preceeding the date hereof, relating to the Covenant and work of Reformation, in respect they were not the occasion of the trouble and opposition made:" Whereupon the Nobilitie ordained them to be free.

On the 4th of Aprile, (these former things being transacted in the Toune,) after some trysting, and intermediat parleying be-

tuix Montrose and Huntely, the Marques came to Inverurie, and condescended with the Lords and others, Covenanters, and subscryved a band, acknowledging the Confession of Faith, 1580 and 1581, disclaming all novations introduced since, in doctrine, discipline, or government, into this Kirk; acknowledging the determination of the Assemblie of Glasgow, and obliging himself to defend the Reformed Religion under all highest pains contained in the law of God.

Thereafter the Marques, with his sons Lord Gordon and Lord Aboyne, came to Aberdeen with the Lords Covenanters; and at their departure from Aberdeen, was taken South with them, and incarcerated in the Castle of Edinburgh, onlie his second son, Lord of Aboyne, was permitted to stay behinde upon his parroll, for the provyding of moneyes, and some necessars for his father and brother, promiseing to follow them to Edinburgh with all convenient diligence; which promise and parroll meeting with his friends he brak; for, on the 19th of Aprile, he began to stirre; keeped a meeting with the Laird of Bamff for the raiseing of new troubles.

The Covenanters within the shire, heareing of Aboyne's gathering, appoynted a meeting at Monimusk, Aprile 22; to the which meeting, and for preventing of Aboyne and Bamff his gathering, and for assisting the Covenanters, the Toune of Aberdeen were requyred to furnish eighty men, which they refused to doe; for the which Marshall, Seafort, Forbes, Fraser, with all their forces conveened at Kintor, and the bounds about, to come in to Aberdeen on Thurisday thereafter, Aprile 25, where they did quarter their men; but on Saturnsday, Aprile 27, they disbanded their men, because Seafort had slipt away quyetlie that morning, under a pretext that he was going to meet some forces of his owne comeing Southward to assist the Covenanters, which was an untrueth.

Maie 10. Upon their disbanding, Aboyne and Bamff, now Masters of the fields, and becomeing more insolent, Maie 10, Bamff did besiege the house of Towie, within the pariosh of Turreff; and on the 14th day of Maie, the Covenanters beeing conveened in Turreff, Bamff with Colonell Johnstoun and their complices, have-

ing with them some field-pieces, brought from Strathbogie, did rouit and chase the Covenanters, with more disgrace and shame nor losse of men: This was called "the Trott of Turreff."

On the 15th of Maie, Bamff entered Aberdeen, and quartered his men there.

Maie 16. The Toune being conveened, the Provest declared, That Bamff, Haddo, Gight, Foveran, &c., who came to the toune yesternight, would have free quarters, as the Covenanters armie had; and that onlie upon the old Covenanters, (the new subscryvents were still Malignants, even in their estimation who knew them best,) because, as they alledged, but falselie, they had been free before: This the Toune refuised to doe, but resolved to beare equall burthen with the old Covenanters, provyding that all protestation made by them were null, both for tymes bygone and to come: and as concerning supplie of men requyred by Bamff and his adherents, the Malignants, Anti-Covenanters, the Toune refuised that, lykas they had done before just so to the Covenanters.

Maie 17. The Earle of Marshall haveing order from The Tables, conveened some forces out of the Mearns in Stanehyve.

The 20th of Maie, Bamff went out of Aberdeen, and by the bridge of Dee, went up to Dores to meet with Donald Fercharson, and on the morrow returned with some horse to the toune.

Maie 23. Marshall came to Aberdeen with his forces, and Bamff, with his associats, fled out of it.

Maie 25. Montrose came to Aberdeen with 2500 men, to assist my Lord Marshall aganis the Anti-Covenanters: Of Atholl men, about 600, and with Marshall was about 1000 men: and with all diligence Montrose went aganis the house of Gight.

Maie 27. The Toune of Aberdeen wes ordained by the noblemen to advance 1000 merks for defraying the souldiours charges; whilk wes granted and obeyed accordinglie.

Maie 28. The Toune wes ordained to give in their arms; this also was obeyed, and the arms were delyvered to Graham of Morphie: and their canons were ordained to be shipped for Dundie and Monros; which was done.

Aprile 12. But to return to the maine bussines: the troubles now betuix the King and his subjects of Scotland swelling to a great hight, so that nothing wes expected from the King but forceing by arms; a frequent meeting wes at Edinburgh on the 12th of Aprile, who directed 300 of Colonell Monro's regiment to Dumfries, toward the South border; also severall noblemen in the South and West shyres, with the gentrie there, were ordained to put out a considerable force of horses to the Border, to withstand foes and incourage friends.

Aprile 21. The Earle of Essex, Generall of the King's forces, being now come to Berwick with a great armie of horse and foot, it wes thought fitt by The Tables, that a letter should be directed to his Excellence, showing that we intended no harme to Ingland, and that he, as a generous nobleman, would not invade Scotland, till he were fullie informed of the trueth of all the bussines; and for that effect, Mr William Cuningham of Brunthill was sent with the missive, and with instructions tending to the purpose foresaid. Who returning, reported that he had delyvered the letter to his Excellence, Lord Essex; who answered, That so soone as the King's Majestie was acquainted with the mater, the answer should be delyvered to the Earle of Hoome.

Thus, now the bussines being come to a great hight, a great and generall meeting is indicted to be holden at Edinburgh, Maie 8. And in mean whill, Generall Leslie is chosen by The Tables Generall of all the Scottish forces, horse and foot; yit leaveing the full determination of it to that great meeting. Then were instructions sent abroad to all the shyres and burrowes, for mens cariage, especiallie in laying asyd now privat jarrs and quarrells, how to come out provyded, and how to carie if strangers invade the land, here or there or elswhere, &c., what shyres should joyne together to assist the part invaded.

Maie 1. A letter came from the nobilitie, dated at Edinburgh, Maie 1, reporting, that upon Aprile 30, there were alreadie discovered in the Frith twenty-nine of the King's ships; and the King himself in propper person being at the Border with a great

land armie, they expected assaulting both by sea and by land; wherefor, the fourth man wes charged to march to Edinburgh with all hast. Duke Hamiltoune was Generall of the King's forces by sea.

June 2, being Whitsunday, three of the King's ships came to the road of Aberdeen; and that same day Mr Thomas Mercer was poasted away to Montrose at the house of Gight, where he wes observed to doe nothing but dallie, whereas he might easilie have taken it in; his relation to, and cariage with, the ladie made a lurking evill begin to appeare.

On Moonday, June 3, Montrose came in to Aberdeen.

On Wednesday, June 5, the Covenanters armie marched south in such disorder that scarce did there abyde with Montrose at his march so many as to guard the cullers; for in verie deed they disbanded and fled.

June 6, Thursday, the Aberdeens men and others, who had fled in to Ingland at Montrose and Generall Leslie his first marching north, being in the ships, came a shoare; such as my Lord Aboyne, Drum, Feddrat, Earle of Glencarn, Tullibardin, &c. The Aberdeens men came to the Mercat-crosse and proclamed the King's proclamation, of date at York, Aprile 25, 1639, wherein, deduceing the bussines, he showes the rebellion of the Scotts, menassing such as would not joyne with him with losse of all their estats, &c., declareing his adhereing to the Protestant religion, &c.

June 7 and 8. My Lord Aboyne's armie conveens in Aberdeen about 1000 men; and, on Satterday at night, a partie went out to Cowie and took the Provest, Mr Alexander Jaffray, Craigmyld Burnet, and Robert Keith of Cowie. The Provest and Craigmyld were brought in to Aberdeen; but Robert Keith, as an arch-enemie to the King's cause, was caried to the ships, to be sent to Berwick to the King himself; which accordinglie was done.

As for Mr Alexander Jaffray, upon the tenth of June, Robert Johnstoune of Crimmond, late Provest, inquyred, at the Toune conveened, If any man had anything to say aganis their Provest, relating to his disloyaltie aganis the King and his cause. All the

people did assoilzie him, declareing, that they all did adhere to the King's proclamation foresaid, and that they will chearfullie follow my Lord Aboyne, the King's Majestie's Lieutenant in the north, in the defence of the King's cause.

That same day, Aboyn's armie went out to the cuntrey, and the inhabitants of Aberdeen did subscryve a band, (presented by Aboyne and those enemies,) wherein they did abrenunce the Covenant: the like was done at Kintor by sundrie men the tuo days following.

June 11. Tuesday, they took in Hall-forrest, Marshall's house.

June 12. They assaulted Muchalls, my Lord Frazer's house, but prevailed not; and, June 13, they returned to Aberdeen.

June 14. Friday, the toune of Aberdeen wes charged, that all fensible persons appeare in their arms, and march south aganis the Covenanters with my Lord of Aboyn his armie; whereupon 200 men of Aberdeen armed marched south with that armie, now consisting of about 3000 men.

June 15, Saturnsday. They marching towards Stanehyve, where the Covenanters Lords were with about five or six hundreth men, who had (in a good providence) with them tuo great cartowes and some lesser field-peeces. Aboyn's armie standing on Cowie Hill and Moore, after some two or three shot of the great cartowes, the Highlanders seeing so many men killed at so great a distance, (by Muske's mother, as they spake,) did all incontinently flie in disorder and disband. Aboyn inraged, did send Highlanders to Angus and Mearns to plunder.

June 18. The Covenanters armie now increased, marched fordward from Stanehyve to the Bridge of Dee, where Aboyn did stop their passage, haveing with him the horsemen and the trained band of Aberdeen. The Covenanters cartowes were playing on them from eleven hours in the forenoone till ten at night; yit, they being sheltered by the commodiousnes of the place, no man was killed except one Johne Forbes, burgess of Aberdeen, with a musket ball.

June 19. There was no shooting till about one afternoone, and

after some skirmishing, Montrose caused lift his baggage, and was purposed to march south, thus deserting the work, pretending he saw no appearance of taking in the bridge; but at the burriall of Johne Forbes within the toune of Aberdeen, sundrie souldiours being withdrawen from the skirmishing on the bridge, also the Covenanters horse marching up the water for a diversion, the enemie's horse also marched up the water on the other syde, and took with them some musqueteers off the bridge, so that now verie few were left on the bridge. In this nick of opportunitie, Johne Middletoun (afterward Generall-Major) did assault the bridge; and in mean while, Colonell Johnstoun on the bridge being hurt on the shoulder by a cannon, shot with a peece of a stone from off the port head, and after that by another shott his leg being broken: When the few tounsmen saw their commander thus lying crawlling on the ground, their courage now being quelled, they all fled, and so the Covenanters gained the bridge without opposition. In the skirmishing among the enemies, onlie Pitmeddin and tuo tounsmen were killed. Among the Covenanters onlie Balmayn's brother, at whose solemne buriall, in Aberdeen, on the morrow, when as the souldiours (as their custome is) were shooting, William Erskin, burgess of Aberdeen, Pittodrie's brother, (a fordward man, and sturring for the Covenant,) was killed with a shott: when many were deserting the bridge, as affirming it could not be taken in, he had no small hand both in keeping them at the work, and stirring them up, and incourageing them to assault the bridge.

June 20. On the morrow, Montrose marched south, haveing first exacted 7000 merks to save the Toune from plunder.

The same 20 day, (being Thurisday,) letters of peace came from the King's Majestie to the Toune of Aberdeen, of date, at Birks from the King's camp, June 18, 1639, thanking them for their constancie in his service, whereof he would not be unmyndfull; showing that he had made peace with his subjects who had offended him, therefor requyreing them to abstaine from all acts of hostilitie, and to settle their toune in a peaceable way. In the same straine the King sent letters to my Lord Aboyne and Colonell

Gun. That same day letters tending to that same purpose came to Marshall and Montrose from the nobilitie at the King's camp, showing of the peace at Dunce Law, (*i.e.* lower hill,) where the Covenanters had a considerable armie of about 20,000 men, about some six myles from the King's camp, conveened chearfullie to withstand the prelaticall faction and malignant, countenanced by the King in his owne persone. The place of the Scottish leaguer did occasion the Inglish comœdians to jest and geer, that Bishops were discharged in Scotland neither by Canon Law nor Civill Law, but by Dunce Law.

The Articles of the Agreement were these:—That a free lawfullie conveened Generall Assemblie shall sitt at Edinburgh, August 6; and a free Parliament, for ratification of the Acts of that Assemblie, shall sitt at Edinburgh, August 20;—All the King's castles, housses, fortifications, honors, to be rendered;—Armies on both sydes presentlie to be disbanded, but the subjects to begin first, and then the King will recall his fleet, disband his armie, restore ships, goods, and persons;—But he cannot ratifie and approve the acts of the pretended Assemblie at Glasgow, in regard of many incroachings upon monarchicall government both before and since, and many disorders of late, yit will he confirm whatever his Commissioner promised in his name;—And that in all tyme comeing all maters ecclesiasticall shall be setled by the Generall Assemblie, which shall meet once a yeare, and maters civill by the Parliament;—At the Assemblie, August 6, he intends to be personallie present;—At the Parliament will passe an act of oblivion;—That all detained from his subjects their liberties, houses, lands, goods, means, be restored to them;—That all their pretended Tables and conventicles be disolved and discharged, that whatsomever calamities shall ensue by our necessitated suppressing of the insolences of such as shall still continue in their disobedient courses, we take the world witnes is not occasioned by us, but by their awin procurement. In the King's Camp, June 18, 1639.

This is the summe not onlie of the Articles of Pacification, but also of the King's Declaration in the King's camp, June 18, 1639.

Then wes drawen up a paper, intituled, "Some Conditions of his Majestie's Treatie with his Subjects in Scotland before the Inglish Nobilitie, are sett doune here for remembrance:"—

1°. That though his Majestie's declaration, of date June 18, 1639, doth containe some hard expressions of the subjects of Scotland, his Majestie declared he had no such opinion of them; yit requyred the paper to stand as it was for his credit, and a poynt of honour with forraigne nations, and not to stand with their King for words and expressions, so being they obtained the mater.

2°. Whatever he had said of the Assemblie at Glasgow, he did not desire or requyre the subjects to passe from it.

3°. That seing his Majestie had indicted a free Assemblie, it could not be free if all questions anent the Assemblie were not referred to the Assemblie itself, as anent Ruleing Elders, the King's Assessors, &c.

4°. As for the Castle they restored it to his Majestie freelie; yit what was incumbent for the safetie of the kingdome and the great charges they had been at in fortifieing and defending it, referrs all that to the Parliament, where they were to petition the King's Majestie.

5°. As for restoreing of persons, housses, goods, &c. the great summes contracted behoved first to be repayed in an equall way by all.

6°. His Majestie haveing in severall proclamations and declarations showen his judgment against Ruleing Elders, and this being contrare to the freedome of the Assemblie, his Majestie deletted that clause; as also, he deletted tuo other clauses, one concerning oaths exacted of intrant ministers, another importing the continueing of Episcopacie, for (said he) the Bishops shall be censurable by the Generall Assemblie. This wes found inconsistent with the Confession of Faith and constitution of this Kirk.

7°. His Majestie, June 25, Saturnsday, being pressed to satisfie his subjects in their maine desire, viz. the quyting of Bishops, he answered, That wes not in their desyres to him. They replied, It was, in so far as they desyred his Majestie to ratifie the Acts of

the Assemblie. He said, It was so, but added, that he would advise till Moonday, June 27.

On Moonday it was againe pressed, affirming no solid peace could be without it, and it being granted, no prince in the world would receave more heartie and duetifull obedience then he should of them. The King answered, He would not prelimit nor forestall his voyce: He had appoynted a free Generall Assemblie which might determine in all maters ecclesiasticall, the constitutions whereof he should ratifie in the ensueing Parliament.

After that the Commissioners who treatted with his Majestie had reported their diligence to the Generall, Nobilitie, Gentrie, Ministrie, and Armie at Dunce, there wes drawen up "An Information aganis all mistakings of our accepting of the King's Declaration;" for the King's justice and goodnes might have been concealled, the subjects might have been misconstructed to have done or admitted any thing contrare to the Covenant, particularlie in that Glasgow Assemblie was called in it a Pretended Assemblie; wherefore they declared that their acceptation of the King's Majestie's Declaration should not import that they any wayes accepted of any thing contrare to their oath and Covenant, disavowed the Generall Assemblie at Glasgow, or disapproved or condemned their former proceedings as disorders and disobedient courses. They thanked his Majestie heartilie for what he had granted, but ordained this Information to be made publictlie knowen where ever the King's Declaration should be published, whilk both would be for the honour of the King, satisfaction of the subjects, and promoveing of the blessed Pacification; praying the Lord to promove the blessed work of reformation, and to blesse the approaching Assemblie and Parliament, that religion and righteousnes may be established in this land.

At the publishing the King's Declaration in the camp conforme to this ordinance, the Earle of Cassills intimated this Information; and at Edinburgh, June 24, the Lord Lindesay at the Mercatcrosse of Edinburgh; so in everie burgh where ever the King's Declaration wes published, four noblemen or gentlemen, in name

of all the Covenanters, was ordained to give heartie thanks to his Majestie for his favour bestowed; but withall declare that our acceptance of his Majestie's Declaration shall no wayes be prejudiciall to the late Generall Assemblie at Glasgow, from which the King's Majestie hes not desyred us to passe, and whereunto we doe constantlie adhere according to our oath; and thereupon offer to the herauld a coppie of the foresaid Information.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation, publishing an Act of State, and his Majestie's command, concerning a scandalous paper dispersed latelie among many of his subjects, entituled, "Some Conditions of his Majestie's Treattie with his Subjects of Scotland, are sett doune here for remembrance." This paper spread among the subjects as trueth, and affirmed to have been consented to as trueth by the Inglish Lords Marshall, Lords Chamberlane, the Earle of Salisburrie, Holland, Barkshyre, all declared they judged that paper scandalous and false, and expresse contrare to the treattie of Pacification with the King's Majestie; that they had spread no coppies of it, yea, they refused to accept of it or read it, when in the Chamberlan's tent it was offered to them by some Scottish Lords. The Lord Chamberlane declared, that being going to hors, and pressed by the Lord Lowdon, he took a paper, but after suspecting it, closed it up, not reading a word in it, till he offered it to his Majestie at Whitehall. Some Scottish Lords were present also at the Councill table, and all unanimouslie petitioned his Majestie it might be brunt by the hangman's hand; and inacted, that whoever had any coppie of it, or any part of it, and did not delyver it within ten dayes to the nixt justice of peace, by him to be sent to the King's Secretarie, should be punished according to the law of the land aganis those who have such scandalous papers; but if it be tymelie delivered, the offence to be pardoned. Given at Westminster, August 11, 1639, and in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne.

Proclamation for indiction of the Assemblie, given at Halirood-house, Julie 1, 1639. The Assemblie to be holden at Edinburgh,

August 12, warning all Archbishops, Bishops, Commissioners of kirks, and others haveing voyce and place in the Assemblie, to repair to Edinburgh day foresaid to attend the Assemblie, and therein to doe as effeirs, &c. Another Proclamation, Julie 1, 1639, ordaining the Session and Colledge of Justice to sitt doune, Julie 12, to administer justice to the subjects; and, Julie 10, the Laird of Hakertoun younger was admitted a Lord of the Session.

Aganis those tuo Proclamations there was a Protestation drawen up:—Seing Bishops were warned to be present as members of the Assemblie, who by the Assemblie of Glasgow were declared to be no office-bearers in this Kirk, and were most justlie excommunicat; therefore, least we should seame in the least degree either to approve of Bishops, or admitt any thing prejudiciall to our Covenant and Oath, or Assemblie at Glasgow, we Protest that we adhere to all the acts of that full and free Assemblie of Glasgow, to our Covenant, and Oath; and that the Bishops be holden as accursed, excommunicated as heathen and publicans. That all incendiaries, and misinformers of the subjects anent his Majestie, or of his Majestie aganis the subjects, be punished by the Parliament as accords of law; and that the maintainers of the excommunicat Prelatts be proceeded aganis with excommunication: And seing the sitting doune of the Session ought to be upon forty dayes intimation, and that the subjects are necessarlie employed now otherwise about their effairs long neglected, and cannot attend the Session, Protests that all acts, sentences, decreets, interlocutors, to be pronunced, be in themselves null, voyd, and ineffectuall, protesting for remead of law aganis the samyne. The Earle of Dalhousie in name of the nobilitie; Sir William Rosse in name of the barons; the Provost of Stirlin in name of the burrowes; and Mr Andro Ramsay in name of the ministers, took instruments in the hands of notars present, at the Mercat-crosse of Edinburgh, Julie 1.

APPENDIX

TO

ROW'S HISTORY

APPENDIX TO ROW'S HISTORY.

No. I.

THE HUMBLE SUPPLICATION OF THE PROVINCIALL SYNOD OF ABERDENE, HOLDEN AT BAMF, IN APRILE 1648, TO THE RIGHT HON. THE ESTATES OF PARLIAMENT, NOW SITTING AT EDINBURGH.

[From the original in the Editor's possession.]

WHILST we, the servants of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in Him your Lordshipps servants, doe behold the tossings and afflictions of this poore Kingdome; as our desire is to look up unto Him who is Almightie, and alsufficient for help and remeadie; so we cast our eyes upon your Lordshipps conveened in this High Court of Parliament, as upon state-physicians in a time of so much distemper: We doubt not but your Lordshipps are very sensible and apprehensive (upon late prooff and sad experience) of the greevous and inexpressible calamities, which ordinarly doe accompanie the sword: whereupon we conceave that your Honours will be far from ingageing the Nations in an unnecessarie warre. We shall be very loath to encroach upon any thing propper and peculiare to your Lordshipps, or excentrick to ourselves; yet we presume to represent our humble Desyres, in a mater of so hie and of so near concernment and importance, That if, after due deliberation, your Lordshipps shall finde a necessitie of undertaking a Warre, it may be so managed, so gone about, that in the stateing of the Question, and prosecuting the Ingagement, the wholl bussines, all the ends of the Covenant, may be looked on *complexive*, and fixed upon as a chaine, whereof one link being taken off or broken, the wholl is dissolved and undone: And as Sec-

taries on the one hand, so the Prelaticall and Malignant partie (who are lifting up their heads) on the other hand, may be declared and proclamed enemies. Our hope is also, that your Honours, in all your purposes and undertakings, will still prefer that which ought to have, and in all the late undertakings of this Nation, hes had the preheminence and chieff place, to witt, the advancement of Religion, and work of Reformation, established happilie in this Kirk and Kingdome, and so far advanced in our nighbour Nation. And Religion, for which we have bene at so great expense, being fullie secured, That, in the secund rowme, all the obligations and tyes, which the League and Covenant putts upon this Kirk and Nation, may be remembred and pursued according to our former declarations and protestations. And it is our humble Desire, That in what may concern the good of Religion, and advanceing all the ends of the Covenants, your Lordshipps will be pleased to take along with yow the counsells and desires of our reverend and worthie brethren, the Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie; whose faithfulnes and stedfastnes in the work of the Lord doth not a litle refresh our spirits: That a sweet harmonie being betuix your Lordshipps and them, the great bussines may be so caried on, that Christ's kingdome may be advanced, disaffected persons may be frustrat, the godlie comforted, feeble hands strengthened, enemies of all sorts keeped at under, and we of the ministrie furnished with good argument, to stirre up and encourage our flocks, to be subservient to all your Lordshipps lawfull, just, and necessarie demands; and cordiallie to beg God's blessing to all your Lordshipps pious and laudable undertakings.

Your Lordshipps humble servant in Christ Jesus,

MR JO. ROW,

Moderator of the Provinciall Synod of Aberdene, in their name, and at their speciall command, *nemine contradicente.*

4th May 1648.—*Redd in audience of Parliament; presented by Mr Johne Forbes.*

No. II.

INSTRUCTIONS AGREIT UPON BY MR ANDREW CANT, MR JOHNE ROW, MR JOHNE MEINZIES, TO THE COMMISSION OF THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE WHICH IS TO SITT DOUN AT PERTH, MARCHE 12, 1651.

[From Wodr. MSS. vol. xxxi. 4to, no. 7.]

1. We doe all look upone the Sectarian partie as ane enemie to the Work of God, and ane unjust invador of this Kingdome, against whom acting is a necessar deutie.

2. Seing the reverend Bretherine sent to Aberdene by the Commissione hes gevin this sence of the exceptionis conteanit in the Commissionis Answeris to the Parliaments Querie, That by personis notoriouslie flagitious are to be understood all knowne to be wicked or scandelous, thogh under no churche processe or censure, and muche moir these who are under proces or censuris. And by obstinat oppressoris of the work of God ar to be understood, these who doe not onlie not profess repentence for thair oppositione to the work of God, bot also all these who tho they doe profess repentence, zett give not suche convincing evidences of the realitie of thair repentence as ane Ecclesiastick court might require, according to the Actis of the Generall Assemblie; that, therefore, we may the moir cordiallie goe along with publict proceidingis, we humblie desyre for further satisfactione, the Commissione wold be pleased to declair whither this wer [thair] realie intendit meaning, and the rather becaus the wordis thameselves and the reasonis broght by the commissione seemed to employ ane great latitude.

3. We craive leave to declair that it stumbles ws that in the Commissionis answer to the Parliaments Querie there is no word of malignancie, nor malignantis, or the malignant designe, quhich in all publict paperis hitherto was justlie mentionat, yea evin since Dumbar.

4. We lykwayes stumbled that paines was not takin to have had a

roll of personis quhich aucht to be debarred, and that by name they are not debarred.

5. It stumbles us, that ane oppine doore is maid for the receiving at this verie nick of tyme, these whom the Publict Resolutionis excepted, although befoir this they war never suiteris to be received.

6. We think strange also that men are putt upone committeis of shyres of quhom some refuis to subscryve the League and Covenant: some refuis both the Covenant, and the League and Covenant; zet, we can heir no effectuall testimonie borne against these or the lyk courses.

7. Forsomuche as the reverend Bretherin that come to Aberdene did judge it a dewtie that effectuall representatione be maid to the Estait of any thing done by thame, contrair to the Publict Resolutiones of the Commissione of the Kirk to the Staites Querie, according as it is explained, we, therefor, requeist the Commissione, as they wold not be accessorie to the sin of the State, that they effectuallie represent to the Stait, quhatsoever is done contrair to the Publict Resolutionis according as it is explaned.

8. Whairas we yeildit to the Bretherin that come along hither, that the sin of magistrats imploying thais men who suld not be imployed, oucht not to hinder honest men from acting, it is to be understood with this provisione, that the purging work be gone about diligentlie for removing from the Armie, especiallie from places of trust, all knowne to be wicked and scandelous or disaffected to the Worke of Reformatione; all who hes not gevin evidence of thair repentance according to the Word of God and Actis of our Assemblie, for thair malignancie; all men of blood on whom the sword of justice sall have strucken, evin albeit, in the judgement of charitie they could be judged penitent, which, if it be not done, we doe conceive the associatione sinfull on the peopill's pairt as well as on the magistrate's pairt.

9. We are daylie [heiring] and seing moir and moir to mak us averse from these bad associationis, the offence of the godlie, the conscience unsatisfied, and all the wicked men in the land lifting up thair heid, and the wicked walking on everie side, while the vylest men are exalted. We trust that the Commissione of the Kirk will indevoir to thair outmost, that they be not maid sad whom God will not have maid sad, and they be not glad whom God wold not have maid glad, and that we may be all reunited for keeping the unitie of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

No. III.

LETTER FROM MR JOHN ROW, PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN, TO HIS BROTHER, MAY 27, 1652.

[From a MS. in the Editor's possession. Although in a hand resembling Row's, the letter is evidently not the original. It has no address, but from the Postscript we may infer that it was written to one of his brothers; by whom this copy may have been transcribed for Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warristoun, who has indorsed it, "Mr Jh. Row his letter."]

ABERDENE, Maie 27, 1652.

MY DEARE BROTHER,—I did writt to yow formerlie anent quhat I now writt, though not so fullie, bot it seims it hath never come to your hands, else should I have gotten ane answer sure ere now; or it may be also that your letters have been intercepted *vel interciderunt*. I am calling to my mind a word, though spok to me a gud while agoe, that as for Cotton's Congregational Way, and Hooker his Discipline, (books which I hade never seine yit,) yee wer not able to answer them, thai spoke so convincingly: This, or to this purpose. We have startled that questione heir anent the qualifications required in a member of a Visible Congregatione, and have hade conferences with the learnedest ministers heir, for some eight or nine weiks, still appointing the nixt dyet, and finding themselves putt out both by scripture and reasone, as I conceive, they deserted the meeting, where the pryme papers were to be presented in readines: a former papere of theirs (for we exchanged) did prove our point fullie; which, quhen it was reade, thai durst adventure upon no moe papers, for their first citatione was out of the Directorie for Church Government, affirming they should be visible saints; and we said, Here is all which we crave, *habemus confitentes reos*. I cannot think bot you are affected with our sinfull mixtures; 1 Cor. v. 9, 11, μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι, is not well rendred as translated, for it is not to be again sinfully mixt; and that upon a three-fold account:

1. All of them must have thair children baptized, and (*a blank in*

the MS.,) I must take a solemne promise before God, that the ignorant and profane shall bring up his child in the knowledge of the Christiane faith, pietie, and holie educatione: Quhat a solemne taking of the name of the Lord in vaine is this! 2. Quhat one amongst a hundreth in Scotland is fitt, according to the patterne, to be sett att the Lord's Table? We would not, twenty yeirs agoe, countenance a mixt communion quhere was kneeling and sitting, tuo sundrie gestures; shall those be countenanced, quhere visible members of the devill are sett up for members of Christ's bodie? 3. The multitude are encouraged to continow in ignorance, securitie, pryd, profanitie, formalitie, malignancie. Why? thai are members as well as others, and there is not a separating of the precious from the vile. If purging would help this, Oh! if it were sweit, if we could sett activelie about it; bot quhen the major parte of the Generall Assemblie, Synods, and Presbetries, are corrupt, and congregations in such a frame, that if, in a great cõngregatione, yee have ten or twenty free of ignorance and scandall, either *privative* or *positive*, it is much; in some congregations (heire att least by the ministers confession) not one: How then shall we purge? by what rule? who shall doe it? the major parte being corrupt, and voices most doe it; and quhat congregations are these, quhere there is not a possibilitie of all Christ's ordinances as he hath ordained them? We think a member of a congregatione of Christ ought to be a visible saint: Mr Baxter, a presbyteriane, hath a good word, "He is a member of the visible kirk, who seims to be a member of the invisible:" and so (sure) neither ignorant nor scandalous. This trueth (I conceive) is held forth in manay hundreth places of Scripture, just now produceable, quhen I shall be requyred, bot I shall pick out to yow some few, that say all and everie one ought to be such; because I sie some shifts, quhen it is said to the saints att Corinth, it is the better parte putt for the wholl; and then, quhen the Spirit of God sayes all, wholl, everie one, I shall think him too too bold, darre comment all and everie one to be bot some. Reade Acts ii. 38; and xv. 22, 23; Rom. i. 7, 8; 1 Cor. v. 7; and vi. 18, 19, 20; Flie fornicatione is said to all, why not quhat followes, and xii. 25, 26, 27, 28; 1 Thes. i. 2; and ii. 11, etc.; 2 Thes. i. 3; Isa. liv. 13; Gal. iv. 26, 27, 28; Acts xx. 28, 32; Zach. xi. 10; Acts ix. 26; 1 Thes. v. 5; Isa. lxvi. 19, 20, 23; Philip. i. 7, 8; Isa. lx. 21. And having reade, let me heare quhat yow think of some or all profane, and so quhat a congregation now shall yat be, quhere there is

judicio charitatis, (so sayes Dicksonus, in 1 Cor. i. 8, and all sound divines that I know,) ought to be such, yet not only visible professors who may be hypocrits, (and so creepe in unawares, for I think certainlie thai admitted none ignorant or prophane :) bot even a gracious man, a David, a Peter, may fall in a foull scandalous sinne, which will not brangle quhat is said. 2°. It is confessed that all in ane eldershipe ought to be visiblie gracious, (1 Tim. iii. ; Tit. i. ;) why not the rest also, whom the Spirit of God designs by the names of saints, elect, called, justified, sanctified, temples of the most high God, for whom Christ died, etc. 3°. Looke all the names the Kirk gets in Hebrew, Greeke, Latin, they all speak out holines ; I have looked on eight or nine. Kirk, or rather kyrk, is Κυριακ[ή], *subaudi* οἰκία, quhat sayes ἱερὸν ? studie quhat *templum*, ἐκκλησία, *ædes sacra*, etc. 4°. All scandalous persons ought, ere they be admitted to repentance, (for they ought to be excommunicat, 1 Cor. v. 11 ; Heb. xii. 15, 16, according to our own rule, but it is not knowen,) to give a cleare evidence of a penitent beleiver, much more ere he be absolved ; why should not all the rest be gracious as well as he ? 5°. The Scriptures ordains judges and souldiours to be saints, holie men, with such and such qualifications, why not all Christ's members who should judge themselves ? Judge quhat the Apostles sayes, who will judge the world and angels, 1 Cor. vi. ; who doe fight the Lord's battels, should a souldiour be holie, Deut. xxiii., and not a merchant or tradsman ? The Inglish Annotations sayes, Israel's armie should be ane armie of saints. 6°. Our Confessione of Faith, and Directorie for Church Government sayes, a professione of faith, sound doctrinè and obedience. Now, if this be belied by practice, that profession, sayes our Covenant, is a mocking, will draw down God's wrath ; and certainlie it is, "Haill, King of the Jewes !" and yet spitt in his face. Mr Samuel printed a bare professione, nixt a blamles professione ; this last is all that is craved. 7°. A member of the invisible church is a saint, *ergo*, a member of the visible should be a visible saint, by all the reasone of the world. 8°. Our Directorie for Church Government calls them visible saints, (p. 2 and 7, and p. 15, 16,) there should not one ungodlie person be among the people of God, for he will leaven the rest ; and our Liturgie sayes, quhat a crueltie to lay a tender babie in the bed with him whom I know hath the botch. Speaking to the impure mixtures in congregationsif one may be profane, why not two, twenty, two hundred, two thousand, *ubi datur sistere? eadem est omnium ratio*, then all may be

no possibilitie of ane eldershipe or of a congregatione, according to the patterne. 9o. Barone in 1 Cor. v., as to that opinione of a bare professione, affirmes *pestilentissimam esse opinionem*; ministers neids not teach it, sayes that holie man, for people can be profane enough without such pestilent doctrine, for in their lives, nothing bot downright atheisme is to be sein: *isthæc ille.* Bot that a bare profession is not enough, reade Rom. xv. 18; Ezeck. xlvii. 12; Mat. v. 16; and xv. 16; and 1 Cor. iv. 20; Acts ix.; they would not admitt him though he made professione till it was evidenced, Heb. iii. 6; 1 Thes. ii. 13, 14; Heb. x. 32, &c.; 2 Tim. iii. 5; 1 Cor. v. 1, 2, 3, &c., to the end; Tit. i. 16; Mat. xxvii. 29; Acts viii. 37; 2 Thes. ii. 10, 11, 12, 13; Mat. iii. 7, 8; with Luke vii. 29, 30; the generatione of vipers made a professione, yet were rejected and not baptised: weigh those. 10. Rebels, open outlawes, are not the King's subjects, *ergo*, neither the ignorant nor prophane, Christ's. A congregatione thus constitut with their eldershipes I suppose will be found the first church to whom, in the word, Christ hath given the power of the keyes, censure, excommunicatione. The Papists, I conceive, is in one extreame, Brownists, Separatists, one another; yow know there is a midst betuixt giving all to the clergie, and all to the people; give parte to the guids and a cheif parte to the people, none are excepted by the Apostle, 1 Tim. ii. 11; and 1 Cor. xiv. 34. I sie our old rules (reade them, I professe they are buried in oblivione, our Liturgie before the Psalme booke) ascribes very much to the people, much more then we are awarre of, and no absolutione till all the Eldershipe be convinced by evidences, and after that, till all the people be satisfied, a cleare Act of Assemblie for it. Which of us ever practised this? much of our own rules have bein left because they looked lyke that, against which we are willing to foster prejudice, without impartiall examinatione, proving all things, resolving to hold quhat is good. I cannot find one place quhere ane Eldershipe alone, either intrinsicall or extrinsicall, is called the Church. I shall find sundrie places quhere the People, as contradistinguished from their Elders, yea, without them, are called a Church, Acts xi. 26; and xiv. 23, 27; and xv. 4, 22, 23, 30; 1 Cor. xi. 12, 22, 23; and xiv. 4, 5, 28, 35; 3 Jo. 6, bot most eminentlie, it is the people with their eldership. So the epistles are directed to the Churches, and so [ἐκκλησία] ought, Mathew xviii. 17, [to] be understood, for it is the church quherin the offences arose, *ergo*, the congregatione and our rule is, goe not to a judi-

catorie *per saltum;* shall I overleape then the congregatione and their eldershipe, and go to another, *Absit.* Now, if so, remark that it is the Church who may excommunicat, and whose sentence Christ will ratifie. Strange, ane adulterie fals out in Aberdene, and yet we may not excommunicat him, bot ane extrinsicall and a superior judicatorie must doe it, yea, doe it all; Christ hath given excommunicatione to the Church quhere the offence is done, yet not one of those how able soever darre excommunicat, yet that eldershipe and breithren can know the cace better nor ane Œcumenick Synod. Albeit, those *dogmatice* may hold out more light in a point, the congregationall eldershipe hath from Christ a right, either to doe nothing or all their bussines, or this parte, but not that. Now, quhat you affirme, yow must cause scripture speak it, or else yow will not brew your browst well; as my youngest brother, my scholer, etc., *relativus*, said to me in the bitterest, most despitefull letter that ever I have readilie seine: I wish him pardone for it. Now, quhere is that text I pray, that assignes some parte of the work, but taks from them another parte? if Christ hath given them excommunicatione, ordinatione, &c., as it is granted in a remote farre yland, I would learne this now, because I have nighbours hard by me; if I be able for the work the Lord hath given me to doe, shall my nighbours robbe me of my right whither I will or not? If I ask help of my nighbours, christiane charitie will that I should have it of them; bot I hope if I may rule my familie on a moorhead, may my nighbours in a citie robbe me of my priviledge because I have nighbours? if so, I hade better want them, then to be robbed of quhat Christ hath given to me. O bot it cannot cure all evill. *Ans.* Can a Generall Assemblie cure all evils? Let the present posture of affairs speake; may not a Generall Assemblie erre? Our readers, not exhorters, did baptize; the Act of Aberdene, 1640, against christians praying and conferring togither, repeated with a relapse, 1647, after it had beine solved; our tenet of a bare verball professione, which Baron sayes, is a most pestilent opinione; we should goe to no judicatorie *per saltum;* yet still, if there be ane excommunicatione, it must goe to a higher and extrinsicall Eldershipe, &c., [I] darre showe a Generall Assemblie may erre: if it wrong me, what shall I doe, appeall to ane Œcumenick, hath Christ left me to ane impossible remedie? I cannot have such a meiting, or though I hade one such, may not it erre? May it not fall in tuo? May not the one halfe protest against the

other? Yea, I dare say, in matters of censure, it were their wisest answer to remitt all to the congregatione, saying, thai know the bussines best, thai can doe it best. May not a Classis wrong a congregatione? I desire ane text of scripture, quhere excommunicatione is given to ane extrinsicall Eldershipe, Classe or Synod, more or lesse. I find in twenty-eight yeirs (for so long taks up the Acts of the Apostles) one Synod, Acts 15, is there anay appeall as to a standing judicatorie with jurisdictione and power of excommunicatione? I find them *dogmatice* decerning, and the people along with them, in all bussines, from the first jump to the last, not one word of excommunicatione, and whence are they so frequent? Certainlie our mixturs occasions this latter, seing in that one which only we find to be the patterne they medle not att all with excommunicatione. And as for our Commissione of the Generall Assemblie making Acts, and excommunicating most precious men transgressing unratified Acts, which it is possible the Generall Assemblie might have disclaimed: Quhat ane ordinance of Christ is that, seing it was a wittie overture of King James VI., anno 1594, quherewith he resolved to overturne Presbyterie: and so he did; bot his drift at first was not espyed, bot shortlie, honest men saw it, bot could not help it. The Generall Assemblie hade given way to the overture: Good Lord, shall a devilish devyce of a cruell persecutour, devysed to overturne ane order setled (*prout tunc*) to which he had sworne in Covenant, shall that, I say, be ane ordinance of Jesus Christ? Farre be it from me to say there is no Church in Scotland, or that there is no fault in it; I wish the faults were amended. A sick man is a man, our Covenant is *regula regulanda*, not *regulans*, and I conceive *mens legis est ipsa lex;* it aimed at reformatione; therefore, quhatsoever shall kyth reformatione, as sundrie good things are enacted since 1638, and be conforme to the patterne, I wish it were not interpreted a breach of Covenant; and if anay stinting be in the Covenant, in reformatione as well as sanctificatione, *non progredi est regredi.* And if anay thing be amisse in *male pactis, rescinde fidem; in turpi voto muta decretum:* Augustine.

Quhatever I have written, the Lord's word hath swayed my minde [in] it, and I may expect *deum secli* persecutione, excommunicatione, losse of liveliehood, and quhat not. Dueties are ours; events the Lord's. I am,

Your Loving Brother,

MR JO. ROW.

Desire my Mother that she be not troubled with idle reports, bot that she heare all, and the grounds; and show her the falshood of that lie devised of my Wife's being dipped above Dundie. It is a great untruth; she understands, I hope, some better then so. After reading and seiking God, without prejudice, in cold blood, let me haue aue ingenuous answere.

No. IV.

SCRUPLES AGAINST CONFORMITY TO EPISCOPACY, WRITTEN ABOUT THE YEAR 1663.

[From the enlarged copy of Row's MS. in the Advocates Library, marked 34, 5, 14. This paper was probably written by WILLIAM ROW, Minister of Ceres, and of course after the Restoration of Charles II., when Episcopacy was again introduced into Scotland.]

I AM earnestlie dealt with anent submitting to the Governement now settled in the Church by Bishops, and one motive is, That severall ministers of exemplar lyves, and eminent parts and profession, have closed with it, which in charitie is to be presumed to flow from their getting clearnes in their judgement in their closing; of which Brethren so reputed there be some in the bounds where you reside: And seeing I have some Scruples, till I had attained clearnes, I wold not goe over the bellie of my judgement, to the undoing of my peace, and foirfalture of my salvation. And, therefor, I intreat and will expect, that yee will take the pains to informe yourselfe and me, what may be the grounds of that clearnes they have gotten, as to scruples of that nature that make [me] so anxious as yet, and let me have information theranent, that, if possible, I may preserve my inward peace with my outward being, which they seem to doe.

1. My First Scruple is, That the Church being God's plantation and husbandrie, cannot, without blasphemie, be thoght, much lesse asserted, to be without a Governement; nay, that the Lord himselfe, the fontaine of all prudencie and wisdome, protesteth, that to fense his vineyeard was his worke which he performed anent it, Is. 5. And the Apos-

tle's rejoycing at the state of the Kirk of Collosse; it was their order *in Regimine Ecclesiastico*, (as Piscator and others expone it,) as well as their faith that bred him that joy, Coll. ii. 5. So also he expresseth, 1 Cor. xii. 28, that God had set up a governement in the Church; so that I conceive that the Lord hath not left it arbitrarie or indifferent, how, or by whom, his church sall be governed, as the new conceit is: neither can it be solidlie affirmed that God appointed a governement in the church, and left it to particular churches or princes, to pitch upon the forme of governement in particular, that they find most conducible for themselves; for that were to fancie *universale extra singularia*, which is a wyld notion in verie philosophie, let be in divinitie. So that, untill Episcopacie be proven to be the governement of Christ in the church, and of his building about his vineyeard, the companion of the stedfastnes of faith, Col. ii. 5, the rejoycing of the godlie, I see not how I can close with it without doubting; for whatsoever is not of faith is sin. The most pregnant thing proposed to me for my clearing in this case is The testimonie of Antiquitie. But of those antiquities, not only the one varieth from the other, but severall varie from themselves; and although they were harmonious, yet is the testimonie but humane and fallible. And although they were infallible, yet their Episcopacie of antiquitie differs from our Prelacie *multis parasangis*, no lesse then the Chancellor from the King.

2. Supposing that Episcopacie were indifferent in itselfe to be used or refused as (*a blank in the MS.*) yet I am sworne against it, and my abjuration of it will be called a sin or a dutie. If it wes a dutie, then the breach of the oath of abjuration must be a notorious perjurie. Nor can it be called a sin, for if it were so, then the governement of the church by prelacie cannot be called indifferent; for men may not, without sin, bind themselves to accept or refuise a thing indifferent except in the case of scandall, which the said abjuration is not. Againe, if it be a sin or cause of sin in itselfe, and if to abjure it were a sin, then to mantaine it were a duetie, and so all the churches that wanted it might be justlie charged with neglect of a duetie, which will be no lesse uncharitable to think than difficult to prove, for ought that I have learned as yet. 2. If it were a sin, it must be either in reference to the mater sworne, or to some circumstances attending the swearing, such as ignorance, rashnes, deceit, feare for dissent of authoritie, or some other

such ; but if the mater sworne be no sin abstracting from the circumstances of the oath, then it is indispensible, as may be probablie instanced in the oath of Joshua and the princes to the Gibeonites, which wes attended with error, ignorance, rashnes, and deceit : Also, the oath of the spyes to Rahab, and of Zedekiah to Nebuchadnezzar, which wes attended with feare and force, Ezek. xvii. : And the oath of the people to preserve Jonathan, which was attended not only with dissent of authoritie, but also contrair to positive authoritie. I suppose the mater of my oath cannot be called a sin till Episcopacie be cleared to be the necessar governement by divyne institution, which to me, as yet, hath not bene cleared. Their are soverall things proposed to me toward my clearing and engadging in this case. As,

1. That there salbe no declaration requyred of me to the contrair. *Ans.* But I conceive, that acting contrair to my oath, although I sould not be so madde as to sweare, yet so to act is downe right perjurie, althogh it be not so devilish as the other. Nor is it any more lawfull to receive the mark of the Beast in my hand then in my foirhead, in practise or positive profession.

2. It is said, We submitted to Usurpers contrair to the civile part of the Covenant, and why not to this part in lyke maner? *Ans.* But I conceive that that is not generallie true, nor particularlie as to me in my station ; and although it were, I take it to be no good reason, because I once perjured to perjure againe. Moreover, submission is twofold, proper or improper. The latter is, when I doe not counteract to any Usurper's power, but live quyetlie besyde it, which for one to doe, will not satisfie the Bishops. And albeit it must be my sin in some respects, yet perhaps I wold bee too easilie drawen to it ; and indeid this was all the submission that honest men gave to usurpers, being disenabled to doe much against them, except to give testimonie against them, which they did. The former and proper sort of submission is, when either by profession or practise, directlie or indirectlie, I come unto a lyne of subordination to the Usurpers, and communicate with them in this power so usurped. Thus to doe with the bishop were directlie against my oath, and which none but Tender-men, Place-takers, and such lyke corporators and concurrers with the English did.

3. It is said, That it is a greater ill for me to forbeare the improvement of my talent, instructing of soules, and preaching the word, that is so weightie and necessarie a dutie, 1 Cor. ix. 16 ; then to close with

Episcopacie, and the least of evills is to be chosen. *Ans.* But I conceive that I give not up my duetie, when I am by power and force put from it, unles I make shipwracke of a good conscience, when I must either perjure and sin in closing with Episcopacie, or els submitt to be laid asyde from my ministrie. It is not my voluntar deserting for my owne ends, but a patient suffering of my selfe to be barred from my calling rather then sin, and consequentlie it is not my sin but my affliction, neither am I called to procure my owne condemnation to promove other men's salvation. To preach the gospell is indeid my desire, if I could have that libertie of it without lose of a good conscience; but God stands not in neid of my sin to get him glorie and carie on his service and ends; neither must I doe evill in the least, that good may come of it, Rom. iii. Further, preaching is but a positive duetie and *juris partialis*, not oblidging *ad semper*; but not to perjure myselfe is *juris universalis et naturalis*; and, therefor, the one competing with the other, the former must cede to the latter, and in this case, no blame is to be imputed to me, being for my part by this composition so necessarlie impeded, obstructed, and bound up from the exercise of my ministrie. Well did Augustine determine in his booke, *De Mendacio*, That if the salvation of the (whole) world did lye at the staike for making ane officious lie, yet (sayeth he) we must not doe it. They redeeme their ministrie at a deare rate, who buy it by selling the trueth and God's honour and favour. In this case then I am morallie impossibilitated as to the exercise of my ministrie, and yee know, *Nemo tenetur ad impossibilia*, and so it ceaseth *pro loco et tempore* to be duetie.

4. You say, preaching and exercising discipline is my commanded duetie, and sould I not doe it because a bishop bids me? *Ans.* But I conceive that [what] cannot consist with my faithfulness to God, and consequentlie with my salvation, cannot be my duetie. And Christ denyed to satisfie his extreame hunger, (which otherwayes wes lawfull,) even by lawfull means, when requyred thereto by Satan.

5. When your conscience beareth you witnes that you doe not approve that governement, may you not let them be doing with it, and goe on in your duetie? *Ans.* Nay, but for me to act against my oath, my conscience dissapproving my practise, is not only perjurie, but sin against light.

6. The governement being now established by the civile power, you are not in a capacitie to extirpate it, and impossibilities are not obli-

gatorie? *Ans.* 1. But I say my engadgements are not only for endeavores, (which, notwithstanding of the civile power establishing, is yet possible,) but also for endeavores in my station, which is ministeriall by preaching, praying, &c., against it, so that, whill I am in this capacitie, I cannot forbeare from it nor omitt these.

7. Under the hazard of perjurie holy men, and martyrs, powerfull propugners of the trueth have been bishops, and will you judge them to have exercised ane antichristian charge? *Ans.* Their Episcopacie differs from ours almost *toto genere*, as may be easilie cleared; and although it had not differed, yet they did it implicitlie and through custome without searching into it, nor were they sworne against it, nor knew they by experience the evills of it sensiblie felt in after generations, what ane enemie it proveth to pietie in its [exercise:] and trulie pompous prelacie, and the power of the gospell, are lyke Dagon and the arke, if the one stand the other falls, or els I beleive they never exercise it rightlie.

8. Sie ye not that divisions were occasioned by the governement since Episcopacie wes removed? *Ans.* For this considder, That which is commanded of God, not having intrinsecall casualitie to beget sin, but only Satan and corruption taking occasion from it, cannot, therefore, be cast out or dispensed with, els the law being the occasion of sin, Rom. vii. 5, and the gospell of divisions, Mat. x. 34; Luk. ii. 34, must be forgone.

9. If you looke upon Episcopacie as unlawfull, you must not forbeare preaching though discharged? *Ans.* O but I must not ensnare the people inhibited by authoritie to heare me, and although submitting to the sentence be uncleared as yet, nevertheless, the Synod concurring with the Bishop, albeit they pretend not to act *ex officio reduplicative*, but as assistants of the bishop in the exercise of his power, yet reallie being *in judicio et officio*, I wold reverence the sentence so farre as to submitt to their censure, and wold looke on their ministrie to me and their σφαλμα in acting *alio quocumque more* then by intrinsicke vertue of their office, as upon their personall error, but not as enough to count their sentence null in *foro interiore seu ecclesia.*

10. But you will bring yourselves to danger and your families to miserie? *Ans.* I conceive that objection unworthie of a follower of Christ to object, or of me to regard. *Nil timeo nisi peccata*, said a martyr. Let us count our cost, and take up our crosse cheirfullie, and choose a

thousand miseries befor one sin; feare not them who can kill the bodie, only desire to choose as Moses did, Heb. xi. 25, 26, 27. Get ye behind me, Satan, said Christ, when Peter bade him spare himselfe. And cursed sall my advantage be that I sall gaine by shipwracking the peace and favour of God. *Cura officii sit cura nostra, cura eventus sit cura Dei.*

11. But you never personallie tooke the Covenant? *Ans.* No more wes the oath given to the Gibeonites personallie taken by Saul; yet the breach thereof was severlie punished on his posteritie and people.

My Third Scruple is, That being sworne in my statione to endeavore the extirpation of Prelacie, my station being ministeriall, out of conscience of my oath, I did beare publicke testimonie in acting to the light given to me in preaching, I spake with warrand, Thus sayth the Lord. And now sall I make the strength of Israel a lyar, and the gospell that I preached, yea and nay? Sall I build that which I have destroyed, and not make myselfe a transgressor? Sall I expect to doe good to soules who sall be witnes to my unfaithfulnes? And will they be stirred up with such a uncertain and contradicting sound? Or believe that I lead them in the way of salvation, my selfe running in the way of condemnation? If you object, that many able men who were zealous in that oath above others, yet have closed with the governement. *Ans.* Indeed it cleareth none, but confounds me with feare, till I know what gained them that clearenes, I may suspect that there may be a whisk of the dragon's taile drawing these faire starres to the earth, Rev. xii. 4. And although it were not so, yet I darre not be a follower of men, but as they are of Christ, to my light. Everie man sall beare his owne burden, and make ane accompt of himselfe to Christ.

My Fourth Scruple is, The case of scandall. Sall I not make the verities of Christ to be evill spoken of, and cause the enemies of Christ to blaspheme? *Ans.* Sall I greive and make sad the hearts of the godlie, and strengthen the hands of backslyders, and those who cast out such as tremble at his word and feare ane oath, saying, Let the Lord be glorified, and who kill the prophets for righteousnes sake, yet thinke they doe God good service? It will be said, for ought I apprehend, if you oppose, that I give offence to the pluralitie of the nation, by not closing

way be the way of trueth and myne of error, for dueties are scandalous to no man. And did I know I were in ane error, I wold humblie and heartilie retract and offend no more.

Finallie, The meditation of two things sounds loud in my eares, and beget in me a loathnes of running to close without clearnes; and these are, the Love of God, and the Terrour of God.

As to the love of Christ, I thinke I heare Christ crying to me, I had rather suffered the ruine of heaven and earth, the monument of my power, befor I brake my word in a jote to you, and will you brake your word to me? Have you opened your mouth to the Lord? How can you goe back againe? And againe, I ventured my life and glorie, and did suffer the fulnes of my Father's wrath for you, and will ye quite nothing for me? Wes I unto you a wildernes, a land of drought? What fault have you found in me? Or will ye so requyte the Lord, O foolish people and unwise?

Secondly, As for the Terrors of Christ, I thinke as to the First Scruple I heare him crying, Away with that man, a vaine worshipper of me, who for doctrines closeth with the commandements of men; away with such seeming wise men as are subject to ordinances which are often the commandements of men. And what is Episcopacie? Oh! earth, earth, but a carnall politicke devyce for extravagant greatnes of princes, and of some few selfe-seekers and atheists, *qui tenui sorte non contenti*, Diotrephes and Demas lyke mixe heaven and earth to raise themselves. Sall not I be avenged of such Babel-builders, and everie one that carieth a stone to it?

And as to the Second Scruple, I thinke I heare him saying, You that draw backe, my soule sall have no pleasure in you. And againe, Thou evill and unfaithfull servant, thou sall not enter into my joy. And againe, Yee that sin wilfullie, shall expiat your sin. And againe, Goe to your wife and children, and be saved by them, whom yee preferred befor me, for ye are not worthie of me. Againe, You stoanie ground that was chocked with the cares of this world, let burning be your end. Againe, Ye who beare not my image, who am the trueth, and suffered not my faithfulnes to faile, and breake my covenant, nor altered any thing that is come out of my mouth, yee are not my children, yee are of your father the devill, who is a lyar from the beginning. O, but my soule trembles to thinke to be

even with those that are most eminent in Church and State? *Ans.* I say although they be offended, yet are they not scandalized, unles that lyable to the flying roll.

And as to the Third Scruple, I thinke I heare a crying, Give accompt of these soules that perished by your uncertain sound. And againe, You have preached to my people another thing than you have formerlie preached, at least, now you act contradictorie to that ye preached befor, be yee therefore accursed.

As to the Fourth Scruple, I thinke I heare him crying, Yee that offend these litle ones that believe in me, let the heavie milstone of God's eternall judgement be hung about your necke, and be yee cast, sailed, and drouned in the sea of God's vengeance, and sinke there for ever. Againe, Yee that walke so contrair to me, destroying those for whom I died, I will als walke contrair to you, and will bring upon you seven tymes more plagues, and require their blood at your hands. O, but sall I take the name of God in vaine, and expect to be holden guiltlesse? And breake the covenant, and expect to prosper? Or despise the oath, and escape? Saul did not personalie sweare to the Gibeonites, yet his contravention did destroy his sonnes and familie, and plagued his subjects with three years famine. Hebantistus [Franciscus] Spyra did sweare to those principles, which he after abandoning, did become a dreadfull monument of God's judgement, and a dreadfull spectacle to after generations. Oh! my soule, although it be litle acquaint with the terrors of God, yet it fears to fall in the hands of the Almightie. Oh! my soule, darre not adventure, for shunning their offence and wrath who only can kill the bodie, to incurre the offence of him who can cast soule and bodie into everlasting fyre.

GLOSSARY.

A.

Abuilzements, 205, dress, garments.
Adoes, 162, 289, concerns.
Afterhend, 387, subsequently.
Aganis, 152, against.
Aikers, 15, acres.
Aills (what), 116, what is the matter with.
Air, 219, heir.
Allenarlie, 218, only.
Anent, 522, concerning.
Angels, double, 281, the name of a gold coin.
Appearand, 389, heir-apparent.
Assythment, 179, 182, compensation.
Awin, 80, 151, own.

B.

Bairns, 7, 195, children.
Balling, 172, dancing.
Banning, 419, swearing.
Batter, 72, paste.
Beck, 115, to bow, to make a sign with the head.
Bedralis, 6, bed-rid persons.
Begouth, 245, 433, began.
Beseek, beseech.
Big, 396, to build, construct.
Bigged, 189, 420, builded.
Bishoprie, 262, office of a bishop.
Bishopping, 311, rite of confirmation.
Black and blea, 466, livid, the skin discoloured.
Blecked, 440, blackened.
Boast, boasts, threats, threatenings.
Boast, boasted, 245, to threaten.
Boasting, 324, threatening.
Bordell, 404, brothel.
Brughes, 47, burghs, boroughs.
Bruik, 17, possess, enjoy.
Bruiks, 71, enjoys.
Brunt, 98, 356, burned.
Bruted, 103, reported.
Burrioes, 322, executioners.
By, 473, without, beside.
By, 366, contrary to.

C.

Cannobie, 435, canopy.
Care not, 342, have no objection.
Cartowes, 519, great canons.
Casey, (calsay), 510, causeway, public street.
Catbands, 506, strong hooks fixed in the wall for keeping a door or gate shut.
Catch-peall, 501, peill, a place of strength, a fortification, properly of earth.
Caudie-rapier, 462, a long sword?
Cleansed, 292, acquitted.

Coal-heuchs, 339, coal-pits.
Coast, cost, expense, risk.
Commissionrie, 413, office of commissioner.
Compotists, 281, calculators.
Compt, 14, account.
Condisciples, 7, 326, companions at school or college.
Corbie, 60, a raven.
Corbie-messenger, 448, a messenger who does not return with an answer.
Cowp, 50, to exchange.
Cracke, 453, talk.
Cullers, 518, colours.
Cullor, 101, colour.
Cungering, 75, conjuring.

D.

Deaved with the din, 436, distracted with the noise.
Debordings, 107, excesses.
Delate, 32, accuse.
Deletted, 522, accused, a law term.
Dilated, 26, deleted, expunged.
Dishaunt, 48, not to frequent.
Drons, 86, drones, sluggards.
Dyters, 101, writers, endyters.

E.

Effamished, 330, famished, state of starvation.
Eiked, 17, added.
Evict, 190, dispossessed.
Ewest, 153, near, contiguous.
Exercess, 45, exercise.
Exped, 284, forwarded.

F.

Fand, 436, found.
Fead, 167, 178, feud.
Feads, 88, feuds.
Ferd, 127, fourth.
Fireflaught, 333, lightning.
Flype, 451, raise up, fold, turn inside out.
Fog, foggage, 111, 43, dry heather after it is cut; also the cornfields after the crop has been carried.
Forby, 108, 354, besides.
Forsamekle, 44, forasmuch.
Fra, 59, from.
Frequent, 499, numerous.
Fylled, 387, found guilty.
Fylls, 431, defiles.

G.

Gangrell, 456, vagabond, stroller.
Gares, 304, causes.
Geir, geyr, 77, 456, substance, goods.
Gests, 311, actions, exploits.
Gleeb, 48, 190, glebe, church-land.
Graith, 462, clothing.
Greatumlie, 150, in great number, greatly.
Grip, 331, gripe, hold.
Groufe (a), 406, on the ground, grovelling.

H.

Haill, 161, whole.
Haughs, 330, low grounds on the side of a river.
Haver, 443, possessor.
Hinder, 167, hindrance.
Hingand, 157, hanging.
Horn, fra the, 189, from the sentence of outlawry.
Horning, 184, 199, outlawed, denounced rebels.
Hotch potch, 372, hodge-podge.
Howletts, 31, owls.

I.

Illightened, 5, enlightened.
Imperfit, 64, imperfect.
Ingyns, 156, inclinations.
Inlaiking, 496, wanting, deficient.
Inlaiks, 16, deficiencies.
Interessed, 48, concerned.

K.

KAILL, 50, cabbage, colewort.
Kepstone, 11, copestone.
Kyth, 431, seen, to be manifest.

L.

LACES, 21, leases.
Lame, 260, earthenware.
Languis, 6, language.
Lardner, 291, larder, pantry.
Laureat, laureation, 422, taking the degree of A.M.
Leaguer, 521, encampment.
Leck, 398, leaky.
Leet, leetts, 290, list, lists.
Leeting, 290, nominating.
Lentron, 7, the time of Lent.
Letts, 224, hindrances.
Lightlie, 422, to treat with contempt, to undervalue.
Lippen, 456, to trust.
Litt, 432, dye-stuff.
Loun, 392, worthless.
Lounes, 418, rogues, thieves.
Lowsed, 130, released.
Lugs, 286, ears.

M.

MAKS, 110, makes.
Manked, 133, imperfect, mutilated.
Marches, 196, boundaries, limits.
Meas, 265, mess.
Midden, 437, dunghill.
Midds, 111, 251, medium, compromise.
Minassing, 279, menacing.
Mirke, 264, dark.
Misken, 263, to pretend ignorance, overlook, connive at.
Mister, need, want.
Motts, 422, motes, scruples, no hesitation.
Moyen, 80, 105, 337, means, influence.
Muck, 437, dung.
Muske's mother, 519, a piece of ordnance.

N.

NAKED, 512, unarmed, stripped of arms.
Night-waking, 172, revelling.
Nipshott, 395, asquint, backward.
Nocent, 108, guilty.
Nor, 91, than.
Notar, 381, notary-public.
Noture, notoure, 51, 170, notorious.

O.

OCKSTER, 145, arm-pit.
Orphalingis, 6, orphans.
Outwards, 369, external appearance.

P.

PANSED, 12, thought, considered.
Pariosh, paroch, 209. 478, parish.
Parochin, 373, parish.
Passments, 439, ornaments on dress, strips of lace and silk sewed on clothes.
Paughtie, 394, petulant, haughty.
Pavie, 451–454, trick.
Peltrie, 322, trash.
Pen, to, 73, to write.
Pig, 260, an earthen vessel.
Pinnage, 368, pinnace.
Pittard, 511, petard.
Platt, 167, 311, plan, scheme.
Plead, 190, furnish.
Pleasants, 173, jesters, fools, in theatrical exhibitions.
Pleyes, 174, pleas.
Poyndit, 9, penned, confined.
Preass, 266, endeavour.
Preassed, 252, endeavoured.
Preassing, 24, endeavouring.
Preveen, 160, to prevent.
Promoved, 132, promoted.
Pure, 6, poor.
Putting, 436, patting, touching.

Q.

Quat, 326, quitted.

R.

Rat-ryme, 404, words rattled over, anything metrical repeated by rote.
Raxeing, 323, stretching.
Referres, 59, matters referred.
Remead, 308, remedy.
Reweled, 74, revealed.
Riven, 54, torn.
Road, raid, 140, insurrection, incursion.
Roosed themselves little, 476, had little to boast of.
Rouit, 516, rout.
Rowms, 173, places, farms.
Rugged, 97, pulled.
Rugging, 12, pulling, tearing.
Ryff, 173, rife.
Ryve, 72, tear.

S.

Sarke, 449, shift.
See-money, 395, pun on the word Simony.
Sey, 299, essay, trial.
Shavelingis, 76, shaven monks.
Sheell, 433, a hut or temporary place of shelter.
Sho, 12, she.
Shoot to dead, 375, chance to die, death should happen.
Sib, 473, related to.
Sicht, 183, to examine.
Sichted, 208, examined.
Sickerlie, 265, securely.
Sillie, 9, frail, helpless.
Skarr, 256, scar, to take fright.
Skleated, 469, covered with slates.
Slyde, 417, slip, fall.
Smak, 347, savour, inclination.
Smalls, 287, small or petty sums.
Sorners, 173, persons who take free quarters.
Sound, a, 466, to fall in a swoon.
Steeked, 144, closed, shut.
Sticked, 347, stabbed.
Stirre, 416, disturb, trouble.
Suddaintie, 273, suddenness.
Suit, 29, to solicit.
Summar, 176, 183, summary.
Supposts, 446, adherents.
Swarfed, 324, swooned, fainted.
Sybbows, 50, the green tops of young onions.

T.

Tacks, 64, 99, leases.
Test, 294, taste.
Theiked, 471, thatched, covered with straw or turf.
Theologues, 5, theologians.
Thir, 144, these.
Tochergood, 57, dowry, marriage-portion.
Traffecting, 179, trafficking.

U.

Uncouth, 364, strange.

V.

Vaik, vake, 64, 151, be vacant.
Vaiked, 112, became vacant.
Vice, 354, turn.

W.

Warded, 323, confining.
Waughting, 173, quaffing, taking large draughts of liquor.
Whilk, 163, which.
Whill, 49, until.
Winning, 139, to dry, by exposure, harvest-making.
Wyt, wyte, 409, blame.

Y.

Yaird, 432, plott of ground adjoining to a house.
Yoole-day, 314, Christmas-day.

INDEX.

A.

Abbot, Dr George, Dean of Winchester, and Archbishop of Canterbury, 248, 333, 334, 368.
Aberbrothock, Abbacy of, 105.
Abercorn, Earl of, 348.
Abercromby, Robert, 147.
Aberdeen, Bishop of. See Bellenden. Blackburn. Cunningham.
Aberdeen, Doctors, 490.
Aberdeen, King's College, 37, 59, 82, 506.
Aberdeen, Town of, 507, 508, 511–516.
Abernethie, John, minister of Jedburgh, and Bishop of Caithness, 269, 430.
Abernethie, Thomas, Jesuit, 498.
Aboyne, Lord, 515–520.
Adamson, John, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, 202, 352, 374.
Adamson, Patrick, Archbishop of St Andrewes, 8, 54, 58, 59, 61, 72, 106, 111, 113, 115–133, 137, 138, 304, 422, 444.
Adamson, Violat, 422.
Agnew, Sir Patrick, of Lochnaw, Sherriff of Galloway, 386, 387.
Aguir, Mons. Francis, Espagnol, 148.
Aittoun of Enmathe or Eranathe, 129.
Alareit, St, or Loretto, Lady of, 448–453.
Alexander, Sir William, of Menstrie, (afterwards Earl of Stirling,) 323, 348, 351, 352.
Almond, Lord, 505.
Andrews, Dr, Bishop of Ely, 283.
Angus, Earl of, 182, 188, 206, 210, 250, 348.
Angus, Countess of, 179, 470.
Angus, William Douglas, Earl of, 140, 145–147, 155.
Aunand, Mr John, 504.
Annandaill, Lord, 505.
Anne of Denmark, Queen, wife of King James VI., 144, 172, 208, 418.
Anne, Princess, daughter of Charles the First, 395.
Anstruther, Captain, 69.
Arabella Stuart: see Stuart.
Arbuthnot, Alexander, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, 48, 59, 82, 417.
Argyll, Archibald, Earl of, 505.
Argyll, Bishop of: see Campbell. Fairlie.
Argyll, Earl of, 42, 77.
Aristotle, 106.
Arnot, Sir John, 240.
Arrol, Earl of: see Errol.
Arthur, William, minister of St Cuthbert's, 374, *note*.

Arran, James Hamilton, Earl of, 70, 102.
Arran, Countess of, Jesabell, 136.
Arran, Captain James Stuart, Earl of, 102, 123.
Assembly, General, meetings of the: see Marginal Notes, *passim.*
Assembly Registers, 64, 109, 123, 131, 133.
Atholl, Earl of, 155.
Auchinleck, John, minister, 129.

B.

Baillie, Sir James, of Lochend, 386, 387.
Balcanquell, Walter, minister of Edinburgh, 87–89, 184, 208, 216, 282.
Balcomie, Laird of: see Learmonth.
Balfour, James, minister of Edinburgh, 208, 231.
Balfour, Laird of: see Bethune.
Balfour, Walter, minister, 13.
Ballantyne: see Bellenden.
Balmaine, Laird of, 490, 520.
Balmerinoch, Lord, 165, 375, 381–390, 497.
Balnaves, Mr Henry, 37.
Bamff, Laird of, 507, 515, 516.
Bancroft, Dr Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, 220, 233, 236, 283–286.
Bannatyne, Adam: see Bellenden.
Barclay, David, minister of St Andrews, 430.
Barclay, Mr Robert, Provost of Irvine, 490.
Barlow, Dr William, Bishop of Rochester, 235, 236.
Barron, Martha, first wife of Patrick Simson, 433.
Barron, Dr Robert, Aberdeen, 489, 495, 497.
Baynes, Paul, 445.
Becket, Thomas à, 400.
Bell, John, minister of Abernethy, 269.
Bell, John, minister of Glasgow, 502.
Bell, Patrick, Provost of Glasgow, 504.
Bellenden, Ballantyne, Bannatyne, Adam, successively minister of Falkirk, Bishop of Dunblane and of Aberdeen, 242, 260, 269, 305, 322, 326, 349, 370, 388, 430, 473, 474, 490, 496.
Bellenden, Sir James, Justice-Clerk, 131.
Bellenden, Sir John, Justice-Clerk, 40.
Bennet, David, minister of Stirling, 93.
Berkshire, Earl of, 524.
Bethune of Balfour, 455, 467:—His daughter Margaret, 455, 467, 468.
Betoun, Cardinal, 10, 31, 304.
Beza, Theodore, 52, 414, 421.
Bishops, Scotish, 488:—Verses against, 292–296, 464.
Black, David, minister of St Andrews, 129, 130, 154, 164, 181, 273, 421.
Blackburn, Peter, minister, and Bishop of Aberdeen, 188, 204, 292, 293.
Blackfoord, James, minister, 430.
Blackhall, Lord, 505.
Blackness, Castle of, 228-230, 240.
Blair, Adam, 502.
Blair, Dr James, professor, St Andrews, 269.
Blair, Robert, minister, successively at Bangor in Ireland, Ayr, and St Andrews, 355, 397, 465, 480.
Blantyre, (Walter Stewart,) Lord, 77, 131, 142, 165; Lord Treasurer, 181.
Blyth, Henry, minister of Holyroodhouse and Eccles, 208, 258, 323, 324
Bohemia, King and Queen of, 331, 347.
Bonar, James, minister, 502.

Boniface VIII., Pope, 245.
Books of Policy of the Kirk, 15–20, 59-66, 71, 81, 86.
Borthik, S., 77.
Borthwick, Alexander, minister of Livingstone, 89.
Borthwick of Gordonshall, 129.
Bothwell, Adam, Bishop of Orkney, 23, 35, 38, 105, 142.
Bothwell, James, Earl of, 23, 35, 40.
Bothwell, Lord, 152, 161.
Bothwell, John, 105, *note.*
Bouillon. See Bulloigne.
Boyd, James, Archbishop of Glasgow, 50, 59, 65, 72.
Boyd, Lord, 42.
Boyd, Robert, of Trochrig, Principal of the University of Glasgow and Edinburgh, 329, 438.
Boyll, John, preacher, 200.
Bramble, Bramhall, Dr John, Bishop of Londonderry, 654.
Brechin, Bishop of: see Lamb. Lindesay. Sydserff.
Brightman, Thomas, 266.
Broddie, Joseph, 504.
Broun, John, 13.
Bruce, Alexander, of Earlshall, 129.
Bruce, Edward, Commendator of Kinloss, 170, 175, 181.
Bruce, Sir George, of Carnock, 471, 472, 475, 476:—His son, 471.
Bruce, James, minister of Kingsbarns, 484.
Bruce, Dr Peter, St Andrews, 269.
Bruce, Peter, 475.
Bruce, Robert, of Kinnaird, minister of Edinburgh, 135, 143, 204, 217, 238, 252, 301, 320, 329, 337, 347, 420, 422, 479.
Bruce, Robert, Jesuit, 148, 149.
Buchanan, George, 25, 32, 33.
Buchanan, Thomas, minister, 113, 137.
Buchanan, William, minister, 430.
Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of, 346, 347.
Bukkie, Laird of: see Gordon.
Bulloigne, Bouillon, Duke of, 298.
Burdon, James, minister, 430.
Burghley, (Balfour,) Lord, 497.
Burnet of Craigmyld? 518.
Butter, Patrick, 181, 199.

C.

Cachune, (Colquhoun,) Lady Cleish, 449–453.
Caithness, Bishop of: see Abernethie. Forbes.
Caithness, Countess of, 192.
Cajetanus, 124.
Caldcleuch, John, minister, 125.
Calderwood, David, minister, 33, 273, 311–314, 325, 397, 407, 441, 445, 466.
Calvin, John, 5.
Campbell, Colin, minister of Dundee, 269, 430.
Campbell, Dowgall, minister in the Presbytery of Brechin, 181.
Campbell, Neill, Bishop of Argyle, 293.
Campheir, (Campvere in the Netherlands,) Scotish Congregation, 90.
Campvere, Conservator of Privileges, 90.
Canons, Book of, 392.
Cant, Andrew, minister of Pitsligo, 494–495.
Canterbury, Archbishop of: see Abbot. Bancroft. Laud.
Caprington, (Cunningham,) Laird of, 81, 82.
Carmichael, John, minister of Kinneuchar, or Kilconquhar, 231, 314, 324, 430, 438–440.
Carnegie of Colluthie, David, 103, 129.
Carnegie of Eathie, Sir John, 504.
Carnegie of Kinnaird and Leuchars, 165.
Carnegie, Lord: see Southesk.
Cartwright, Thomas, 441.

Cassillis, Earl of, 42, 497, 523.
Cathcart, Earl of, 77.
Cathcart, Lord, and Allan, Master of, 77.
Cecilio, John, 147.
Chalmers or Chambers, David, of Ormond, 105, 107.
Chamberlain, Lord High, of England, 524.
Chancellor, Lord High, of Scotland: see Glammis. Maitland. Spottiswood.
Charles (I.) Prince of Wales, 194, 332–335.
Charles the First, King, 4, 339–348, 356, 362–370, 483–525, *et passim.*
Charles the First, his Queen, 339, 350, 354; his Children, 350, 386, 395.
Charles (II.) Prince of Wales, 350.
Charteris, Sir John, of Amisfield, 386, 387.
Chastelherault, Duke of, 38, 102.
Chief-Justice, Lord: see Errol.
Chisholme of Cromlix, Sir James, 167.
Chishley, (Chieslie,) J., 77.
Chrystie, Richard, 475, 476.
Christison, (Gordon,) James, 147.
Christieson, William, minister of Dundee, 13, 40, 41.
Cleishe, Laird of, and his Lady: see Colville.
Clerk-Register, Lord, (Sir James Balfour,) 37.
Cockburn of Ormestoun, Sir John, Justice-Clerk, 175.
Cockburn, Sir Richard, of Clerkington, Lord Privy Seal, 269.
Coldone, John, minister, 430.
Colt, Adam, minister, 231.
Colville, Mr Alexander, 383.
Colville of Cleishe, Robert, 449–455.
Colville of East Wemyss, James, 77, 283.
Colville, Robert, minister of Culross, 349, 430, 473.
Colluthie, Laird of: see Carnegie.
Common Prayer, Book of, 1637, 398–409, *et passim.*
Confession of Faith, (the King's, 1580,) 73–78, 86.
Congregation, The, 11, 24.
Corse, Laird of: see Forbes.
Cowper, John, minister of Edinburgh, 115, 134.
Cowper, William, minister of Perth, and Bishop of Galloway, 250–252, 255–260, 263, 275, 291, 293; *note*, 371, 430.
Cowper, Lord, 494, 497, 513.
Craig, John, minister of Holyroodhouse, 33, 35, 40, 41, 56, 57, 68, 77, 87, 141, 142, 143, 152, 166, 167, 208, 415–417, 457–462.
Craig, (Marion Small,) Dame, 461.
Craig, William, 77.
Craigmyld, Laird of: see Burnet.
Cranstoun, William, minister, 430.
Craufurd, Earl of, 105.
Craufurd, Master of, 46.
Crawfurd, George, 147.
Crichtoun, William, Jesuit, 136, 146, 147.
Culross, (Alexander Colville,) Lord, a Lord of Session, 142.
Cunningham, David, Bishop of Aberdeen, 72, 134.
Cunningham, David, minister, 269.
Cunninghame, William, of Bruthill, 517.
Cunynghame, Mr Samuel, 125.

D.

Dalgleish, Nicol, minister of Pittenweem, 82, 122, 125, 141.
Dalhousie, Earl of, 525.
Dalyell, Lord? 497.
Darnley: see Henry.
Darrioch, William, 13.
David, Signeur: see Rizzio.
Davidson, James, minister, 430.
Davidson, John, minister of Edinburgh and Saltpreston, 60, 141,

163, 170, 191, 220, 286, 419–421, 430, 461–463.
Dayell, (Dalyell,) William, minister of Dumfries, 67.
Demetrius, 318.
Dickson, David, minister of Irvine, 407, 484, 494, 495.
Dickson, John, flesher, 337.
Dickson, Patrick, 348.
Dickson, Richard, minister of St Cuthbert's, 320.
Didoclavius, Edwardus, (Calderwood, David,) 273, 278, 316, 466.
Dornoch, minister of, 133.
Dort, Synod of, 317.
Douglas, Alexander, Bishop of Murray, 72, 269, 292, 293.
Douglas, George, 77.
Douglas, John, titular Archbishop of St Andrews, 33, 45.
Douglas, Thomas, minister of Balmerino, 391.
Douglas, William: see Morton, Earl of.
Drum, (Irvine,) Laird of, 518.
Drummond, Andrew, minister of Panbryde, 269.
Drummond's (Lord) daughter, 46.
Drurye, Mr, Jesuit, 335, *note.*
Dumblane, Bishop of: see Bellenden. Graham.
Dumfries, William, Earl of, 386, 387.
Dun, Laird of: see Erskine.
Dunbar, Sir George Home, Earl of, 229, 239, 241, 248, 250, 254, 261, 274, 281, 284, 285, 287, 288, 423, 424.
Dunbar, George, minister, 355.
Duncan, Andrew, minister of Crail, 229, 230, 321, 323.
Duncan, Henry, minister of Muirhouse, 430.
Duncan, John, 349.
Duncanson, John, minister of Holyroodhouse, 49, 66, 67, 77, 95, 166, 167, 208.
Dundee, Provost of, 103.
Dunfermline, Sir Alexander Seaton, Lord Fyvie, and Earl of, 165, 268, 272.
Dunfermline, Commendator of: see Pitcairn.
Dunfermling, Abbacy of, 137.
Dunkeld, Bishop of: see Patton.
Dunmure, John, notary publick, 381.
Durem, (Durham,) Alexander, 77.
Durie, John, minister of Edinburgh, 55, 95, 97, 102, 415.
Durie, Laird of: see Gibson.
Durie, Robert, minister, 229, 230.
Dykes, John, minister of Kilrennie, 430.

E.

Earlstoun, Goodman of: see Gordon.
Edinburgh, Bishop of: see Forbes. Lindesay.
Edinburgh, Dean of: see Hannay.
Edinburgh, Ministers of, 347, 348, 352, 368, 407.
Edinburgh, Churches in, 169, 352, 370.
Edinburgh, University of, 203.
Eglintoun, Earl of, 42.
Eglisham, Dr George, 346, *note.*
Elcho, Lord, 513.
Elizabeth, Queen of England, 24, 61, 103, 195, 220, 222, 473.
Elphingstoun, James, parson of Invernoughtie, 165, 181.
Elphingstoun, James, 77.
Elphingstoun, Michael, 77.
England, Church of, 220.
English Bishops, 232–236.
Errol, Francis Hay, Earl of, 145, 148, 155, 156, 179, 180, 182, 188, 206, 209, 250, 383, 386.
Erskine, Arthur, of Scottiscraig, 494.
Erskine, John, of Dun, 13, 26, 27, 29, 33, 46, 80, 417.
Erskine, Lord, 503.
Erskine of Dun, 490.

Erskine, Robert, 77.
Erskine, William, son of the Laird of Pittodrie, 514, 520.
Erskine, William, minister of Dennino, 430.
Essex, Earl of, 517.
Ewart, (Hewat,) Peter, minister of Edinburgh, 208, 310.
Exchequer, Court of, 342.

F.

Fadinsyde, Fawdonsyde : see Ker.
Fairfull, John, minister, 208.
Fairlie, James, minister of Edinburgh, 352, 374 ; Bishop of Argyle, 410.
Falkland, 90, 342.
Fedderat, Laird of, 517.
Felton, John, 347.
Ferchar, Farquhar, Robert, 514.
Fercharson, Farquharson, Donald, 516.
Fergusson, David, minister of Dunfermline, 3, 4, 25, 46, 60, 64, 80, 125, 418, 419, 462, 463, 471, 472.
Fergusson, Grissel, wife of John Row of Carnock, 472, 480.
Ferme, Fairholme, Charles, minister of Fraserburgh, 202, 229, 421.
Fife, Synod of, 117–131 ; grievances, 216.
Fintray, Laird of : see Graham.
Fleming, Lord, 497.
Forbes, Alexander, Bishop of Caithness, 293.
Forbes, Arthur, Lord, 269, 497, 513, 515.
Forbes, John, Master of, 155, 501, 507.
Forbes, Dr John, of Corse, Professor, Aberdeen, 490, 495.
Forbes, John, minister of Alford, 227–230, 239.
Forbes, John, son of John Forbes, minister at Delft, 504.
Forbes, John, burgess, Aberdeen, 519, 520.
Forbes, Patrick, of Corse, Bishop of Aberdeen, 260, 269, 315.
Forbes, Dr William, minister of Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, and Bishop of Edinburgh, 229, 269, 331, 336, 370–374.
Forrester, Foster, Andrew, minister of Dunfermline, 254, 287, 288, 306, 463.
Forrester, David, minister of Leith, 323, 350.
Forrester, George, Lord, 386, 387, 497.
Foster : see Forrester.
Foverane, (Turing,) Laird of, 516.
France, King of, 13, 105.
Francis II., King of France, 23.
Fraser, James, 77.
Fraser, Lord, 501, 507, 513, 515.
French Ambassador, 212.
French, John, minister, 430.
Fyvie, Lord, President of the Court of Session : see Dunfermline.

G.

Gairdin, Gilbert, minister, 45.
Galloway, Bishop of : see Cowper. Hamilton.
Galloway, Earl of, 505.
Galloway, Patrick, minister of Edinburgh, 139, 159, 167, 209, 228, 241, 249, 269, 282, 310, 331.
Galloway, Sheriff of : see Agnew, Sir Patrick.
Gardner, Helen, 431, 434, 435.
Geddie, Mr John, 123.
Gee, John, 336, *note.*
Germany, Emperor of, 353.
Germany, Princes of, 5.
Gibson, Alexander, of Durie, 500.
Gibson, James, minister of Pencaitland, 134, 136, 138.
Gicht, (Gordon) of, 516.
Gillespie, George, minister of Weems and Edinburgh, 445, 485.

Gillespie, John, minister of Kirkaldy, 430, 432.
Gladstones, Dr Alexander, 269.
Gladstones, George, minister of St Andrews, 164; Bishop of Caithness, 204, 209; Archbishop of St Andrews, 254, 267, 268, 273, 287, 289, 294, 301, 303, 304.
Glammis, Lord, Chancellor, 48, 61.
Glasgow, Archbishop of: see Boyd. Law. Montgomery. Spottiswood.
Glasgow, University of, 98.
Glenbervie, younger, 136.
Glencairn, Earl of, 38, 518.
Goodman, Christopher, minister, 13, 453.
Gordon, Alexander, of Earlston, 389.
Gordon, Alexander, Bishop of Galloway, 21.
Gordon, Dr, 513.
Gordon, James, Jesuit, 136, 146, 147.
Gordon, John, of Bukkie, 386, 387.
Gordon, John, of Newton, 199.
Gordon, John, of Haddo, 496, 516.
Gordon, Lord, 172, 174, 515.
Gordon, Sir Patrick, of Auchindoun, 147.
Gordon, Robert, of Straloch, 513.
Gordon, William, 146.
Gorthie, Laird of: see Murray.
Gowrye, William, Earl of, 108, 218.
Gowrye Conspiracy, 204, 217, 218.
Graham, Andrew, Bishop of Dumblane, 22, 51, 63, 72.
Graham, David, of Fintrie, 105, 134, 136, 145, 146, 147.
Graham of Morphie, 516.
Graham, George, minister of Scone, and Bishop of Dumblane, 255, 292, 293; Bishop of Orkney, 269, 305.
Grange, Laird of: see Kirkaldy.
Grant, Laird of, 507.
Gray, Patrick, Master of, 77, 80.
Gray, Thomas, advocate, 239, 514.
Gregorius XIII., 398.
Greig, Mr James, minister, 229.
Greig, Walter, minister of Balmerino, 391.
Grierson, Sir Robert, of Lagg, 386, 387.
Guild, Dr William, Aberdeen, 491, 495, 496, 506.
Guise, Duke of, 105.
Gun, Colonel, 521.
Gustavus Adolphus: see Sweden.
Guthrie, John, minister of Perth, 269, 336; Bishop of Moray, 342, 363.
Guthrie, Patrick, 129.

H.

Haddington, Thomas, Earl of, (see Hamilton,) 165, 505.
Haddo, Laird of: see Gordon.
Haig, William, 375, 382.
Halkerton, (Falconer,) Laird of, 525.
Hall, John, minister of Edinburgh, 205, 243, 250, 275.
Halyburton, James, minister, 77, 99.
Halyroodhouse, Lord: see Bothwell. Steuart.
Hamilton, Dr Archibald, minister of Paisley, 269.
Hamilton, Gavin, Bishop of Galloway, 283, 292, 293.
Hamilton, George, minister of Newburn, 484.
Hamilton, Henry, 123.
Hamilton, James, Marquis of, 328, 338, 346, 491, 492, 496-501, 503-505, 518.
Hamilton, James, Duke of, 31, 38, 39, 42, 518.
Hamilton, James, of Bothwellhauch, 31, 32, 41.
Hamilton, James, Commissary, 269.

Hamilton, James, minister in Ireland, 465, 480.
Hamilton, Sir John, of Orbieston, Justice-Clerk, 489, 490, 511.
Hamilton, John, Archbishop of St Andrews, 30–32, 304.
Hamilton, John, apothecary, 337.
Hamilton, Robert, minister of St Andrews, 45.
Hamilton, Mr (Sir) Thomas, 77, 165, 239: see Haddington.
Hampton, Dr Christopher, 274, 282.
Hannay, Dr James, Dean of Edinburgh, 116, 374, 399, 408, 410, 445.
Harlaw, Mr William, 13.
Hay, Sir Alexander, Lord Clerk-Register, 109.
Hay, Sir Alexander, Secretary in Scotland, 237.
Hay, Andrew, 48, 80, 417.
Hay, George, minister, 43, 56, 61, 417.
Hay, Sir George, Lord Clerk-Register, 269, 272: see Kinnoul.
Hay, Dame Helenor: see Linlithgow.
Hay, John, 514.
Hay, Sir John, of Barra, Lord Clerk-Register, 356, 357, 362, 382–384.
Hay, Peter, of Naughton, 381.
Hay, Dr Theodore, in Glasgow, 269.
Hempisfield, Laird of, (Amisfield): see Charteris.
Henderson, Alexander, minister of Leuchars, 324, 484, 494–496, 502.
Henderson, Patrick, reader in Edinburgh, 408-410.
Henrietta, Maria, Queen, 339.
Henrison, Thomas, Commissary, Edinburgh, 269.
Henry Stuart, (Lord Darnley,) 23, 31, 301.
Henry, Prince, 208.
Hepburn, Robert, 123.
Hepburn, Thomas, minister, 58.
Heriot, Richard, 77.
Herries, Lord, 206, 210.
Hewat, Peter, minister, Edinburgh, 310-312.
Higgins, Dr Anthony, Dean of Ripon, 248.
Hodson, Dr Phineas, 248, 274.
Hogg, Thomas, minister of Dysart, 322, 356-363.
Hogg, William, minister, 430.
Holland, Earl of, 524.
Holyrood, Abbacy of, 105.
Home, Sir Alexander, 160: see George, Earl of Dunbar.
Home, Alexander, Earl of, 154-160, 206, 210, 517.
Home, Alexander, 8.
Home, Alexander, of North-Berwick, 160.
Home, David, minister of Grinlay, 374.
Hope, Sir Thomas, Lord Advocate, 203, 239, 383, 384.
Howie, Dr Robert, Principal, St Andrews, 249, 269.
Howieson, John, minister of Cambuslang, 97, 98, 99, 101, 181.
Hume, Alexander, minister of Logie, 437.
Hume: see Home.
Hume, David, of Godscroft, 257.
Hunter, Andrew, minister of Carnbie and Newburn, 113, 129, 160, 161.
Huntley, Marquis of, 491, 493, 496, 500, 501, 506, 508, 512, 513-516.
Huntley, Countess of, 192-206.
Huntley, George Gordon, Earl of, 39, 105, 137, 138, 144-148, 155, 156, 177-182, 188, 199, 206, 209, 250, 348, 423.

I.

Inglis, Nathaniel, 229.
Innes, Laird of, 507.
Inverness, John, Lord, 155.

Ireland, Bishops of, 397, 407: Primate of: see Usher.
Irwin, James, minister, 229.
Isles, Bishop of: see Knox.

J.

Jack, Mr Thomas, 122.
Jaffray, Mr Alexander, 518.
James the Fifth, King, 6, 7, 35.
James the Sixth, King, 19, 23, 31, 34, 38, 62, 68, 73, 74, 77-80, 92, 96, 98, 103, 107, 108, 115, 132, 133, 139, 144, 155-161, 164, 165, 170, 176, 184-186, 205-209, 220, 242, 272, 278, 298, 299, 306-316, 320, 323, 328-339, 352, 398, 413, 444, 473, 476.
James, King: the King's Declaration, 1584, 122, 125, *note*, 126.
Johnstone, Archibald, of Warristoun, 493, 500, 502.
Johnstone, James, Lord, 386, 387, 497.
Johnstone, John, St Andrews, 421.
Johnstone, Laird of, 250.
Johnstone, Lieut.-Colonel, 501, 515, 520.
Johnstone, Robert, of Crimond, Provost of Aberdeen, 518.
Johnstone, Dr William, Professor of Mathematics, Aberdeen, 494, 512.
Justice-Clerk: see Bellenden. Cockburn. Hamilton.

K.

Keith of Cowie, Robert, 518.
Kemp, William, 282.
Kennedie, John, minister, 430.
Kennoway, minister of, 467.
Ker, Andrew, Clerk of the General Assembly, 463.
Ker, George, 145, 146.
Ker, John, 420, 462, 463; minister of Salt Preston, 502.
Ker, Lady Fawdonsyde, 462.
Ker, Mark, Lord of Requests, 92.
Ker, Robert, minister, 463.
Kinghorn, Earl of, 494, 505, 570, 512, 513, 514.
Kingzo, Thomas, 129.
Kinneir, Thomas, minister of Craill, 61.
Kinnoul, Sir George Hay, Earl of, 385, 386.
Kirk Registers: see Assembly.
Kirkaldy of Grange, Sir William, 49.
Knox, Andrew, Bishop of the Isles, 292, 293.
Knox, John, the Reformer, 6, 9-13, 24, 27, 30, 33, 45, 46, 52, 414, 415, 417, 455, 462.
Kyer, (Keir?) Walter, 77.

L.

Lagg, Laird of: see Grierson.
Lamb, Andrew, minister of Leith, 208; Bishop of Brechin, 283, 292, 293.
Lamb, Mr William, 13.
Latimer, Hugh, 405.
Laud, William, Bishop of London, 354, 361, 368, 389; Archbishop of Canterbury, 370, 389, 489.
Lauderdale, John, Earl of, 386, 387.
Law, James, minister of Kirkliston, 208, 210; Bishop of Orkney, 241, 245, 250, 268, 275, 282, 292, 293; Archbishop of Glasgow, 304, 323, 327, 382, 389.
Lawrence, Mr John, 140.
Lawriestoun, Laird of: see Straiton.
Lawson: see Lowson.
Layng, William, 375, *note*.
Learmonth, Sir John, of Balcolmie, 269, 343, 383, 511.
Learmonth, William, 129.
Leighton, Dr Alexander, 351.
Lennox, Esme Stuart, Duke of, 87, 96, 97, 98, 105, 155.
Lennox, Duke of, 485, 491, 499.
Lennox, Earl of, 69-77, 210.

Lennox, Matthew, Earl of, Regent, 31.
Leslie, General Sir Alexander, 511-518.
Leslie, Mr Alexander, 199.
Leslie, Patrick, 495.
Leslie, Dr William, Aberdeen, 495.
Leys, (Burnet,) Laird of, 490 : see Lockhart.
Lincoln, Bishop of, 334.
Lindesay, Alexander, minister of St Madoes, and Bishop of Dunkeld, 244, 269, 293, 326, 327.
Lindesay, Sir David, of the Mount, Lyon King at Arms, 6-8.
Lindesay, David, minister of Dundee, and successively Bishop of Brechin and Edinburgh, 116, 243, 325, 362, 375, 390, 408, 410, 443, *note*, 433.
Lindesay, David, minister of Leith, 13, 38, 50, 56, 60, 89, 99, 103, 108, 150 ; Bishop of Ross, 204, 223, 252, 292, 293.
Lindesay, John, parson of Menmuir, Lord Secretary, 165.
Lindesay, Patrick, Bishop of Ross, 269, 342, 344.
Lindsay, James, Lord, 155, 470, 471, 497, 523.
Linlithgow, Alexander, Earl of, 218, 343.
Linlithgow, Dame Helenor Hay, Countess of, 218.
Livingston, Harie, minister, 244, 245.
Livingstone, John, minister, 355, 390, 397, 465, 480.
Livingstone, Lady, 206, 208.
Livingstone, Lord, 148.
Livingstone, Sir William, of Kilsyth, 269.
Livingstone, William, minister of Lanark, 390, 502.
Lockhart, Sir James, of Lee, 343, 490.
Logan, James, parson of Ettilstone, 269.
Logie, Mr Andrew, 496.
Logie, John, 496.
London, Bishop of : see Laud.
Loretto : see Alareit.
Lorn, Lord, 389.
Lothian, Superintendent of : see Spottiswood.
Lowdoun, Earl of, 343, 497, 524.
Lowson, (Lawson,) James, minister of Edinburgh, 50. 56, 68, 88, 415.
Lundie, John, Professor, Aberdeen, 506.
Lundie, Laird of, 69.
Luss, Family of, 449.
Luther, Martin, 5.

M.

Mackorn, John, minister, 269.
Mackullo, Macollo, John, 321.
Maclellan, John, 397, 465, 480.
Magdeburg, Assembly at, 61.
Maitland, Sir John, Secretary, 109, 131 ; Lord Chancellor : see Thirlestane.
Makbirnie, John, minister of Ferry-Port-on-Craig, 421.
Makgie, Mr Thomas, 91.
Makgill, Mr Robert, advocate, 384.
Malcolm, John, minister of Perth, 252, 290, 291, 305, 327, 430.
Manderston, Hume of : see Dunbar.
Marcellus II., Pope, 458.
Marischall College, Aberdeen, 153, *note*.
Marischall, George, Earl of, 153-155, 268.
Marischall, Lord, (of England,) 524.
Marischall, William, Earl of, 386, 387, 495, 496, 511-521.
Marr, John, Earl of, Regent, 45, 47-49.
Marr, Earl of, 155.
Marr, John, Earl of, 268, 272, 386, 505.
Mary of Guise, Queen Dowager, 11, 12, 13.

Mary, Princess, 354.
Mary, Queen of England, 221.
Mary, Queen of Scots, 13, 23, 24-29, 31, 35, 40.
Mathewson, Colonel, 511.
Maxey, Dr, 248.
Maxwell, Lord, 250.
Maxwell, John, minister of Edinburgh, 329, 348, 350, 352-355; Bishop of Ross, 363, 372, 382-385, 395, 396, 398.
Maxwell of Pollock, 78, *note*.
Meen, John, merchant, Edinburgh, 337, 390.
Melancthon, Philip, 5.
Meldrum, William, Esquire, of Cleish and Binns, 449-455.
Melross, Thomas, Earl of, 269, 272, 341.
Melville, Melvin, Andrew, 56, 61, 81, 90, 95, 113, 115, 117, 126, 131, 133, 154, 204, 231-238, 249, 283-286, 294, 296-301, 314, 421, 430, 439, 468.
Melville, James, minister of Kilrenny, 6, 139, 159, 231-238, 252, 264, 430, 444.
Melville, Sir James, of Hallhill, 151.
Melville, Lord, 366.
Melville, Mr Patrick, 122.
Melville, Robert, minister, 349.
Melville, Sir Robert, of Murdocairnie, Treasurer, 135, 160.
Mendoza, Don Diego de, 334.
Mercer, James, minister, 430.
Mercer, Robert, minister, 430.
Mercer, Thomas, 518.
Meriton, Dr George, 274.
Methven, Paul, 25, 26, 29, 36.
Middleton, General, 520.
Mill (Melville?) Andrew, 417.
Minto, Laird of: see Stewart.
Mitchell, David, minister of Edinburgh, 345, 352, 372, 374.
Mitchelson, Dr John, minister of Bruntisland, 430, 443.
Moncreiff, Andrew, 129, 130.
Monro, Colonel, 517.
Monro, John, minister, 229.
Monteith, Earl of, 351.
Montgomery, Robert, minister of Stirling, and Bishop of Glasgow, 88, 89, 91-97, 102, 108, 134, 135.
Montrose, James, Marquis of, 497, 500, 507, 511-521, *passim*.
Montrose, John, Earl of, 223, 269, 306, 494.
Monypenny of Pitmillie, James, 125.
Moorhead, James, minister, 430.
Moray. See Murray.
Moray, William, 77.
Mordo, John, 77.
More, William, Dean of Guild, 494.
Morison, Mr George, 512, 514.
Morphie, (Graham,) Laird of, 490.
Morton, James, Earl of, Regent, 47-49, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 77, 86.
Morton, William, Earl of, 326, 382, 383, 395, 470, 473, 491, 497.
Mowat, James, 114, 203.
Mowat, Roger, advocate, 384.
Murray, Bishop of: see Douglas. Guthrie.
Murray, Sir David of Gospetrie: see Scone.
Murray, Sir David, of Gorthie, 254.
Murray, David, 77, portioner of Ardeit, 125.
Murray, Earl of, 144, 155, 173, 178, 179, 182.
Murray, James, Earl of, Regent, 24, 31, 35, 37-41.
Murray, James, Earl of, 386, 387.
Murray, John, minister of Leith, and Dunfermline, 252-254, 305, 440, 475, 476, 479.
Murray, William, minister of Dysart, 125.
Myles, Edmund, minister, 430.
Myrtoun, William, minister, 374.

N.

Napier, Lord, 505.
Naughton, Laird of: see Hay.

Nicoll, John, writer, Edinburgh, 502.
Nicolson, James, minister of Meigle, 159,166, 208, 241; Bishop of Dunkeld, 242.
Nicolson, Thomas, Clerk of the Assembly, 181, 280.
Nisbet, Sir Alexander of West Nisbet, 386, 387.
Nisbet, Mr John, advocate, 384.
Nisbet, Sir William, Provost of Edinburgh, 320.
Nithsdaill, Earl of, 340, 348.

O.

Ochiltree, James, Lord, 269, 383.
Œcolampadius, 5.
Ogilvy, James, Master of, 77.
Ogilvy, John, minister, 269, 430.
Oliphant, Dame Elizabeth, Countess of Angus, 179.
Orbieston, Lord Justice-Clerk: see Hamilton.
Ordination, Book of, 391.
Orkney, Bishop of: see Bothwell. Graham.
Orkney, Earl of, 112.
Overall, Dr John, Dean of St Paul's, 232.
Oxford, University of, 332.

P.

Palatine, Prince, 347.
Pareus, David, 332.
Paris, Massacre at, 1571, 70.
Parma, Duke of, 148, 149.
Paton, William, minister of Aberdour, 288, 473.
Patton, James, Bishop of Dunkeld, 65.
Paulus IV., Pope, 458.
Pearson, Alexander, 383.
Peebles, Holy Rood of, 70.
Perth, Magistrates of, 154.
Philip, Dr Henry, 269.
Philorth, (Fraser,) Laird of, 202.
Pierson, Alison, witch, 106.
Pitarro, (Wishart,) Laird of, 37.
Pitcairn, Robert, Commendator of Dunfermline, 77.
Pitfoddels, (Menzies,) Laird of, 508.
Pitmeddin, Laird of: see Seaton.
Pittenweem, Prior of, 69.
Pittodrie, Laird of: see Erskine.
Pius IV., Pope, 398.
Pont, Robert, minister of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, 40, 42, 55, 81, 103, 133, 168, 169, 175, 208, 417.
Pope, The, 5, 14, 332.
Porterfield, George, merchant burgess, 500.
Presbyteries, proposed erection of, 83, 85, 109, 150, 151.
President, Lord, of Session: see Skene. Spottiswood.
Prestoun, John, of Fentonbarns, 165, 170, 181.
Primrose, Gilbert, surgeon in Edinburgh, 469.
Primrose, Peter, minister, 279.
Privy Seal, Lord: see Cockburn. Steuart of Blantyre.
Provincial Synods, Platform of, 83, 85.

R.

Ramsay, Andrew, minister of Edinburgh, 269, 324, 352, 374, 499, 525.
Ramsay, George, 129.
Ravillac, Francis, 400.
Regent of Scotland: see Lennox. Mar. Morton. Murray.
Register, Lord Clerk: see Hay. Skene.
Requests, Lord of: see Ker.
Reth, William, minister, 430.
Rhind, Andrew, minister of Tillicoutry, 457.
Rhind, or Rind, Dominie, 456, 457.
Rhind, James, minister of Longforgan, 457.

Rig of Athernie, William, baillie in Edinburgh, 325–327, 337, 457, 469, 472, 476:—His wife, Catharine Row.
Ripon, Dean of, 248: see Higgins.
Ritchie, James, clerk of the General Assembly, 181.
Rizzio, Seignior David, 29.
Robertland, (Cunningham,) Laird of, 172.
Roberton, James, advocate, 383.
Robertson, William, minister of Futtie, 496.
Rochester, Bishop of: see Barlow.
Rollock, Harie, minister of Edinburgh, 352, 374, 500.
Rollock, Robert, minister in Edinburgh, and Principal of the University, 159, 181, 203, 419, 436, 467, 469, 470.
Ross, Bishop of: see Londonderry.
Ross, Sir William, 525.
Rosse, Dr Alexander, Aberdeen, 494, 495.
Rosse, Mr James, 430.
Rosse, Mr John, 159–161, 229.
Rothes, John, Earl of, 343, 367, 382, 497.
Row, Archibald, minister of Stobo, 457.
Row, Catharine, wife of William Rig of Athernie, 457, 469, 472.
Row, Colin, minister of St Quivox, 457.
Row, James, minister of Kilspindo, 430, 456, 514.
Row, John, the Reformer, minister of Perth, 3, 13, 27, 33, 35, 46, 56, 57, 63, 80, 258, 415, 447–457, 462.
Row, John, minister of Carnock, 3, 4, 325, 326, 410, 411, 430, 446, 456, 457, 466–480, 502.
Row, John, schoolmaster of Kirkaldy, 125, 476; minister of Aberdeen, 481.
Row, Samuel, minister in Ireland, 465, 480.
Row, William, minister of Forgandenny, 244, 245, 252, 326, 430, 456.
Row, William, minister of Ceres, 326, 457, 465, 466, 477.
Roxburgh, Earl of, 382, 409, 490, 491.
Russell, David, 125.
Russell, John, advocate, 468.
Russell, William, minister, 129.
Rutherfurd, Samuel, minister of Anwoth, 396, 397, 406.
Ruthven, Lord, 46, 77.
Ruthven, William, of Billindane, 77.

S.

St Alareit, or Loretto, Lady of, 448–450.
St Andrews, Archbishop of: see Adamson. Gladstones. Spottiswood.
St Andrews, Presbytery of, 58.
St Andrews, University of, 57, 67, 81.
St Giles, Dean of: see Hannay.
St Hugo, 7.
St Paul's, Dean of: see Overall.
St Thomas à Becket, 400.
Salisbury, Earl of, 234, 524.
Sandelands, James, 502.
Sandelands, Thomas, 502.
Sandesoun, Robert, 147.
Sanquhar, William, Lord, 269.
Saulin, Minister of: see Steuart.
Schaw, William, minister, 77.
Scone, Lord, (Sir David Murray,) 244, 261, 312, 313.
Scone, Minister of, 255.
Scott, Sir John, of Scottistarvet, 74, *note*, 285.
Scott, Robert, minister of Glasgow, 344.
Scott, William, of Abbotshall, 129.
Scott, William, minister of Cupar, 231, 238, 324, 430, 474, 479.
Scrimgeour, John, minister of Kinghorn, 430, 476, 479.

Scroggie, Dr Alexander, Aberdeen, 495.
Scrymgeour, John, younger of Glaswall, 77.
Seaforth, Lord, 515.
Seaton, Lord, 77, 138.
Seaton: see Dunfermling.
Seaton of Pitmeddin, 520.
Secretary, Lord: see Maitland.
Sempill, Colonel William, 147.
Semple, Robert, 131. *note.*
Service Book, or Common Prayer, 310, 311, 312.
Seytoun, Alexander, 77.
Sharp, John, minister of Kilmany, 228, 229, 230.
Sharpe, David, 269.
Sharpe, Dr John, Professor, Edinburgh, 352.
Sheines, Sciennes, Nuns or Sisters of the, 451, 452.
Sherer, John, 431, 436.
Sibbald, Dr James, Aberdeen, 495, 501.
Simson, Symson, Andrew, minister of Dunbar, 8, 9, 422.
Simson, Symson, Archibald, minister of Dalkeith, 310–312, 431.
Simson, Symson, Lilias, 433, 436.
Simson, Symson, Patrick, minister of Stirling, 8, 139, 142, 144, 159, 204, 246, 250, 261, 282, 315, 422–437, 440. See Baron.
Skene, Sir James, President of the Session, 341.
Skene, Sir John, Clerk Register, 181, 341.
Skene, John, 82, 326.
Smeton, Thomas, minister of Paisley, 66, 81, 86, 103, 417.
Southesk, Lord Carnegie, Earl of, 165, 306.
Spain, King of, 145–149, 332.
Spain, Traffiquers with, 192.
Spanish Ambassador: see Mendoza.
Spanish Armada, 137, 147.
Spens, David, minister, 125, 137.
Spottiswood, John, Superintendent of Lothian, 33, 50, 417.
Spottiswood, John, Archbishop of Glasgow, 50, 78, 208, 210, 223, 252, 254, 267, 268, 273, 275, 283, 287, 292, 293, 298, 299: Archbishop of St Andrews, 304–306, 311, 313–316, 320–323, 337, 343, 346, 348, 382, 385, 391, 409, 413, 417, 423, 436, 442, *note*, 474, 476.
Spottiswood, Sir John, of Dunipace, Lord President of the Session, 383, 511.
Spynie, Alexander, Lord, 470.
Stewart, Arabella, 300, 301.
Stewart, Esme, Lord D'Aubigny: see Lennox.
Stewart: see Henry, Prince.
Stewart, Lady Icsabell, (Isabella,) 136.
Stewart, (James, Earl of Arran?) 77, 136.
Stewart, James, minister of Salin, 65, 287, 470, 471.
Stewart, Margaret, widow of John Knox, 46.
Stewart, Sir Matthew, of Minto, 96, 97, (*note*,) 99.
Stewart, Robert, 77, 105.
Stewart, Walter, Prior of Blantyre, 77, 165; Lord Privy Seal, 108, 109: see Blantyre.
Stewart, Col. William, 99, 136.
Stuart: see Stewart.
Stirling, Presbytery of, 89, 91.
Stirling, Provost of, 525.
Stirling, Sir William Alexander, of Menstrie, Earl of, 388.
Stormonth, Mungo, Viscount of, 386, 387.
Strachan, Sir Alexander, of Thornton, 386, 387.
Strachan, Alexander, minister, 229, 230.
Strachan, James, minister of Barrie, 430.
Strachan, John, 269.
Straloch, Laird of: see Gordon.
Strang, Dr John, minister of Errol, 269, 438, 504.

Straton, Sir Alexander, of Lauriston, 225, 226, 227.
Struthers, William, minister of Edinburgh, 269, 336, 342, 352.
Sutclivius, 124.
Sutherland, Countess of, 192
Sutherland, Nicol, 41.
Sweden, King of, 353, 356.
Sydserff, Thomas, minister of Edinburgh, 352, 356, 371, 372, 374, 375; Bishop of Brechin and Galloway, 388, 396.
Symson, see Simson.

T.

Tables, The, 486, 514.
Thesaurer, Treasurer: see Blantyre. Traquair.
Thirlstane, Sir John Maitland, Lord, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, 131, 135, 165.
Thomas, Dean, 445.
Thomson, Alexander, minister of Edinburgh, 345, 352, 374, 409.
Thomson, James, minister of Hailes, 374, *note*.
Thornton, Laird of: see Strachan.
Thorres, Thomas, minister, 504.
Tilenus, Daniel, 441.
Torrie, Nicoll, 496.
Traquair, John, Earl of, 382, 385–395, 410, 485, 490, 491, 511.
Tullibardin, Lord, 518.
Turreff, Trott of, 516.

U.

Usher, Dr James, Archbishop of Armagh, 355.

V.

Vautrollier, Thomas, printer, 71.
Villiers, George: see Buckingham.

W.

Waldegrave, Robert, printer, 73, 145.
Waldon, Lord, 285.
Wales, Prince of: see Charles.
Walker, John, Reader at Dunfermline, 475.
Wallace, Robert, minister of St Andrews and North Berwick, 16, 321, 430.
Watson, Charles, 129.
Watson, John, minister, 504.
Watson, William, minister of Edinburgh, 185, 208, 231.
Wedderburn, Alexander, Clerk of Dundie, 490.
Wedderburn, the poet, 64.
Wedderburn, William, Bishop of Dumblane, 388.
Weemes, David, minister of Glasgow, 13, 97, 101.
Weemes, John, minister, 430.
Weemes, John, Commissary of St Andrews, 269.
Welsche, John, minister of Ayr, 181, 228, 229, 230, 462.
Welsche, Josiah, 355.
Wemyss, Lord, 409.
White, Dr Francis, Bishop of Ely, 397.
Whitefuird, Walter, parson of Moffat, 269, 342; Bishop of Brechin, 388.
Whitegift, Dr, 441.
Whitenhall, Thomas, 221.
Wigtoun, Earl of, 505.
Wilkie, Robert, minister of St Andrews, 114, 125, 129, 198.
Willock, John, minister, 25, 26, 36, 38.
Winchester, Dean of: see Abbot, Young.
Winrame, George, of Libberton, 510.
Winrame, Robert, minister of Portmoak, 13.
Wischeart, George, the Martyr, 10, 11, 462.
Wischeart, William, minister of Leith, 374.
Wood of Bonningtoun, Margaret, sister of, 206.
Wood of Stravithie, Andrew, 152.

Y.
YESTER, Lord, 497.
York, James, Duke of, 370.
Young, Dr John, Dean of Winchester, 316.
Young, Peter, (Sir Patrick,) 77, 108.
Young, Robert, printer, 398.
Young, William, minister of Loucarty, 430.
Youngston, Robert, minister of Clatt, 229.

00111581

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 23 March, 2016